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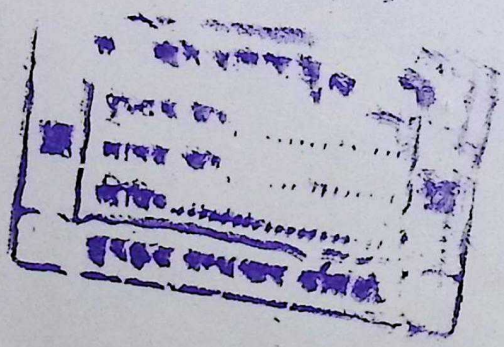

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The first volume of the Bangla Desh Documents had come out in September, 1971. The documents in that volume told the story of the genesis and the progress of the Bangla Desh crisis up to August 31, 1971.

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There are, in this volume, documents which show how the attainment of freedom for the people of Bangla Desh was the end of one struggle—that for liberation, and the beginning of another—the one for national reconstruction.

The effort, in these two volumes, has been to collect, for today's commentator and scholar and for tomorrow's historian in one place, all those documents about this major and unique development in the affairs of our world, which could be considered as the raw material of history.

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CHAPTER I

POINT OF NO RETURN

1. PAKISTAN DIVIDED*

HISTORY, geopolitical forces, power balances and election results all helped shape the crisis in East Pakistan; but only in terms of "the pathology of the sub-continent", as one diplomat described it, can this bloody upheaval be adequately explained. From the night of March 25, when the Pakistani army launched its surprise offensive in East Pakistan in an attempt to crush the Bengali autonomy movement, normal standards of logic and reason stopped applying. The mindless brutality of the West Pakistani troops demonstrates the military regime's irrational determination to hold on to East Pakistan at whatever cost and by whatever tactics are necessary. In turn, this brutality has fired and fed an increasingly effective and popularly supported guerrilla counter-offensive that keeps East Pakistan in chaos. Every army reprisal against the civilian population produces new Bengali freedom-fighters. The Bengalis—now sullen, bitter, hating—seem ready for a long fight for full independence. Talk of anything less, such as the old goal of East Pakistani autonomy within Pakistan, is considered heresy.

Most Western diplomats regard Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the jailed leader of East Pakistan, as the key to any real settlement. But Pakistan's President, Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, has announced that Sheikh Mujib, who headed the now-banned Awami League and who was arrested on the first night of the army attack, will be tried for treason in camera and will face the death penalty. As this is written, no decision has been announced.

By now, more than seven million of East Pakistan's 71 million people have fled across the border to India to escape the army terror, and many more will flee if the chaos produces famine in the late fall. The refugees are not only a crushing economic burden on India, but they present a grim political spectre as well—thrusting millions of jobless and homeless people into India's already unstable and disorderly eastern region, which the national government in Delhi lost effective control over some years ago. And since most of the refugees have been from East Pakistan's Hindu minority—a special target of the Pakistani army—the crisis has revived among all Indians the memories of the bloody Hindu-Moslem rioting of 1947, when the sub-continent was divided into Pakistan as a Moslem homeland, and India as a secular but predominently Hindu nation. Indians view the military repression in East Pakistan as nothing less than evil crushing good. Indian and Pakistani leaders rattle sabres at each other, many border clashes have already taken place, and another war between the two countries threatens, a war that would have obvious global implications.

Inexplicably, the responses of many foreign nations—notably the United States—have failed to give much weight to the strength of the passions at work. Washington, for example, continues to talk about its hope for a political settlement when no diplomat

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* Article by Sydney H. Schanberg, Foreign Affairs, New York, October, 1971.

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or other qualified observer in East Pakistan can see any lasting solution but independence. Washington continues military aid to the Pakistani government on the ground that it may thereby maintain its leverage for a moderate settlement. Yet, so far, there is no evidence of any successful leverage. The incompatibility of Washington's so-called pragmatic approach with the inflamed emotions in Pakistan has been obvious to observers for some time.

In their campaign to end military rule, stop the exploitation of their province by West Pakistan and win a large measure of self-rule, the Bengalis had burned the Pakistani flag, destroyed photographs of Pakistan's founder, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and taunted army units. They also did more significant and more revolutionary things—such as boycotting the military regime and in March setting up their own government. But to the West Pakistani military rulers, the emotional, symbolic insults were the more heinous. "It's a religious thing with them about the flag and Islamic unity and Jinnah and their army pride", said an American diplomat. "They can't tolerate insults. It puts them in a rage".

II

In short, the fanatic fury of a holy war seems to have been the over-riding reason why the Pakistani government loosed the army on the Bengali population. This is not hard to understand when we recall that Pakistan is a state based on religion where democratic traditions are almost non-existent and where the popular will has been often frustrated. When the army troops began their rampage that first night, they seemed to be enjoying themselves. As Punjabi patrols emerged from alleys after killing unarmed Bengalis, they came out with their hands upraised, shouting "*Narai Takbir!*" ("Victory for God!") and "*Pakistan Zindabad!*" ("Long Live Pakistan!").

Racial hatred is a basic element in this conflagration, for the peoples of the two wings of Pakistan, separated by over 1,000 miles of Indian territory, are ethnically more different than most enemy nations—which they now, in fact, are. They speak different languages (Urdu in the West, Bengali in the East), eat different foods (meat and grain in the West, fish and rice in the East), and have opposite cultures; the Punjabis are stolid types who prefer soldiering and government, while the Bengalis are volatile and love politics and literature. The lighter-skinned and taller West Pakistanis have their roots in the Middle East; the Bengalis with the lithe, slim brown people of South-East Asia. The only thing they have in common is their religion, Islam, the shaky reason for the creation of the improbable two-part nation in 1947, when British rule ended on the sub-continent.

All the ethnic differences between the Bengalis and Punjabis, who dominate the Pakistani government, existed in 1947, but they were overshadowed by the euphoria of creating a nation. In the two decades since, these differences have been honed razor-sharp by West Pakistan's systematic exploitation of the Eastern wing—politically, economically and militarily. Though the East is the majority wing—71 million people compared to the West's 61 million—the West, where the government is based, received the overwhelming proportion of development funds, factories, public-work projects, foreign aid, imports and defense facilities.

Prices are higher in the East, but income lower. The jute and other exports from the East brought in more than half of Pakistan's foreign exchange and paid for the raw materials that kept the West's factories going. The East was also the main market for the West's products, including the sleazy cotton fabrics, sold at inflated government-fixed prices, which have no market anywhere else in the world. Bengali nationalists complained that the colonial exploitation of their land under the West Pakistanis was worse than under the British a generation before.

III

Two events catalyzed this bitterness. The first was last November's cyclone and the government's sluggish relief effort, which dramatized for the Bengalis what

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they considered West Pakistan's indifference and even callousness toward their plight. This reaction gave added votes to the Awami League, campaigning on a platform of more self-rule for East Pakistan, in the national election a month later.

The second catalyst was that very election—the first full and free vote in Pakistan's history. President Yahya must be credited with making the election possible. Restoration of civilian rule was one of his promises on taking power in March 1969, after bloody rioting and protest in both wings brought about the collapse of the ten-year strong-arm reign of Mohammad Ayub Khan.

Most diplomats credit Yahya with sincerity in this promise, and some still feel that had he been his own master, the army repression would not have been ordered. But major decisions in Pakistan are made by a junta of several generals, most of them tough hard-liners, and though General Yahya is Commander-in-Chief he cannot act independently of them. It is widely believed that the generals accepted the idea of an election only because they expected the results to ensure their continued control. They felt, as did most foreign diplomats, that although the Awami League would make a strong showing in East Pakistan, the army's supporters—the right-wing religious parties—would do well enough in both wings to command a majority and run the government.

But the cyclone re-wrote that scenario. The Awami League won all but two of the National Assembly seats from East Pakistan, which—because of the population based apportionment (another Yahya concession)—gave it an overall national majority. Some Bengalis believe that the generals decided on a military solution as soon as the election results were in. This will probably never be known, but in any case storm clouds were not long in appearing.

The leading political group of West Pakistan, the Pakistan People's Party, began demanding that the Awami League scale down its autonomy program. But Sheikh Mujib—under pressure from extremist students and workers in his following and perhaps naive about the risk of a military bloodbath—would not compromise, fearing that if he did so, the West Pakistani power elite would somehow cheat the Bengalis out of their rightfully won political power.

The leader of the Pakistan People's Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then refused to attend the coming session of the National Assembly, which was to have written a new constitution, and Yahya responded by postponing the session set for March 3. Protests and rioting erupted in East Pakistan, the army fired on Bengalis, killing many, and the Bengalis then answered Sheikh Mujib's call for a non-co-operation movement in defiance of the military. This movement eventually evolved into the creation of a kind of Awami League government. The Pakistani government then began flying troop reinforcements into East Pakistan at night. On March 15, Yahya himself flew to Dacca to negotiate with Sheikh Mujib. Most Bengalis and some foreign observers now believe that the negotiations were merely a smoke-screen to buy time until enough troops had been brought in to launch the attack. (The timing of the military decision is not known, but it seems likely from the available evidence that it was not taken at the last minute.)

In any event, on March 25, while the negotiations were still going on, the army struck in Dacca with tanks and rockets and other heavy weapons against a largely unarmed civilian population—in some cases destroying entire hutment colonies of the poor. In succeeding days and weeks, the West Pakistani troops fanned out throughout East Pakistan, devastating population centres in similar ruthless operations.

At this writing, foreign diplomats estimate that the army has killed at least 200,000 Bengalis. Despite claims that normalcy prevails in the province, the military has not been able as yet to restore law and order or establish even a semblance of governmental administration. On the contrary, the resistance activities

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of the *Mukti Bahini* (Liberation Forces) have been mounting, with aid and training and sanctuary provided by India. The economy in East Pakistan remains crippled, that in West Pakistan is shriveling. Army casualties are growing. And except for the small minority of collaborators (mostly non-Bengali Moslems, such as Biharis, and Bengali adherents of right-wing religious parties), the people of East Pakistan are hostile, sullen and unshakeable.

The idea of a united Pakistan clearly is finished. The military regime can hold East Pakistan as a colony only by force and terror and crude police-state tactics. There still is no realization among the Pakistani generals of the futility of continuing the military repression. There exists an impression among some—though this is doubtful—that President Yahya is not being told what is really happening in East Pakistan. Meanwhile, added moves by the regime have seemed designed to increase hatred and distrust there rather than to restore confidence. The Bengali language has been suppressed; street names have been changed; Bengalis have been removed from responsible government jobs and replaced with West Pakistanis; and the shops and homes of Bengalis who fled to the countryside or to India have been given to collaborators.

The longer the conflict drags on, the greater the likelihood that the Bengali independence movement—a nationalist upsurge rather than an ideological one—could alter in character and fall under the leadership of Maoists or other extremists. Some pro-China freedom-fighters are already active in East Pakistan. The implications for foreign powers are grave. Some Asia analysts foresee the possibility of a belt of chaos and insurgency, stretching from India's already turbulent West Bengal state through East Pakistan to Burma, which could dwarf the Vietnam conflict.

IV

For India, the impact has been grim. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was overwhelmingly re-elected last March on a platform of *Garibi Hatao*—"Remove poverty"—but the cost of supporting the millions of Bengali refugees has forced virtually all development plans into suspension. India, in effect, must now tread water, which is dangerous for a nation with a soaring jobless rate, unchecked population growth and severe poverty.

Mrs. Gandhi has so far resisted the clamor by the public and politicians for some decisive action—such as a military move against Pakistan or recognition of Bangla Desh (Bengal Nation), the name the independence movement has given itself to East Pakistan. She and her top advisers apparently fear that the recognition of Bangla Desh, in the prevailing emotional climate, could prompt Pakistan to declare war—this Mrs. Gandhi has seemed eager to avoid. But the pressure for recognition has been intensifying, and she may come to feel such a concession to aroused Indian public opinion is necessary.

Although India has taken defensive measures on its borders with Pakistan, its apparent policy is not to make the first move—in short, to put the onus for a third Indo-Pak war on Pakistan. But this policy does not preclude continued military aid and sanctuary for the East Pakistani freedom-fighters, and in such conditions war is a persistent risk. President Yahya has warned that if India helps the Bengalis establish a guerrilla base area in East Pakistan, his government would treat that as an attack. "I shall declare a general war and let the world take note of it", he said recently. Moreover, by supporting the insurgency, India in a sense ensures continuing chaos in East Pakistan and therefore a continuing flow of refugees into India—compounding the pressures on its economy and social fabric.

One of India's greatest concerns—and, conversely, one of Pakistan's apparent hopes—is that the rest of the world will come to view the crisis as just another Indo-Pak dispute—

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thereby diverting attention from the real issue, the independence struggle in East Pakistan. India views President Yahya's talk of war as this type of diversionary tactic, and also possibly as a nervous reaction to the increasing successes of the Bengali guerrillas.

In this context, however, some Indian analysts think a Pakistani attack on India is entirely possible. To lose East Pakistan in a fight with the guerrillas, they argue, would be an untenable loss of face for Pakistani generals, and could inspire uprisings by autonomy-minded ethnic groups in West Pakistan, such as the Baluchis and Pathans—many of whom are as resentful of Punjabi domination as the Bengalis of the East. But, this theory goes, if East Pakistan is lost in a holy war with India, the generals have a better chance of rationalizing their defeat and of holding West Pakistan together with the glue of anti-Indian hatred.

Should an Indo-Pak war erupt, the great powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and communist China—could hardly remain disinterested bystanders, though how deeply involved they would get on one side or the other remains an imponderable. In broad terms, the line-up at the time this is written is as follows: China is supporting Pakistan, the Soviet Union is supporting India, and the United States is pursuing an ambiguous policy of providing sizable refugee aid to India while continuing its arms shipments to Pakistan as a means (Washington says) of keeping a dialogue open and exerting some influence on the Islamabad regime.

In the last several years, China—whose relations with India have remained strained since their border war of 1962—has become Pakistan's biggest arms supplier and closest friend among the great powers. Whether China would intervene with troops in the event of an Indo-Pak war is unknown, but diplomats in Islamabad report increasing Chinese aid to Pakistan since the Bengali trouble began, including an agreement to equip at least one new Pakistani division to replace troops sent to the Eastern wing. (These diplomats note, however, that China has not publicly denounced the independence struggle, and do not think that Peking's aid to Pakistan now precludes Chinese support for the Bengali insurgency later on.)

President Yahya was presumably talking about Peking when he said recently that if war came, Pakistan would not "be alone". Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh immediately retorted in parliament that India, too, would not be alone—presumably referring to Russia. Though Moscow has been supplying military assistance to India throughout the sixties, the Russians were also giving arms to the Pakistanis. In the last couple of years, however, this aid slowed to a trickle, mainly because of Indian objections. Moscow did not want to abandon Pakistan entirely to China, and therefore took no drastic action against Islamabad in the recent crisis, such as stopping economic aid. But the Soviet stake in Pakistan is not a large one; the signing of the India-Russia 20-year friendship treaty showed clearly that the Russians have decided to make India their ally.

V

The United States has been straddling the fence in the crisis, and the role has drawn worldwide attention and criticism. In India, it is regarded as a betrayal, and U.S.-Indian relations have plunged to a new low. Washington has apparently decided that it is impossible to separate the East Pakistani upheaval from the emerging Indo-Pakistan confrontation and that such punitive acts as stoppage of aid or public moral denunciation of the military repression would be counterproductive. Washington seems to be still wedded to its view of Pakistan as a "balance" against India on the sub-continent. There is also a

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reluctance to abandon the huge U.S. financial investment in Pakistan and even more so to concede that the old policy of massive military and economic aid was, on balance, a failure—that it fostered development only in West Pakistan and thus helped fuel Bengali bitterness. From 1954 to 1965, a decade of idyllic U.S.-Pakistan relations, Washington outfitted and trained the Pakistani armed forces, and Pakistan became a member of CENTO and SEATO, both pro-Western, anti-communist military alliances. During this period—when Pakistan was having problems with the Russians and the Chinese—the Americans gave the Pakistanis what has been estimated at $ 1.17 billion in military aid alone (although it may be far less). The economic aid was even greater.

Relations cooled dramatically after 1965. This was a product of many factors—China's war with India in 1962, which drew Pakistan closer to Peking; the 1965 U.S. embargo on the supply of arms, on which the Pakistanis were much more dependent than the Indians; and the willingness of China and Russia to fill the arms vacuum left by the Americans. Washington lifted its embargo partially in 1967 to allow sales of non-lethal equipment and spare parts and also ammunition for previously supplied weapons.

After the army crackdown began in East Pakistan on March 25, the State Department announced a new embargo on arms to Pakistan and said no military supplies were in the pipeline. But in late June, a newspaper report disclosed that arms shipments were continuing from American ports on Pakistani ships. The State Department at first ascribed this to bureaucratic bungling, but later dropped this explanation and announced that the shipments were legitimate, that they had all been contracted for before March 25 and that they would continue. Congressional demands for halting these shipments were unsuccessful; authoritative sources in Washington reported that the policy decision was made by President Nixon personally.

Meanwhile, U.S. economic aid has been temporarily suspended ("under review" is the State Department's phrase). But the State Department has said it will not deny aid as an instrument of applying pressure on Pakistan and analysts view the suspension largely as a reflection of Washington's reluctance to go it alone against the hard line of other members of the World Bank's 11-nation Aid-to-Pakistan consortium. A special World Bank report in June concluded that the military crackdown had so ravaged East Pakistan that international development assistance "would serve little purpose" and "will have to remain in a state of suspension for at least the next year or so". Pakistan is heavily dependent on the consortium's aid, which amounts to about $ 450 million a year (the United States provides about $ 200 million of it). Desperate to repair its world image and bring about resumption of foreign aid (its foreign-exchange reserves are dipping toward zero), the government of President Yahya agreed to the posting of over 100 U.N. observers in East Pakistan. Their ostensible job would be to help normalize conditions and thus facilitate the return of refugees from India.

The United Nations also asked India to accept a similar team on its soil, but the Indians angrily refused, pointing out that the refugee exodus would not stop until the army terror stopped in East Pakistan and that this could not be achieved by putting observers in India. New Delhi dismissed as baseless propaganda the Pakistani charge that India has been obstructing the refugees' return. (And indeed India has every reason to want them to return.) Indians see in the observer proposal their old bugaboo—the treatment of the crisis as simply an Indo-Pak dispute, and the assigning of equal responsibility for the resolution of the problem to India and Pakistan. India also noted that President Yahya's acceptance of the observers came only after a marked increase in guerrilla activity and effectiveness in East Pakistan.

The presence of the U.N. team may force the Pakistani army to curb its reprisals and terror and thus may induce some refugees to return. As such, it is a positive development. But—judging from extensive interview tours of the

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refugee camps by this correspondent and other foreign observers—one feels that the vast majority of the refugees will probably never return. For one thing, their homes and other property have been destroyed and their land given to collaborators. For another, the Hindus—who make up the bulk of the refugees—naturally feel safer in predominantly Hindu India than they can ever feel again in East Pakistan after the army pogrom.

Moreover, the presence of U.N. observers will not stop the guerrilla activity, which will keep the region in chaos unless the army pulls out. But it may lead to criticism in the United Nations of Indian aid to the guerrillas. This of course Pakistan would welcome.

India was apparently concerned that U.N. observers on its side of the border could interfere with its support program—arms, training and sanctuary—for the resistance fighters. Since the move for posting observers in both India and Pakistan was reportedly initiated by Washington, it has further estranged India from the United States. Mos-Asia analysts feel that in clinging to its notion of maintaining a balance between India and Pakistan and in treating the current crisis as an Indo-Pak dispute, Washington is pursuing an unrealistic and shortsighted policy. They believe that Pakistan cannot be treated as equal to India—in size, importance, democratic traditions or stability—and that the realistic course for Washington would be to try to persuade Pakistan to adjust to a secondary role instead of inflating its delusions.

Washington's apparent desire to separate the refugee and humanitarian issues from the basic political problem in East Pakistan seems equally unrealistic. To many familiar with affairs on the sub-continent, the proposal to send U.N. observers, like other U.S. moves, seems an attempt to paper over the real conflict and produce a temporary stand-off that can at best only postpone the inevitable division of Pakistan.

2. TRAGEDY OF BANGLA DESH *

People of my generation have experienced enough horror to be, alas !, no longer shocked. And human nature is such that it is rare that horror does not breed horror.

But for years, horror, in its origin, has been routinely and terrifyingly political.

So, an attempt is being made to convince us that the problem of Bangla Desh is, in its origin, the same.

This is a lie.

The strategists of illusion have explained at length that what was involved was a clash between China (and, if it makes any difference, the United States) and the Soviet Union.

I am well aware that a political problem existed since partition. The British Empire considered that partition was the only way to guarantee the departure of the English, and it had conceived a vast encirclement of Arabia (Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan) which the United States later took over for their count. It was also the encirclement of India, hence the policy of non-encirclement of Nehru. Gandhi had proclaimed the danger of partition not for nothing. Let us be left in peace as regards China: this time, what did she do other than making speeches?

But still, if Marshal Yahya Khan had not decided to exterminate the Bengalis, and if he had not sent his planes to bomb Indian airfields, what would

* Excerpts from a foreword by Andre Malraux to "How Pakistan violated Human Rights in Bangla Desh", issued under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi.

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be the role of China, the United States, the Soviet Union in this affair? As is the custom, each ambassador would have defended his country. The Pakistani Ambassador in France—I repeat: of Pakistan—nobly defended Pakistan. He did not kill anybody. The electoral victory of the Awami League was troublesome for Islamabad. The electoral victory of the people's front was so for the French right, it did not exterminate its opponents for all that. If politics is an art, it is one of reconciliation and not of assassination.

Those volunteers who were ready to fight with me for Bangla Desh belonged, in France and elsewhere, to varying political parties. At that time, they were hardly aware of India's stand—(for she scarcely had any.....). They were motivated by two facts, to which the memory of Biafra gave a tragic resonance: the exodus of the refugees, the extermination of the Bengali elite.

Firstly, the refugees. While our press was placing them on the same level as Yahya's troops, the fact remained that India had to take in ten million Hindu refugees, and that Pakistan did not have to take in a single Muslim refugee, not even from Kashmir. One knows the exchange General De Gaulle had with a French major in Syria who said: "After all, we are too ill-informed to take sides." "Ill-informed, possibly," answered the General, "but someone did tell me that the Germans were in Paris". This time, however ill-informed it was—and it was not really well informed—the world did accept that the refugees were in India.

The second particular characteristic of the Bengali tragedy was the systematic, organized extermination of those who, in Bangla Desh, had voted against Marshal Yahya. We know now of wells filled with dead bodies of intellectuals. They were selected, well selected. And, this time the Hindus were not involved. I must emphasize this because it is easy and sinister to make out the tragedy of Bangla Desh (the West did so) as a war of religion. If the Muslims of Bangla Desh had been in agreement with Islamabad, how could the Awami League have managed to obtain 167 out of 169 seats? And who does not know still that a large number of the leaders of the resistance, those whom the Marshal called deserters, had been officers of the Pakistani Army? Nobody disputes that the Hindus were the first to feel themselves threatened. But the civil war, until the intervention of the Indian Army, was not religious, it was national: that of the Muslims of Dacca against those of Islamabad.

Assuming the worst (but without bloodshed) the Pakistan of Islamabad could survive without Bangla Desh, the proof is that it is doing so now. When a state wishes at all costs to make secession impossible, the wisest policy is not to treat half of its territory as a conquered country. When the revolt started, the soldiers of Islamabad were no longer, for the East, compatriots or co-religionists; they were occupants.

3. THE AGONY OF EAST PAKISTAN *

They come out of East Pakistan in endless columns, along trails stained with tears and blood. They are dressed in rags, robbed of everything they owned, the women raped, the children gaunt from hunger. They have been on the move for up to a month, hiding from Pakistani soldiers by day, slogging through flooded rice paddies at night. A vengeful army pursues them to the very border of India. Rifle and machinegun fire crackles. The bedraggled columns scatter for cover. But soon they are moving again, streaming into India.

* Article by David Reed and John E. Frazer, Readers' Digest, November, 1971.

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Sobbing violently, a middle-aged man says, "The soldiers took my two nephews. They kicked them with their boots, ducked them in an open sewer, then machine-gunned them. After that, they took 50 to 60 young men of our village into a field and killed them with bayonets". A woman who was shot in the leg clutches her daughter and says, "We were just about to cross the border when they started shooting at us. I don't know what happened to my husband." A ten-year old boy, who lost an eye when an army patrol threw a grenade at him as he was tending cattle in a field, says, "Can anyone tell me what happened to my parents?"

Since late last March, when the Pakistani army launched this genocidal attack on the defenseless population of East Pakistan, more than eight million people have been driven from their native land. Millions more will surely follow. Moreover, the refugees have put grave strains on India, pushing India and West Pakistan to the brink of a war that could involve the two arch rivals of the communist world, the Soviet Union and China.

Return to Normal

While the horrors of the refugees are bad enough, something even more ghastly is going on inside East Pakistan, also known as East Bengal. That land, scene of a devastating cyclone that claimed half a million lives last year, is now being systematically ravaged by the Pakistani Army. Diplomats and other foreigners in Dacca, East Pakistan's capital, estimate that between a quarter and a half-million civilians have been slaughtered since March. An American missionary in Dacca grits his teeth and says, "It's murder—mass murder".

The military junta that rules Pakistan has tried to cover up the atrocities, and maintains that East Bengal has largely returned to normal. But one of the authors of this article, who spent two weeks there last August, found evidence to the contrary on every hand. Touring three districts of East Bengal by car, he found not a single village or town that had not suffered at the hands of the troops. Many towns were half-empty, homes and shops looted and burned, people either dead, driven into exile or hiding in the countryside.

Perhaps a third of Dacca's population is gone; its economy is crippled and its people are so terrified that no one ventures outdoors at night. Not far from Dacca, a missionary said, "The soldiers killed 249 people in our village. Fortunately for the wounded, high-powered bullets tear right through them, so the doctors didn't have to probe".

A farmer in a refugee camp along the Indian side of the border said, "The headmaster of our school was sitting on the veranda of his home, grading examination papers, when the soldiers dragged him out into the road and cut his throat". Said another refugee, "The soldiers forced the doctor in our village to dig his own grave; then they shot him". A doctor in a border hospital pointed to a woman who had been raped repeatedly by the troops in the presence of her four children after the soldiers had killed her husband.

Rule by Minority

The roots of disaster in Pakistan reach back to Britain's withdrawal from its Indian empire in 1947. Because India's Muslim minority feared domination by the Hindu majority, a new Islamic state called Pakistan was carved out of predominantly Muslim areas of the Indian sub-continent. Muslim areas in the north-west became West Pakistan. Although East Bengal was separated from West Pakistan by more than 1,000 miles of Indian territory, it was included in the new state, as East Pakistan, because its people were mostly Muslims. But

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there are profound differences between the two Pakistans. They have different languages. The people in the West, mostly Punjabis, are tall and light-skinned. Their land is largely arid. East Pakistan, by contrast, is tropical, peopled mostly by Bengalis, a small, dark-skinned people.

The Bengalis have long complained bitterly that the Punjabis in the West have treated them as colonial subjects. East Pakistan's population before the massacres stood at 78 million, as compared with 58 million in the West, but the capital, Islamabad, is in West Pakistan. East Pakistan has accounted for 50 per cent or more of Pakistan's total export earnings, chiefly from the production of jute, but the Bengalis claim that the West kept most of the money for its own development. West Pakistanis, moreover, took 80 per cent of the jobs in the civil service, 90 per cent of the posts in the armed forces.

Although efforts were made in the post—1947 years, democratic institutions never really took root in Pakistan, and in 1958, the military seized power. Then, last year, in a notable effort to return the country to civilian rule, Pakistan's President, Gen. Yahya Khan, scheduled an election for December. Voters would select a national assembly that would frame a constitution and then assume the role of a parliament. That election set in motion the train of events leading to the present tragedy.

In the election campaign in East Pakistan, the Bengalis were electrified by the message of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, a 51-year-old political moderate who was leader of the Awami or People's League. Mujib, as he was popularly known had spent nearly ten years as a political prisoner of the West Pakistan authorities. Now he campaigned on a program of autonomy for East Bengal which, he told cheering crowds, would shake off the hated domination of Islamabad. The central government could continue to control foreign affairs and defense for all Pakistan, but East Pakistan would govern itself internally and spend the bulk of its money as it saw fit.

Mujib's People's League won a landslide victory, capturing a clear majority in the 313-seat assembly. It not only would play the key role in the drafting of the constitution, but would form the next government for all of Pakistan. Elation swept East Pakistan. Neighbouring India rejoiced too. Mujib was known to be friendly to India. If he took over as Prime Minister of all Pakistan, relations with India would, it was hoped, improve.

Bomber of Baluchistan

But, on March 1, Yahya, under mounting pressure from politicians in West Pakistan, postponed the opening of the National Assembly, which had been set for two days later. The Bengalis, feeling that they were being robbed of their legitimate victory, exploded in riots and demonstrations. Mujib calmed his people, cautioned them against violence; and though he still held out for autonomy, something like a parallel government now existed. On March 23—Pakistan's Independence Day—Mujib flew a new flag, the green, red and yellow banner of Bangla Desh (the Bengal nation) from his home. The West Pakistanis feared that the East was about to secede, and warned that no government could tolerate such a move.

At this point, a cold-eyed general named Tikka Khan arrived in Dacca to take command of West Pakistani troops stationed there. Tikka had won for himself the nick-name "Bomber of Baluchistan" for having suppressed a tribal revolt in Baluchistan province by indiscriminate air and artillery strikes against civilians. Shortly after Tikka's arrival, Yahya flew to Dacca for talks with Mujib. All the while, West Pakistani soldiers in civilian clothing were being flown into

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Dacca. On the afternoon of March 25, Yahya, having broken off the talks with Mujib, returned to West Pakistan. At 11 O' clock that evening, Tikka Khan was unleashed.

Suddenly, all of Dacca rocked with explosions. Troops opened fire with artillery on the city; tanks rumbled through the streets, gunning down anything that moved. The dormitories of the university, a stronghold of Bengali nationalism, were riddled by machine-gun fire. The invading soldiers went on a rampage in the old city, a particular political stronghold of Mujib, breaking down doors, dragging people into the street and shooting them. Shops were looted and burned. The barracks of the pro-Mujib Bengali police were gutted by tank cannon. Troops burst into a telephone exchange and killed 40 persons on duty.

Special West Pakistani army squads had lists of people—professors, doctors, businessmen and other community leaders—whom they dragged off to army headquarters. Most have never been seen again. Although Mujib's followers urged him to go into hiding, Mujib refused. Tikka's troops took him off to imprisonment and an uncertain fate in West Pakistan.

With Dacca in ruins, Tikka sent his troops into the countryside, and in each town the ghastly pattern was repeated. Anyone associated with the People's League was killed. Young men, Muslim and Hindu alike, were rounded up and murdered. In almost every town, refugees report, women were raped.

The Bengalis Strike Back

Meanwhile, from Islamabad, Yahya whipped off decrees banning the People's League and postponing the national assembly indefinitely. The new constitution, he declared, would be drafted not by the assembly, but rather by a committee that would be handpicked by him. Autonomy for East Bengal was rejected; Islamabad's rule would continue.

Yahya also imposed strict censorship on the press; even today the people of West Pakistan have little idea of what is going on in the East. Tikka Khan was appointed governor of East Pakistan, which he ruled, with the grace of a Nazi *gauleiter* in occupied Europe, until he was replaced in August.

Bangla Desh, however, has not been crushed. Surviving Bengali troops and police have formed the nucleus of the Mukti Bahini, or Liberation Army. There is no dearth of volunteers, and it is an open secret that India, which surrounds East Pakistan on three sides, is giving arms, training and encouragement to the Mukti Bahini guerrillas. Operating all along the 1350-miles border, these irregulars stab deeply into East Pakistan. Bombs explode nightly in the capital, and West Pakistani army patrols are ambushed on country roads. The railway that links Chittagong, the main port, with Dacca has been severed.

But Bangla Desh is paying a fearsome price for resistance. After each Mukti Bahini raid, the West Pakistan army, now bolstered to around 70,000 men, levels surrounding villages as "collective punishment". And each retaliation sets off another column of refugees for India.

The Indian government is making every effort to care for these piteous people, but the influx is so staggering that new miseries await them there. For instance, in one of more than a thousand squalid refugee camps in India, 150,000 people live in straw hovels surrounded by mud and filth. There are few latrines, and the stench is such that people cover their faces with cloth. Because of the vast numbers, refugees have to wait in line for as long as ten hours for their food rations – ¾ pound of rice a day per adult, plus some lentils, vegetables when available, and a little salt and cooking oil.

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The children suffer the most. Many are beginning to look like the starving children of Biafra, their ribs protruding, their stomachs distended. Almost all suffer from malnutrition or dysentery. Life-giving milk and other protein foods are available in some of the camps, but the rush is so great that many children never get any. A doctor at a border hospital says, "The children die so quickly that we don't have time to treat them."

Anger in India

India, itself one of the poorest countries on earth, groans under the burden. Although she has made some important gains in population control in the past six years, her population has now increased enormously. The United States and other foreign governments have responded generously with cash and food (America has given $ 40 million in food, $ 30.5 million in cash); yet the cost of supporting the Pakistanis may run to more than a billion dollars a year—nearly a seventh of the annual budget of India's central government. India cannot give the refugees jobs, because millions of her own people are unemployed. Even the meagre rations of the refugees, which cost 13 cents a day, are a point of friction: some 50 million Indians subsist on substantially less.

Many Indians angrily point out that they are being forced to pick up the bill for Pakistan's atrocities against its own people. Some are urging that India take East Pakistan by military force so as to enable the refugees to return. India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, so far has resisted these pressures, yet danger of war runs high. Such a war might well assume beyond-the-borders proportions. India has a new alliance with the Soviet Union; the Pakistan Government has grown increasingly close to China.

Within East Bengal itself, a new horror looms: an acute threat of mass starvation. Even in normal times, the area must import part of its rice supply. Now it will be difficult, if not impossible, to move the rice from the small river ports to all of the outlying areas. In 1943, two to three million Bengalis died in a famine. There is every reason to fear it will be worse this time.

What can be done about this festering disaster? Many Bengalis see a solution in independence won by guerrilla warfare. There is a chance of success, but also the certainty of much more bloodshed. It would be far better for the United States and other nations to bring pressure to bear on Islamabad to work out a political solution acceptable to the Bengalis, and thus to defuse the present explosive situation and stave off a major war in the sub-continent. This done, the refugee columns would be set in motion once more—on a peaceful journey back to their homeland.

4. NEGOTIATING FOR BANGLA DESH: A PARTICIPANT'S VIEW *

A central question in any analysis of the events leading to the present crisis in Pakistan is: did the political will needed for a settlement between East and West Pakistan ever really exist? One of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's economic advisers, recounting the sequence of the negotiations, argues here that one of the principal difficulties encountered by the Awami League was that neither the President and his representatives nor Mr. Bhutto's PPP could be persuaded to specify their negotiating positions. Yet, by March 23, it appeared to Sheikh Mujib's advisers that the major legal, political and economic issues had been resolved; they were waiting to be called for a final session, and then the President and his negotiators left Dacca. The generals and Mr. Bhutto appeared to have been buying time to build a West Pakistan

* Article by Rehman Sobhan, *South Asian Review*, July, 1971.

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coalition. From February 15 to March 25, discussion of the Awami League proposals was "an elaborate charade".

Conflicting Explanations

The course of events within Pakistan, and Bangla Desh in particular, is in great measure going to be determined by the intentions and decisions of those military leaders who rule Pakistan today. In assessing their possible course of action it is instructive to look back on the events within Pakistan which culminated in the occurrences of March 25 and their elemental aftermath.

It was widely believed outside Pakistan that the decision by President Yahya to crack down on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League Party was due to a breakdown in their political negotiations in Dacca prior to March 25. This has been given some currency by President Yahya's broadcast of March 26. But a subsequent press release of the Government of Pakistan, dated May 6, stated that the military action was designed as a pre-emptive strike against a secession move by Mujib planned for March 26 and aided by a mutiny of Bengali troops and by Indian support. This subsequent explanation was at no stage touched upon by the President in his March 26 broadcast, and seems to have been a belated afterthought; no distinterested observer has come forward to lend credibility to this story.

What really happened? It is easy to piece together facts based on personal knowledge, but motives are harder to interpret. The emphasis will therefore be on putting the record straight, though some element of speculation remains unavoidable.

The First Round of Talks

The first round of talks on the constitution took place between President Yahya and Sheikh Mujib around the middle of January in Dacca. It was hoped that the President would at this stage spell out his own interpretation of the "unity and integrity of Pakistan", and would indicate what aspects of the Awami League Six-Point programme, if any, aroused misgivings within the ruling group. It was hoped that the "military interest" would be declared and that the terms on which the President was willing to transfer power would be put forward clearly. The President's Legal Framework Order, which was cited in parliamentary debates in Britain, was a remarkably unspecific document which could mean all things to all men. By suggesting that the President would not accept a constitution which prejudiced the unity and integrity of Pakistan, it begged the whole issue of the election which was being fought, not on the existence of Pakistan, but on whose interpretation of the terms of nationhood had widest acceptance. The LFO was relevant merely because it indicated that the President reserved the right to veto any constitution presented to him. Since his LFO was unspecific on what would invoke such a veto, it was expected that he would spell out what seems to have been deliberately left unsaid in his LFO.

Contrary to all expectations, in these initial talks with Mujib, Yahya had no positive views to state. Along with his aide, Lieutenant-General Peerzada, he gave a careful hearing to the Awami League team on the implication of the Six Points. He seems to have been probing to see if the Awami League had done its homework, and found that the team was well briefed by its advisers on the legal and economic background. As he might have been aware, the Awami League advisers had in fact begun preparation a year before of a constitutional draft based on the Six Points and had worked out in detail the various negotiating options open to the party, and their implications.

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At the end of this session, the President appeared satisfied that the Six Points did not mean the disintegration of Pakistan, but suggested that agreement be reached with Mr. Bhutto so that an early transfer of power could take place. On his departure from Dacca, he referred to Mujib as the future Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The President Consults Mr. Bhutto

The Awami League believed that the reference to Mr. Bhutto implied that the President would elucidate his unarticulated views through Bhutto. From Dacca, Yahya had gone to Bhutto's home in Larkana, where they had had long talks; Bhutto's impending visit to Dacca was seen as an occasion for serious discussion at which the real "West Pakistan interest" would be spelt out.

I had paid a visit to West Pakistan several weeks earlier to meet various PPP leaders who were involved in the task of drawing up the PPP version of the constitution. All were lawyers. Economists were conspicuously absent from the team. The talks were useful inasmuch as they presented a medley of PPP misgivings about the Six Points. But they confirmed that the PPP had done no homework on any alternative set of proposals, and that, in fact, different members of the team did not even have identical views on what aspect of the Six Points they objected to, and for what reasons. It was suggested that by the time the PPP team came to Dacca for talks they would have an alternative draft which would form the basis of their own negotiating position.

Probing the Positions

Mr. Bhutto came to Dacca in the last week of January. He had direct sessions with Mujib, and then his "constitutional team" met their Awami League counterparts. As the talks proceeded, it became clear that the PPP had as yet not prepared their draft, and were merely probing the Six Points as Yahya had done before them. This made formal negotiation impossible, since negotiations imply alternative sets of positions and an attempt to bridge the gap between them.

The exploratory character of the talks and the need for a more substantive second round were blurred by Bhutto in his parting remarks to the press in Dacca on January 30. He said that there was no deadlock, and that "you cannot solve the problems of 23 years in three days". He added that he planned to hold consultations in West Pakistan, and then continue his search for consensus and resume his negotiations and dialogue with the Awami League, and that for this reason the National Assembly session should not be held before the end of February. It was not, he said, necessary to attend the Assembly with an agreement already reached on different issues, because negotiations could continue even when the house was in session.

Mr. Bhutto's Boycott

On January 31, at Dacca Airport, he said that the talks had been useful, and he was not unhopeful of compromise. He reiterated that the dialogue between the leaders should continue during the Assembly session, and referred to the parliamentary committee system as an established practice. It is, I think, misleading to infer from these remarks, as does M. B. Naqvi, that the fate of the talks was sealed in advance because of earlier acrimonious exchanges. The Awami League did not take Bhutto's public postures that seriously. When, therefore, on February 15, following a meeting with Yahya three days before, Bhutto announced his boycott of the Assembly, the move was seen by the Awami

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League as bearing no relation to their earlier talks, but as part of a conspiracy with either Yahya or some of his generals to frustrate the democratic process.

The Attitude of the Generals

It was known that at least two generals, Major-General Umer, Chairman of the National Security Council, and Major-General Akbar, Chief of Inter-Services Intelligence, had serious misgivings about a return to democratic processes, particularly if Bengalis were to be in the ascendant. Whether Yahya or his aide Peerzada was merely the other side of a planned duet, or was put under pressure to line up with the "hawks", is still being debated. Umer and Akbar had played a conspicuously partisan role, along with Mr. Rizvi, Chief of Central Intelligence, and Nawab Qizaibash, a Punjabi minister in Yahya's cabinet, in support of Qayyum Khan's Muslim League. Once their objective of blocking both Mujib and Bhutto was foiled by the election results—which had been wrongly forecast by Akbar's services, to the very end they switched support to Bhutto as West Pakistan's rallying point against Mujib. Concrete evidence of their partisan role was provided by Ghaus Khan Bizenjo, a member of the National Assembly from Baluchistan, Wali Khan, MNA from the North West Frontier Province and president of the National Awami Party, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, MNA from Punjab and president of Council Muslim League, and Sardar Shaukat Hayat, MNA from Punjab and president of the council of the Punjab Muslim League; they all reported visitations from Umer asking them to support Bhutto's boycott of the Assembly. One of them said that Umer claimed to be acting in the name of President Yahya, who wanted a joint West Pakistani front against Mujib if in fact the boycott was to serve any purpose.

It is as yet unclear what objective was served by the boycott. Some suggest that the idea was to buy time to rally West Pakistani support behind Bhutto. In his round of talks with the Pathans, Wali Khan claims to have told Bhutto that his party at least would back Mujib in the Assembly, and it is likely that a similar message was getting through to Bhutto from his other contacts with west wing leaders. A two-thirds majority for Mujib's constitutional draft was coming to seem more and more likely, as anti-PPP parties bargained their support for a share in a coalition at the centre. The possibility of being excluded from central power threatened to split Bhutto's own party, where a group of opportunistic landlords from Sind who had been taking a ride on his bandwagon said they would break ranks if power was denied them. When Bhutto referred to the Assembly as a "slaughter house" he may well have articulated the fear of the generals who saw that if Yahya should be confronted with a constitution commanding enough support in the west to give it a two-thirds majority it would be difficult to use his veto under the LFO. For this reason time was needed to consolidate a joint front in the west behind Bhutto, who had now emerged as the spokesman of West Pakistani interests against Mujib.

But such a confrontation could only serve the purpose of frustrating the return to democracy, unless Mujib modified his Six Points. This was difficult, not only because Mujib had fought his entire campaign on this single issue, but also because neither Yahya nor Bhutto had as yet come up with a coherent and viable alternative. Had there been some intention to seek concessions from Mujib, the discussions could have been used as a basis for serious bargaining with all cards on the table. Instead, Bhutto was encouraged to provoke a public crisis which no Bengali leader could conceivably countenance without seriously compromising his position in the east wing. This implies that the very idea of a return to democracy had become repugnant to the hawks, that on February 15, Bhutto was merely taking the first step on the path which ended in the holocaust of March 25, and that everything in between was an elaborate charade.

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Sheikh Mujib's Response

Yahya's decision on March 1 to save Bhutto's crumbling position in the west by postponing the Assembly session *sine die*, brought to the surface the fear that had lain dormant in Bengal since the successful completion of the elections that the generals never really intended to transfer power. To postpone the Assembly was to postpone the prospect of Bengal's assuming the share of power in the polity which they believed their 55 per cent share of population ought to give them. For people who felt that they had been denied their rightful role for 23 years through a series of plots and conspiracies hatched in the west, this was the last straw. The public upsurge of support for Mujib's call for non-co-operation had 23 years of accumulated emotion behind it, which explains its unprecedented dimensions. When the police and civil servants joined the judges in pledging support for Mujib, a *de facto* transfer of power had taken place inside Bangla Desh, and it had happened within a week of Yahya's decision.

During the next three weeks, Mujib's house became in effect the secretariat of Bangla Desh as Bengali secretaries, today still serving in Islamabad or Dacca, voluntarily offered their services to Mujib. Faced with such a vacuum, the Awami League was forced by events to move from non-co-operation to a selective exercise of administrative authority in order to prevent social anarchy and a breakdown of the economy. In this phase, police officers subordinated themselves to Awami Leagues volunteers. District commissioners co-operated with Awami League sangram parishads (resistance committees) to administer the province. Business men queued up to pledge their support to Mujib and seek solutions to their diverse problems. That this was not an urban phenomenon became plain when villagers cut the roads to the cantonments and beseiged trucks attempting to ferry provisions to the Punjabi jawans. To any observer it was evident that short of a full-scale war of re-conquest Yahya's writ could never run again within Bangla Desh. The widespread and indiscriminate killings by the army today reflect the experience of these 25 days, when it became evident that every Bengali was a potential enemy and that the loyalty of all traditional instruments of Islamabad's rule was suspect.

Pressures on the Awami League

The force of public reaction appears to have taken Mujib as much as Yahya by surprise. Mujib realised that a mere return to the pre-March 1 position asking for the Assembly to be convened would be out of touch with the current mood. His demand for an end to Martial Law and a transfer of power to the people in the province merely gave expression to the reality on the ground. After two days of ineffective attempts to preserve Yahya's authority, the army had been withdrawn to barracks by Lieutenant-General Yakub, the Corps Commander and supreme authority in the province since March 1. Admiral Ahsan, the former governor, had asked to be relieved following the rejection of his plea against postponement of the Assembly session. Yakub, who was no dove himself, had some kind of historical perspective; a scholar among generals, he had in three months mastered enough Bengali to discuss the writings of Bankim Chandra in the language. He saw that repression would not work. His reports were unheeded and he was replaced by Lieutenant-General Tikka Khan, whose reputation as a man of action dated from his command of the Sialkot front in the 1965 war and during the Rann of Kutch operations. A "ranker", he had also been involved in the pacification of a Baluch tribal uprising during Ayub's days, and his appointment was seen as evidence of the triumph of the hard line. Yakub is since reported to have resigned his commission in protest, and the army is faced with the embarrassment of deciding whether to court martial one of its most distinguished generals.

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Yakub's replacement was backed up by a continuous inflow of reinforcements for the garrisons. Yahya in a speech on March 6 had given further provocation by blaming Mujib for the crisis and not even alluding to Bhutto. His offer to reconvene the Assembly on March 25 was seen as belated and inadequate and as having been put in a context in which it was rendered virtually irrelevant. For this reason it was believed by many that Mujib would use his public meeting of March 7 to proclaim independence, since Yahya had shown no willingness to come to terms with the consequences of his earlier decision. The army itself was put on full alert to go into action on March 7 in the event of such a declaration.

Mujib realised that any such proclamation would invoke massive carnage on Bengalis, and was reluctant to assume such a responsibility. His decision to persevere with non-co-operation while leaving the door open for a negotiated settlement within Pakistan was a compromise between the counter-pressures of the street and the army. There is no doubt that between March 1 and 7 he was under intense pressure to proclaim independence, and this became greater still after Yahya's broadcast on March 6. But by the afternoon of March 7 he had successfully contained these pressures and committed his party to negotiations within the framework of Pakistan. Subsequent suggestions that he lost control to extremist elements in his party bear no relation to the facts, and overlook the point that the crucial issue had been resolved before March 7, after which Mujib's authority on all substantive issues was unchallenged within the party. When, for instance, student leaders decided unilaterally to impose a customs check on West Pakistanis leaving Dacca, it took Mujib precisely four hours to get this withdrawn. It was largely the unchallenged nature of his authority which enabled him to use his volunteers to preserve law and order throughout the province during this period. Given the charged atmosphere, this was no mean achievement. It can be confirmed by a host of foreign journalists who had congregated in Dacca hoping to witness a major convulsion.

The President Comes to Negotiate

Denied the provocation of a UDI, or even the breakdown of law and order, Yahya seems to have opted for negotiations. He arrived in Dacca on March 15 with Generals Peerzada and Umer in his entourage. It has since been learnt that several other members of the junta had arrived less conspicuously and were staying out of sight in the cantonment.

Yahya began talks with Mujib within a day of his arrival. Mujib had tabled his four demands, which were:

1. Withdrawal of Martial Law.
2. Transfer of power to the elected representatives.
3. Withdrawal of troops to the cantonment and cessation of reinforcements.
4. An inquiry into army firing on March 2 and 3.

Yahya conceded 4. The remaining three merely demanded judicial recognition of the *de facto* situation in Bangla Desh. The troops were in barracks, power was with the elected representatives, and Martial Law orders were not being enforced.

Yahya in fact conceded all demands in principle at an early stage. It was the knowledge of Yahya's concession which provoked Mr. Bhutto to demand a separate transfer of power in East and West Pakistan; and in so doing he articulated the concept of two nations by denying Mujib the right to speak for

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Pakistan. As the dominant force in the west, he insisted on a paramount position in that region. This was strongly opposed by the Pathans and Baluchis, who argued that since West Pakistan had ceased to exist as one unit, Bhutto could speak only for Punjab and Sind.

Faced with these contrary demands, Mujib was confronted by the prospect of coalition at the centre. While a coalition was acceptable to him in principle, he was not willing to concede parity where his party held 167 seats to the PPP's 87. Deadlock was avoided by consensus on the idea that power be transferred in the provinces to the majority party, with Yahya, in the interim phase, staying on in the centre. There was some suggestion that the parties nominate advisers to assist Yahya.

Legal Technicalities

On the question of lifting Martial Law, Justice Cornelius, who had been called in to advise on the legal aspects, first raised the suggestion that Martial Law must remain as the legal cover for the agreement or there would be a constitutional vacuum. This was seen by Mujib as mere legalism, and he pointed out to Cornelius that since Yahya and he had come to a prior political decision to withdraw Martial Law it was not for Cornelius to impose legal obstacles, but to provide the legal mechanism to give effect to the political decision. The escape clause was in fact provided by Mr. A. K. Brohie, Pakistan's leading lawyer, who had invited himself to Dacca and produced his own *ex gratia* solution to the problem after, presumably, discussing it with both parties. He suggested use of the precedent of the Indian Independence Act under which power was transferred by the Crown to the two sovereign states of India and Pakistan by an Act of Proclamation. This proclamation provided legal cover to all legislative acts until each state had framed its own constitution. Brohie argued that, in the same way, Yahya could transfer power by proclamation and this would provide the cover till the Constitutent Assembly had framed a constitution.

This point was accepted by Yahya and Cornelius, and it disappeared from the dialogues at an early stage. Since then it has emerged that Daultana, of the Muslim League, and Mahmud Ali Qasuri, of the People's Party, again raised the question of a legal vacuum and suggested that the Assembly would have to meet to give legal effect to the proclamation and assume sovereignty from Martial Law. When Daultana posed this to Mujib it was dismissed first because the issue had already been resolved and secondly because any move to put the proclamation to the Assembly would merely prolong Martial Law. At a time when tension was mounting daily the time taken to assemble members and then debate the proclamation was seen as more than the nation could at that stage bear.

It is thus surprising that Yahya used the issue of the legal cover as the final evidence of the *mala fide* nature of Mujib's intentions, since his own team had already settled this matter and passed on to more substantive issues. The matter was obviously a mere piece of formalism, of relevance only to lawyers, and it was absurd to suggest that nations might break merely because of differences over a legal technicality.

Awami League Concessions

Mujib's terms applied only to the interim phase between the lifting of Martial Law and the passing of the new constitution by the Assembly. It was not certain how long this phase would last, but there was no question but that the long-term basis for nationhood must be decided by parliament, who would assume sovereignty through the instruments provided by the constitution.

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At that stage it was generally agreed by both parties that the Six Points would at least have to provide the basis for this document.

Yahya had argued that while the Six Points had been worked out for defining Bengal's relation to the centre, its application to the west wing provinces would create more difficulties. This had always been conceded by the Awami League, whose Six Points were based on the existence, because of the peculiarities of the country's geography, of two economies within one polity. Yahya's demand for a separate deal for the west was readily conceded by Mujib, since he himself had no power base of his own to defend, having failed to win a single seat there.

Yahya suggested that West Pakistan might need more time to work out inter-provincial relations in the west in a post-One Unit region, since no work had been done on this by any of the parties there. He suggested separate sessions of the Assembly for either wing so that this task in the west could be done without any interference by the east wing. The whole proposal was designed to accommodate Bhutto, who was obsessed by the fear that Mujib would enter into collusion with the smaller parties and regions to neutralise him. He wanted a free hand in the west, and Yahya secured this for him from Mujib. But in accepting the proposal, Mujib alienated his potential support in the west, which had increased considerably following Bhutto's boycott decision, and as a result, when Yahya initiated his military operations, Mujib found himself friendless in the west. To suggest that the idea of two assemblies was basically Mujib's was to do violence to logic, since the Awami League not only had a clear majority of its own, but by then could command more than two-thirds of the votes in the house behind any position it chose to take.

From Politics to Economics

Once the format for the political and legal basis for the transfer of power had been determined, there remained the more substantive question of the distribution of powers between the province and the centre in the interim phase. It was agreed by both parties as a guiding principle that the basis should not deviate too much from the final version of the constitution which was expected to be based on the Six Points. Since economics was the key issue here, M. M. Ahmed, Chief Economic Adviser to the President, was brought in.

The Awami League team again argued that at least the *de facto* situation must be recognised. By then export earnings and revenue collections were being paid to a Bangla Desh account. M. M. Ahmed found no difficulty in conceding that these powers be formalised. He also conceded to the province the right to make its own trade policy and to have its own reserve bank to determine monetary policy for the region. As an amendment, delivered to the Awami League team at their last meeting on March 23, he proposed:

1. that since it would take time for the charters and the new reserve banks to emerge, the State Bank at Dacca assume this role for Bangla Desh; in case of conflict in regional monetary polices the State Bank of Pakistan would have powers to intervene;
2. that for financing the centre in revenue and foreign exchange existing arrangements continue;
3. that for foreign aid a joint delegation go to the consortium; it could by agreement be dominated by Bengalis and could be divided on a prearranged formula; once aid had been pledged at the consortium the provinces could negotiate individual agreements on their own.

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These represent the sense of his proposals. His amendments were worded loosely, and in discussing them the Awami League advisers tightened up the wording to lend them clarity; otherwise his amendments were accepted. There was nothing to prevent the formulation of a joint draft of the proclamation for transferring power any time from March 25 onwards.

It is worth noting that in the interim phase all inter-provincial matters for the west wing were to rest with the centre, as had been provided for once the One Unit had been dissolved. This as well as other proposals were intended only for the interim phase. Once the west worked out their problems in separate sittings, the two houses would come together for a joint session to frame the constitution.

The Negotiations Halted

It is evident then that there was no breakdown in the negotiations, and in fact agreement on all substantive points had been reached. M. M. Ahmed claims that this was his view and that accordingly he left for Karachi on March 25. The Awami League now sees his departure as evidence that the army were at that point bent on action, since Ahmed was a key negotiator who should at least have stayed to see the response to his own proposals.

In fact, the sessions of March 23 were the last to be held, and all calls to Peerzada for the holding of the final session went unanswered. Yahya had still not put any firm proposal of his own on the table, or even stated what his final terms were for a settlement. As always, the debate took place on the Awami League draft of the interim constitution, and they were, as before, left with their cards exposed while the world remained ignorant of the real intentions of the President and his junta.

Bhutto had arrived in Dacca with his own team, and was having separate sessions with the President's team. This was because the Awami League felt that any substantive settlement lay in Yahya's hands, and Bhutto's role, to judge by past experience, was derivative. Since the President had so ably carried Bhutto's brief, no fear was felt that Bhutto would in fact oppose the settlement.

As it happened, while the two teams were in session in President's House, Dacca, Yahya himself was in the Dacca cantonment talking to his generals. During this time, the army had escalated the situation in Chittagong by suddenly deciding to unload a munitions ship which had been immobilised for 17 days by the non-co-operation movement.

At 11 p.m. on March 25, troop movements into Dacca began. Yahya had flown off to Karachi a few hours earlier. Negotiations had been overtaken by war. Only this time they had not broken down. An agreed settlement, which even at that date might have kept Pakistan together, was available to the generals, and was ignored.

The author.—Rehman Sobhan, one of Sheikh Mujib's principal advisers was a reader in economics at the University of Dacca, and a member of the government's panel of economists on the Fourth Five-Year Plan. He advised Sheikh Mujib on constitutional and economic policy.

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CHAPTER II

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S TRIAL

I. PAKISTANI OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

MUJIB WILL BE PUT ON TRIAL

President Yahya Khan's Television Interview by Pakistan Television Corporation

August 3, 1971

President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan has said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the defunct Awami League, would be put on trial.

He said Sheikh Mujib was arrested for committing acts of treason and he would be dealt with under the law of the land.

In a television interview telecast from all stations of Pakistan Television Corporation last night, the President said that being a citizen of Pakistan he should be dealt with according to the law of Pakistan.

The President, who was asked what would be the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said that the leader of the defunct Awami League had deviated from his electoral campaign in which he demanded autonomy for East Pakistan.

President Yahya said that after Sheikh Mujib got the mandate, he and a coterie of his people deviated from that aim and wanted secession. In other words, he said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had committed "acts of treason, acts of open rebellion" and incited armed rebellion against the State.

In reply to a question, the President said that Sheikh, Mujibur Rahman was not his opponent at all. The President said that he was only a caretaker and had nothing to oppose Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a politician.

The President made it clear that he had no political ambitions. He said as a soldier he was in his temporary duty of restoring the authority of the people.

The President said he was sorry for what Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had done for which he would suffer like any other person committing crimes on the nation would suffer. "How would you treat your criminal", he posed a question to the foreign news media representatives present at the interview.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 5, 1971)

TRIAL FOR "WAGING WAR AGAINST PAKISTAN"

Official Press Note

August 9, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of the defunct Awami League, will be tried by a Special Military Court for "waging war against Pakistan" and other

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offences, a Press Note issued by the Headquarters of the Chief Martial Law Administrator said to day (August 9).

The trial will commence on August 11 in camera and its proceedings will be secret, the Press Note said.

The accused will be given proper opportunity to prepare his defence and will be provided with all facilities permitted in law including engaging a counsel of his own choice provided such a counsel is a citizen of Pakistan, it added.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested from his Dhanmandi residence in the early hours of the morning of March 26 after the Pakistan Army moved in to restore the authority of the Government. Later, he was brought to West Pakistan where he is under detention.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 10, 1971)

TEXT OF PAKISTAN'S PROTEST NOTE AGAINST U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S STATEMENT AT SHEIKH MUJIB'S TRIAL

August 10, 1971

The Government of Pakistan appreciates the widespread humanitarian concern evoked by the tragic developments in East Pakistan since March. It warmly responds to any expression of such concern which is not motivated by power politics and which appreciates Pakistan's difficulties. It is publicly known that Government of Pakistan has promptly accepted several suggestions made by the Secretary-General to help the return of people who have been uprooted from their homes in East Pakistan.

This understanding cannot, however, be extended to any attempt to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs or to dictate to Pakistan the kind of political accommodation it should reach in its Eastern region. The Pakistan delegation regrets that in the statement made on August 10 by a U.N. spokesman on his behalf, the Secretary-General should have chosen to make a comment on the impending trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which exceeds both the bounds of humanitarian concern and the competence of the U.N. as defined in the U.N. Charter.

Our regret is sharpened by the awareness that in numerous cases of trials, even imprisonment without trial and sentences after summary trials of political leaders in various countries, no expression of feelings about their repercussions was ever made on behalf of the U.N.

The Government of Pakistan cannot accept the proposition that any judicial decision on the individual case of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will have any repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan.

No such repercussions are inevitable unless Pakistan's hostile neighbour, India, is encouraged to make them so.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 16, 1971)

MUJIB'S TRIAL TO BE OVER IN ANOTHER TWO WEEKS

Pakistan Ambassador Agha Shahi's Statement in New York

August 31, 1971

Pakistan Ambassador Agha Shahi yesterday (August 31) informed Secretary-General U-Thant about new steps contemplated by the Pakistan Government to build confidence in the country.

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He told correspondents in New York afterwards "as you know, the President of Pakistan has taken many steps to build confidence and further steps are contemplated in this direction".

He said they would take place "within the next two or three weeks".

Questioned about the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League in East Pakistan, Mr. Shahi said his trial started August 11 and should be over in another two weeks.

He said Sheikh Mujib had been charged with waging war against the State and incitement to rebellion and violence.

The Ambassador declined to say where the trial was taking place, but said Sheikh Mujib was being represented by a lawyer of his own choice, Mr. A. K. Brohi, who, he said, was one of the best constitutional lawyers in Pakistan.

(DAILY NEWS, Karachi—September 1, 1971)

MUJIB IS "ENEMY OF PAKISTANI PEOPLE"

President Yahya Khan's interview published in Le Figaro, Paris
September 1, 1971

Q.—But he (Mujibur Rahman) is all the same your main enemy.....?

Ans.—He is not my personal enemy. He is that of the Pakistani people. Don't worry, everyone in Pakistan knows where he is. But it is useless to ask them, they will not tell you.

Q.—But international opinion?

Ans.—I have had enough of justifying myself. I said that he was alive, one has only to take my word for it.

PRESS NOTE ISSUED BY CHIEF MARTIAL LAW ADMINSTRATOR

Giving details of trial and warning against contempt of Court
September 28, 1971

It will be recalled that a Special Military Court was convened by the Chief Martial Law Administrator to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in camera for waging war against Pakistan and for other charges.

The trial commenced on August 11, 1971. The court, however, adjourned the same day in order to ensure fair trial and justice so that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could have a defence counsel of his own choice.

On September 7, 1971 the services of Mr. A. K. Brohi and his three assistants, namely, Mr. Ghulam Ali Memon, Mr. Akber Mirza and Mr. Ghulam Hussain were procured, and the examination of the prosecution witnesses started.

The prosecution have so far examined 20 witnesses in support of the charges preferred against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The trial is in progress with Mr. A. K. Brohi as the defence counsel.

The public will be informed of the further progress of the case in due course of time.

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Meanwhile people should in their own interest refrain from saying or doing anything which may constitute a contempt of court or a breach of secrecy of the trial proceedings, or which may tend to prejudice the case of either the defence or the prosecution.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—September 29, 1971)

I CAN'T SPEAK WITH A REBEL

President Yahya Khan's interview to Paris newspaper "Le Monde"

President Yahya Khan said in an interview with the respected Paris newspaper Le Monde that the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is following its course. "I agreed that he should be defended by the best lawyer in Pakistan and in camera trial is not such an unusual thing when the integrity of a country is threatened."

"But when this trial is finished and when circumstances allow I shall publish all the details but not in the immediate future."

Asked if there was any truth in rumours of talks between himself and Sheikh Mujib aimed at safeguarding the unity of Pakistan, the President replied: "Once again, I cannot speak with a rebel unless the court martial charged with judging him finds him not guilty. But above all it is up to him to convince that he has not acted against national interests".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 20, 1971)

I HAD NO ALTERNATIVE

President Yahya Khan in an interview to Newsweek Magazine
November 8, 1971

Many people might not believe me, but I think if he (Mujib, the Bengali leader currently on trial for treason) went back (to East Pakistan) he would be killed by his own people who hold him responsible for all the suffering. In any case, it is an academic question. He had been discussing internal autonomy with me for two years and went back on his word. He organized and led an armed rebellion against the State.... There was no alternative but to suppress the rebellion. Any other government would have done the same thing. How can I now call that man back and negotiate with him? He is charged with waging war against the state and subverting the loyalty of the army. He is being defended by A. K. Brohi, who is the best and most respected lawyer in the country; Brohi would not have taken the case if he thought there was going to be any hanky-panky in the military court. I did not shoot Mujib first and try him later as some governments are prone to do. What we do after sentence has been passed is the prerogative of the head of state. I cannot release him on a whim. It's one hell of responsibility. But if the nation demands his release, I will do it.

II. DEVELOPMENTS PERTAINING TO THE TRIAL

VERDICT WILL BE FINAL

According to a reliable source, the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been virtually over. The recent number of trips of the defence lawyer Mr. A. K. Brohi to Islamabad is said to be in connection with the interpretations of the general amnesty declared by the President.

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The fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a matter of serious controversy in the local legal circles. It is said that the general amnesty declared by the President does not disqualify any person from benefiting by it and the clarification issued by a Government spokesman that it will not be applied to persons including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman against whom proceedings have commenced, cannot have any legal sanctity. It is said that in this respect the verdict of the Tribunal trying Sheikh Mujib will be final and legal.

(THE EVENING STAR, Karachi—September 15, 1971)

REPORT READY ON MUJIB

The special military tribunal set up to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on treason charges had completed its investigations and would shortly submit its report to President Yahya Khan, the Urdu language newspaper "Imroze" reported today (September 17).

Sheikh Mujib, leader of the outlawed Awami Legue, has been under detention since 25 March when the army cracked down on East Bengal.

"Imroze" which is managed by the Government-sponsored National Press Trust quoting well-informed sources said Sheikh Mujib was being given special treatment and that a Government doctor examined him daily.

"Imroze" said Sheikh Mujib had two attendants. He received all the national newspapers daily, but no one was allowed to visit him.

The newspaper also published Sheikh Mujib's daily diet which included fish, rice, eggs, vegetables, fruit, bread, butter and meat.

(*Reuter* despatch datelined Lahore—September 17, 1971)

MUJIB'S TRIAL IS STILL ON

The trial of the Bangla Desh leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, "is going on" an Information Ministry spokesman said here today (Karachi, September 21).

In the first official comment on the trial of Mr. Rahman the spokesman said that the hearing was being held according to British court procedure. This allows for adjournments for "further information" and other procedural delays.

The spokesman added that he could not say at what stage the trial was.

The trial venue is not known but it is thought to be in Lyallpur in West Punjab where special security measures have been in force since the beginning of last month.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is still considered as an elected member of the National Assembly and his seat was not included on the list of those to be filled in the by-elections, which will take place in November and December in East Bengal.

(*AFP* despatch datelined Karachi—September 21, 1971)

NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY ASKS FOR MUJIB'S RELEASE

The Council of the National Awami Party yesterday (September 26) urged the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

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The party Council's resolution yesterday (September 26) also called for the release of its own General Secretary, Mr. Mahmudul Haq Usmani. The party leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, is expected back in Pakistan soon after receiving medical treatment in Britain.

Meanwhile, news agency reports published here yesterday (Karachi, September 26) said that Sheikh Mujib's mother, 75, was taken to hospital on Wednesday (September 22) suffering from bronchitis and asthma. His father, 90, was admitted to the same hospital on Friday (September 24) with a gastric ulcer, the reports added.

(*Reuter* despatch datelined Karachi—September 27, 1971)

PRESIDENT YAHYA QUOTED BY SHEIKH'S DEFENCE

The public denunciation by President Yahya Khan of Pakistan of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the East Bengal leader, as a "traitor" whose "crime will not go unpunished", is being used by the defence in the secret trial of Awami League leaders, government sources said today (Rawalpindi, October 11).

According to the sources, the President's words have "vitiated" the prosecution's case in the trial which began on August 11. The defence, led by Mr. Allahbux Khan Brohi, claims the President's remarks have prejudiced proceedings.

Remarks cited by the defence included excepts from President Yahya Khan's broadcast on March 26 after the Sheikh had been arrested in Dacca.

The President then said: "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's action of starting his non-co-operation movement is an act of treason....

Sources said the trial was continuing in the Punjabi textile town of Lyallpur.

(**THE TIMES**, London—October 12, 1971)

PAKISTANI LEADERS' CALL FOR SHEIKH'S RELEASE

Forty-two Pakistani political leaders, trade unionists, lawyers, journalists, writers, student leaders, social workers and university professors yesterday (November 4) appealed to President Yahya Khan for the immediate release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The signatories, who include the leader of the Istiqlal Party, former Air Marshal Asghar Khan, and Lenin Peace Prize winning poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, said the constitution of a democratic Government was the best way to end the crisis threatening Pakistan's political and economic stability.

Sheikh Mujib's release would be "in keeping with the elementary canons of justice", they said in a joint statement issued here (Lahore).

If his release were not possible, Sheikh Mujib, who is being tried by a military tribunal for high treason, should be brought to a proper judicial trial in open court, the statement said.

The appeal coincided with the President's arrival here yesterday (Lahore, November 4) from Rawalpindi on a three-day visit.

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The signatories said they were appealing to the President in the light of his recent interview with the "Newsweek" magazine which quoted him as saying he would be prepared to release Sheikh Mujib if the nation demanded it.

The statement said the best way to end the grave political crisis threatening Pakistan's political and economic stability would be to establish a democratic Government.

Such a Government could be constituted by the representatives of the people who were elected in the country's first general election last December. The majority of the signatories are left-wingers and the appeal is the first of its kind to be made to the President in Lahore, considered to be the biggest anti-Mujib centre in Pakistan.

(*Reuter* despatch datelined Lahore—November 5, 1971)

MUJIB'S TRIAL OVER

The treason trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has ended, but no verdict has yet been handed down, a Government spokesman said to-day (December 18).

The Awami League leader, who was arrested in the Pakistan Army crackdown in Bangla Desh on March 25, is still in prison in Lyallpur, south-west of here (Islamabad).

The spokesman said: "The trial has ended. All the witnesses have been examined. But I cannot say how soon the verdict will be".

"The verdict may be soon or it may be at the end of the month," he said when pressed for a date.

Mujib's trial by a military tribunal was not open to the public.

(*UPI*, despatch datelined Islamabad—December 18, 1971)

III. INDIAN OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON THE TRIAL

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENT

By

FOREIGN MINISTER SARDAR SWARAN SINGH IN THE LOK SABHA

July 20, 1971

I would like to say about the report that has come out about Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The report says that there is a proposal to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Even if he should be tried as it is—as mentioned in some reports—by a military court in which they say he may have a lawyer, but not a foreigner as a lawyer—all this shows, if any proof was required, that there (in Pakistan) is no judicial system of the type with which we are familiar. Any trial of that nature will be a farce. It is not a legalistic matter, or a matter in which we should devote so much time to these procedural matters, whether it is *in camera* or not. It is obviously a political matter in which we have taken a consistent stand that the military regime having embarked on these atrocious activities against the unarmed people of Bangla Desh, they have to reverse that trend, stop military action, and have discussions with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League. That is what we have been implying when we talked of giving up military means and trying to find a political settlement, which means a settlement acceptable to the people of Bangla Desh, acceptable to the Awami League, and to Sheikh Mujibur

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Rahman, who is the undisputed leader of the Awami League and the people of Bangla Desh. Any attempt, therefore, to take any action against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will be follow-up action on the statement that President Yahya Khan made on 28th June, which has paved the way completely for the emergence of an independent Bangla Desh. Any further action of this type will be a mad action, which will result only in making the freedom-fighters more determined in the pursuit and realisation of their objective, namely, freedom for Bangla Desh and for the people of Bangla Desh. So, we would like to warn that any action taken against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is the elected leader of the people of Bangla Desh, and any continuation of these atrocities, and any steps taken to pursue this mad policy and continued military action against unarmed people—this is something which will make the freedom-fighters even more determined, and if I may say so, it is the determination and the effectiveness of these freedom-fighters which appear to have rattled President Yahya Khan, and he is now trying to find excuses by saying that if any area is liberated, then he would declare war. It is obvious that now that he feels the pressure of the activities of the freedom-fighters, he has tried to divert the attention of the international community in another direction.

MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS

August 8, 1971

Government and people of India, as well as our Press and Parliament, are greatly perturbed by the reported statement of President Yahya Khan that he is going to start secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman without affording him any foreign legal assistance. We apprehend that this so-called trial will be used only as a cover to execute Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This will aggravate the situation in East Bengal and will create a serious situation in India because of the strong feelings of our people and all political parties. Hence our grave anxiety. We appeal to you to exercise your influence with President Yahya Khan to take a realistic view in the larger interest of the peace and stability of this region.

STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER SARDAR SWARAN SINGH IN THE LOK SABHA

August 9, 1971

Government view with grave concern press reports of President Yahya Khan's statement that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would be "court martialled", and that he could not say whether or not the Sheikh would be alive when the so-called Pakistan National Assembly meets. President Yahya Khan himself had, in one of his earlier statements, referred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as "the future Prime Minister of Pakistan". As the leader of the Awami League Party which won 167 of the 169 seats to the National Assembly from Bangla Desh and thus had a clear majority of votes in the National Assembly of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held a unique position as the acknowledged leader not only of East Pakistan, but of the whole of Pakistan. What happened after the 25th of March this year is known to the whole world. The denial of the verdict of the people and letting loose of military oppression and trampling of the fundamental human rights of the people of Bangla Desh stand self-condemned. Instead of respecting the verdict of the people and acknowledging Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the elected and undisputed leader of Bangla Desh, the Pakistan Government has launched a reign of terror and carried out a calculated plan of genocide, the like of which has not been seen in recent times. To stage a farcical trial against

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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a gross violation of human rights and deserves to be condemned by the whole world.

We have repeatedly expressed concern for the safety and welfare of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family who are under house arrest or in prison. We have conveyed our concern to foreign governments and asked them to exercise their influence on the Government of Pakistan in this regard. Should any harm be caused to the person of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or his family and colleagues, the present situation in Bangla Desh will be immeasurably aggravated and the present Pakistani rulers will be solely responsible for the consequences. We share the concern expressed by about 500 Members of Parliament in this regard. We appeal to the conscience of humanity to raise their voice against the action that the President of Pakistan proposes to take. We express our condemnation of the proposed action and warn the Government of Pakistan of its serious consequences.

IV. WORLD REACTIONS ON THE TRIAL

A. GOVERNMENTS, ORGANISATIONS AND DIGNITARIES

Statement by the Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the German Democratic Republic

August 14, 1971

A military court in West Pakistan has opened proceedings against the leader of the Awami League in East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose party had gained the absolute majoirty in last December's elections to the national Assembly of Pakistan, the charge being "treason and open rebellion". This news has caused great alarm and anxiety in the German Democratic Republic. A spokesman for the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated in this connection that various competent figures have voiced fear for the life of the leader of East Pakistan's biggest party. The public of the GDR therefore appeals to the Government of Pakistan to show justice and humanity and to respect Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the elected representative of the overwhelming majority of his people. Continuing the court martial proceedings and sentencing the leader of the Awami League undoubtedly would not only further aggravate internal contradictions in Pakistan but would be bound to have a dangerous impact on the evolution of the political situation on the Indian sub-continent. Such an evolution could endanger peace and international security.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the people of the German Democratic Republic, who advocate unanimously a reduction of international tension and the prevention of military conflicts, therefore appeal to the military authorities in Pakistan to stop the court martial proceedings against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, one of Pakistan's most influential personalities, and thus to pave the way for a peaceful political settlement of the conflict in Pakistan. Such an act of humanity and justice would benefit peace and security not only on the Indian sub-continent, but also in the world at large.

Telegram from the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, to President Yahya Khan

August 17, 1971

President Yahya Khan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi.

World opinion is most apprehensive that military tribunal will sentence Sheikh Mujibur to death. Should this happen, International Commission of Jurists

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respectfully urges your Excellency to show clemency, strength and wisdom by commuting sentence to prevent further escalations of violence, terror and suffering.

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

STOP SECRET TRIAL: RELEASE SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

Appeal by the Secretariat, World Peace Council, Helsinki, to the Government of Pakistan
August 20, 1971

In complete defiance of all norms of human behaviour, and in utter disregard of world-wide public opinion, the Government of Yahya Khan in Pakistan is putting to trial Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the chosen leader of the people of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh). The trial is being held secretly, and no one knows what is being perpetrated by the militarist rulers of Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman allegedly is being tried for "waging war against Pakistan". This, in fact, is a terminology taken over from British imperialist rulers of India in the old colonial days when hundreds of Indian patriots and freedom-fighters were tried, but not in secret, for "waging war against the King-Emperor," and hanged.

In this, as in all their other actions of massacre and pillage, the Yahya Khan dictatorship has revealed itself to the world as imitators of imperialists and autocrats who have nothing but contempt for the people. The only fault of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who also fought against British alien rulers of India while Yahya Khan and his henchmen were loyally serving the British masters, is that the people of Bangla Desh gave his party 167 seats out of 169 in the first—ever general election held in Pakistan.

By all norms of democratic practice, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should today be the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Yahya Khan bureaucratic-military-feudal clique is, however, not prepared to part with power and bow to the clearly expressed people's verdict. And so, perpetrating an outrage on every concept of national behaviour or international law, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is being tried secretly to satisfy the power-lust of a narrow clique which is hurling defiance at the people of Bangla Desh who have already been massacred in hundreds of thousands.

Public opinion, in the East as well as the West, in the North as well as the South, has been shocked by the massacre in East Pakistan and is keen that the tragedy should be soon ended before it assumes more serious forms and goes beyond the point of no return. For, in such an unfortunate eventuality, the entire region will be involved in a conflagration of vast magnitude and will pose a serious threat to world peace. Very rightly the world opinion has demanded an end to the massacres. Widely divergent sections of world opinion have unanimously expressed that the only way out is a political solution in Bangla Desh.

Such a political solution can be possible only by releasing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and negotiating with him and his colleagues who represent the popular will. To try him secretly, on a charge which may mean a death penalty for him, would be a disaster of the greatest magnitude, fraught with very grave consequences.

The World Peace Council, expressing the desire of all peace-loving forces in the world who wish nothing but well to the people of Pakistan, calls upon the Yahya Khan Government to see sense even at this belated hour and immediately release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, rather than try him. The World Peace Council

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calls upon all its National Committees to demand the Sheikh's release and send cables to that effect to Yahya Khan.

The sands of time are running fast, and the World Peace Council appeals to all peace forces to act in time to prevent a great catastrophe.

Telegram from the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, to President Yahya Khan
August 25, 1971

President Yahya Khan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

International Commission of Jurists warmly welcome announcement distinguished jurist A. K. Brohi to act as Counsel for Sheikh Mujib. Respectfully suggest reconsideration of decision to hold trial *in Camera*.

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

Resolution passed by East Bengal Refugees Assistance Committee, Kathmandu
September 7, 1971

Nepal's East Bengal Refugees Assistance Committee has called for immediate release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and handing over of the administration in East Bengal to the elected representatives to enable the refugees to return home.

A resolution passed by the committee at a well-attended public meeting to launch its fund raising campaign here last night (Kathmandu, September 7) said "this is the only way to preserve peace in Asia".

The resolution condemned the "barbaric suppression, genocide and annihilation of democracy" in East Bengal by the military junta of Pakistan.

Prominent leaders of Nepal who attended the meeting, pledged their support to the people of Bangla Desh and explained how imperative it was for the people of Nepal to help them.

The meeting congratulated the people of East Bengal for their "heroic struggle" against the military rulers of Pakistan.

Mr. Rishikesh Shaha, Chairman of the committee and former Foreign Minister, presided over the meeting. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Soorya Bahadur Thapa, the former Home Minister, Mr. S. P. Upadhyaya and the General Secretary of Nepal's banned Communist Party, Dr. Keshar Jang Ramajhi, addressed the meeting.

(THE INDIAN EXPRESS, New Delhi—September 9, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Arthur Bottomley, former U. K. Secretary of State, at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Kuala Lampur
September 13, 1971

Mr. Bottomley, Britain's former Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, urged Governments to put pressure on Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when a conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association opened here today (Kuala Lampur, September 13).

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He said Sheikh Mujib was the only person who could speak for the people of East Pakistan. He also gave a warning that there would soon be a famine there in which hundreds of thousands would die.

(THE GUARDIAN, London—September 14, 1971)

U.S. Senator Charles H. Percy on the trial

Of major importance is the secret trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the now outlawed league and symbol of resistance to West Pakistani hegemony over East Pakistan. I told the Pakistani leaders that their nation would suffer condemnation of world opinion if Mujib is sentenced to death or a long-term in prison, as has been threatened. Moreover, I said the world knows that Mujib and his party had won a clear victory in the national elections last year and that he was looked upon as the next duly elected Prime Minister.

(CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston—September 15, 1971)

Resolution adopted by The International Conference on Bangla Desh held in New Delhi September 18, 1971

The International Conference on Bangla Desh at its meeting today (September 18, 1971) in New Delhi :—

Condemns the trial in secret by a Pakistan Military Tribunal of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the beloved and undisputed leader of Bangla Desh and the embodiment of the aspirations of its people, on charges of "treason" for leading his party, the Awami League, to overwhelming victory in the first ever General Elections held in Pakistan in December 1970;

Appeals to the world public opinion and governments to bring pressure on the military Government of Pakistan to desist from this grave violation of all canons and laws governing civil liberties and human freedoms recognised in all civilised communities; and

Urges the immediate and unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other democratically elected representatives of Bangla Desh.

Statement by Mr. Clovis Maksoud, former representative of Arab League in India and Senior Editor of Al Ahram, Cairo September 20, 1971

Mr. Clovis Maksoud former representative of Arab League in India and senior editor of the "Al Ahram", today (September 20) called for a concerted move by the international community, and the non-aligned world in particular, to bring pressure for the immediate release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and restoration of conditions immediately following general elections in Pakistan last December.

Only such a course, he felt, could ensure an equitable political solution to the East Bengal problem.

Talking to newsmen, Mr. Maksoud, who is now here (New Delhi) to attend the two-day international conference on Bangla Desh, said there was now increasing realisation among the Arab people and States of the tragic dimensions of the East Bengal problem and the burden and threat it was causing to India's security and economy.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—September 21, 1971)

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Statement by Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky
October 27, 1971

The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, has deplored the detention of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by the West Pakistan military junta and said that "no democratic party in Europe will tolerate it".

Dr. Kreisky was speaking to Indian journalists accompaning Mrs. Gandhi on her current tour of Europe and America and made it clear that he was making these comments in his capacity as Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party and not as Chancellor.

He said it would constitute an act towards lessening tension if the Sheikh was released and allowed to return to political activity.

"My capacity to see all aspects of the problem is however limited", he said. "The situation is complicated. But there is no doubt that it is serious and there is danger of breach of peace. As in the case of Israel, war will not solve the problem. It may mean military victory for one side but the political problem will remain."

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—October 29, 1971)

Statement by U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in the British House of Commons
November 4, 1971

Mr. Peter Shore (Stepney): I am a little worried about the way that the Right Hon. Gentleman has presented the problem in the last few months. I think that other Right Hon. Gentleman will agree that there has been a great deal of quite deliberate window dressing by the Government of West Pakistan, for obvious reasons: that they wish to resume aid and that they are also in the middle of a most profound crisis affecting the future of Pakistan. I regard that the Right Hon. Gentleman, describing what is required for a political solution, if such a solution is possible, has not emphasised very strongly the need to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which is essential, and also that whatever solution is finally put forward should be acceptable to the people of East Bengal, which was the point he made before and which I urge him to make again.

Sir A. Douglas-Home: It must be acceptable to the people of East Bengal and to the people of Pakistan. The Right Hon. Gentleman is trying to lay down what the political settlement should be. That is not possible. It must be settled by dialogue between those in power in West Pakistan and those who command the confidence of the people in East Pakistan. I said that deliberately. I think that it covers the point raised by the Right Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. Reginald Freeson (Willesden, East): Will the Government Press for and support the release of the Sheikh?

Sir A. Douglas-Home: That is something which must be decided by President Yahya Khan himself. It is no use other countries publicly saying what should or should not be done in Pakistan. We hope that there will be a dialogue, but the form of the dialogue must be decided by the Government of Pakistan.

B. PRESS

Mujib's trial in camera

To put on trial *in camera* someone whom the majority had indirectly designated for the post of Prime Minister of the Pakistani Federation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman,

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is to make the possibility of a pacific settlement of the situation even more remote than it already is.

(TRIBUNE DE GENEVA—August 10, 1971)

Under Secret Summary Proceeding

The Secretary General of the United Nations, U-Thant, has warned that the secret trial for treason against Mujibur Rahman, absolute leader of East Pakistan, can lead towards more serious consequences than the hurricane which devasted East Bengal last November and the subsequent cholera epidemic.

International observers agree with U-Thant. The 98 per cent gained by the Awami League in the last elections is an element they have taken into consideration to make their comments....

....In the meantime, Yahya Khan's administration refuses to reveal even the place where Rahman is being sued. Their information only says that the trial is taking place "in some place in Pakistan". In the present circumstances, when there is concern about the political position that the Bengalis may adopt—traditionally they are pro-West but neighbours of Red China—, Rahman who is more inclined to action than meditation, knows the difference existing between the voter's opinion and the opinion of Yahya Khan's armies.

(LA NACION, Buenos Aires—August 15, 1971)

Nature of Mujib's 'Treason'

The secret trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman opened on August 11. The charge brought against him was treason, so it is interesting to trace the nature of this "treason" and its history since the beginning of Pakistan....

....In 1966 when Mujibur announced his six-point plan for autonomy—which was the main factor contributing to his overwhelming success in the last election—he was branded as a traitor and implicated in what has come to be known as the Agartala conspiracy case.

Government sponsored witnesses refused to testify, and the trumped-up charges were dropped.

The demand for autonomy was nothing new. Even the Lahore Resolution which is the very basis of Pakistan, and which was drafted by Jinnah himself, stated that India should be divided into such zones that in the East and North-West, where Muslims are in the majority, more than one independent state should be created within which the units might become self-governing and autonomous. But the eastern unit unfortunately has never become a state. Since the creation of Pakistan, the West Pakistan rulers have dominated the eastern region politically, economically and socially....

But the people of East Bengal at the 1970 General Election—the first to take place since independence—returned Mujib and his party to an absolute majority in the Pakistan Parliament....

The genocide began and Mujib was again branded a traitor....

The interesting thing to note is that in his six-point plan Mujib did not demand the complete autonomy described in the Lahore Resolution. He was prepared to allow the Central Government to handle defence and foreign affairs....

(THE SUNDAY TIMES, Zambia—August 22, 1971)

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Of course He shall be Sentenced to Death

A West-Pakistani military tribunal is deciding secretly the fate of the political leader of East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Judge Shafi knows it already: "Of course he shall be sentenced to death".

"What is a horn to a buffallo, a claw to a tiger, a sting to a bee, so is falseness to a Bengali", judged the first British Governor-General in Bengal, Warren Hastings, in the 18th Century.

Bengal's new rulers—the military from the West Pakistani province of Punjab —have taken up the racial prejudice of their British predecessors. 200 years after Warren Hastings they are instituting a legal process against Bengali "falseness".

A start has been made with the secret process in the jail of Lyallpur, 2,000 km. away from Bengal's Ganges delta. Accused is the protagonist for extensive autonomy of Bengal, Mujibur Rahman. Last year, he won an absolute majority with his party, the Awami League, in the national assembly in a free election—that was his fault.

The West Pakistanis, who are used to ruling and governing, do not like the predominance of Bengalis in Pakistan. They invaded the country with a bloody civil war. The charge is: "provocation of war against the state of Pakistan".

Pakistan's Head of State, Yahya Khan, anticipated the judgement. When a representative of the World Bank, Mr. Cargill, requested for a reprieve, the General declaimed: "This person is guilty of high treason, he should come to the gallows". In order to show the correctness of the process, Yahya Khan let the accused choose his advocate. And as A. K. Brohi, chosen by Mujib, wanted to refuse due to fear, the newspaper "*Morning News*" criticised: "In the attempt to give the Sheikh the best possible legal assistance in Pakistan and in the interest of justice and fairplay the Government has compelled Brohi to take up the defence".

In spite of that, Judge Shafi of the Supreme Court of Pakistan knows the military verdict over Mujib: "Of course he shall be sentenced to death and later on reprieved to a life-term imprisonment.

The highest punishment shall satisfy the valid legal judgement of Pakistan and the rage of West Pakistan. With the reprieve we create goodwill and trust in the world".

Pakistan needs goodwill desperately, for the process against Mujib shall not be the only one which shall burden the reputation of the state.

Only 88 out of 167 elected Awami League Members of the Pakistan National Assembly expressed their willingness for collaboration with the West.

From 288 Mujib-followers in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, only 94 have adapted to the new situation.

The rest who remained faithful to the Sheikh and his Party and for the sake of autonomy, were asked in an official notice to report by 8 O' clock on 26th August to the military administrators of their home district. There a drum head court martial is awaiting them—without a chosen advocate.

What would happen with these MPAs if they really reported to the judges, hinted West Pakistan Major Iftikar to SPIEGEL: "One must spread such a terror that even the third generation in succession should think of it".

(DER SPIEGEL, Bonn—August 30, 1971)

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Release Mujib

The Pakistani President, Yahya Khan, has made a gesture towards reconciliation. After Thursday, East Pakistan will have a civilian Governor again. What is more, he is a Bengali. General Tikka Khan from West Pakistan, whom the Bengalis call the "Butcher" because his troops have behaved barbarically in putting down the rebellion, is being replaced as military governor. It is doubtful whether the people will be impressed by this change, or whether, after all that has happened since the 26th March, they are prepared to co-operate at all. All foreign visitors to East Pakistan agree that Bengali hatred of the "West Pakistani army of occupation" and of all who collaborate with it (especially the non-Bengali Moslems from Bihar) is deep-rooted. The new Governor, Malik, a 66-year old former diplomat, must therefore expect to be regarded as a quisling by his compatriots. If the man whom the Bengalis still regard as their leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is not released soon, then all General Yahya Khan's well-meaning attempts at reconciliation have no point.

(ALLEGEMEINE ZEITUNG—September 2, 1971)

Forgive and Forget

The President's amnesty order is rather vague. While its sweep is general—it grants amnesty to "all those who have committed or alleged to have committed offences during the disturbances in East Pakistan beginning March 1 last and ending September 5"—it yet makes a specific mention of those who are being presently proceeded against. Whether this para has been inserted purely for the sake of putting a fact on record or with a view to making an exception of them from the application of the amnesty order, is not clear. There is confusion, for instance, whether the case against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman still holds good or not. One does not know what the strict legal interpretation will be, but to a layman it appears that if any of these accused were to take a stand in the court of law where he is being tried that after the President's order no charge could be sustained against him, he might well succeed in his plea. We hope some clarification will soon be given. Meanwhile, we welcome the intention behind it, which is to bring about a national reconciliation. The future of the nation can be only built on a spirit of forgive and forget.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—September 6, 1971)

A Pakistani 'Legal' View

Can Sheikh Mujibur Rahman get the benefit of the almost general amnesty announced by President Yahya Khan to persons involved in East Wing disturbances? This question has been agitating the minds of legal experts and local political circles here (Karachi).

A careful study of the text of the communique on the reported amnesty, shows that the amnesty is general and no exclusion has been made. A conventional legal interpretation of the announcement is likely to cover Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or so the Mujib lobby in West Pakistan has been saying.

The other view is that the amnesty does in no way apply to Sheikh Mujib and such MNAs and MPAs against whom criminal proceedings are going on. This is equally supported in a reported clarification by a spokesman of the Press Information Department. It is, however, pointed out that a verbal clarification by the Information Department is not enough. A proper announcement is called for on this crucial point. Moreover, doubts as to the value of the clarification have

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been strengthened with the release of Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan who was also wanted for a trial. It is pointed out by some of the legal experts that the phrase in the general amnesty communique "those who have committed offences or alleged to have committed offence during the disturbances...." can also cover those who have been formally charged with offences and are under trial in the courts. Their defence would be that accused persons who have been charged with offences which they are alleged to have committed are also covered by the amnesty.

Political and legal circles in Karachi are, however, of the strong opinion that an official clarification about the position of Sheikh Mujib and his other accomplices, is called for, to put an end to the above speculations.

(**THE DAILY NEWS**, Karachi—September 8, 1971)

Amnesty not for elected leader

It would be a bold prophet who would attempt to forecast the future of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Buffeted by natural and man-made disasters, the divided country has drawn more widely apart and millions have had to flee to safety in India.

President Yahya Khan's task of restoring democracy so that he can demit his dictatorial role, has been made much more difficult by the disintegration which events of the past few months have produced.

It is scarcely nine months since Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won overwhelming support of the voters of East Pakistan for his policies, but now he faces trial for treason with a possible sentence of death if he is found guilty.

It was Sheikh Mujib's contention that East Pakistan with the majority of population of the republic was being exploited for the benefit of a handful of industrialists of West Pakistan, perpetuating the colonial status of East Pakistan.

On the basis of his overwhelming electoral support, he laid down a programme for autonomy which was interpreted by President Yahya Khan, as by Mr. Bhutto, victor in West Pakistan (though winning fewer seats than Sheikh Mujib), as an attempt to dismember the federation.

It was only afterwards that the situation got out of hand, martial law was declared, Bangla Desh was proclaimed independent and Sheikh Mujib interned. The declaration of an amnesty by President Yahya Khan may be a sign of his confidence that things are returning to normal, but it is not healthy, nor can it lead to the restoration of peace that Sheikh Mujib is pointedly excluded from his clemency.

(*Editorial*, **TRINIDAD GUARDIAN**, Port of Spain—September 8, 1971)

Release Mujib at Right Moment

In our opinion, the liberation of Mujib, if this can be achieved at the right moment, will constitute a decisive step towards finding a peaceful solution on to the problem. And it is here that Yahya Khan and his entourage should have started when trying to solve a crisis which has already lasted far too long.

(**TRIBUNE AFRICAINE**, Kinshasha—September 13, 1971)

Yahya blind to Consequences

Pressure must be applied to Pakistan to force it to create conditions that will induce the refugees to go back. Only then will a political settlement become

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possible and only then will the flow of international aid, that both West Pakistan and East Bengal so badly need, be resumed. President Yahya Khan of Pakistan remains adamant in his belief in the political fiction of a United Pakistan, and he appears to be blind to the consequences of his actions: should the court which is said to be trying the leader of the East Pakistani Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, sentence him to be executed, the chances of a peaceful settlement would be lost.

(*Editorial*, **THE CANBERRA TIMES**—September 17, 1971)

Release Mujib At once

Islamabad should admit the realities about East Bengal and take the initiative in finding a solution honourable to the people of that country, so that it may save its prestige, and that peace in this part of Asia may not be imperilled. That Nepali public opinion will support such a solution is clear from the resolution passed by a public meeting held in Kathmandu on September 8, 1971, and the statements made by veteran Nepali leaders. His Majesty's Government also is veering towards Nepali public opinion on the Bangla Desh issue.

The only way to solve the problem of Bangla Desh is to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman atonce, and start a dialogue on ways and means for converting the one-sided relationship that has been continuing between Pakistan and Bangla Desh for the past 23 years into one based on equality, mutual respect and close friendship. If the 23-year struggle of Bangla Desh has opened the door for independence of that country, it has also laid a practical foundation for close friendship and intimate economic co-operation between Bangla Desh and Pakistan. We hope that Islamabad will show wisdom of exploring these possibilities of mutual friendship.

(*Editorial*, **SAMIKSHA**, Nepali Weekly—September 19, 1971)

Mujib's Lobby Active

An official announcement regarding the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the outlawed Awami League, is expected in a week's time, it is reliably learnt here (Rawalpindi).

It may also be stated here that Mujib lobby in West Pakistan has been unusually active these days. A set of newspapers known for their links with Sheikh Mujib also seems to be making grounds for his release. These former associates of the secessionist leader have been trying to create the impression that Sheikh Mujib's release is not only iminent but inevitable. It may also be recalled here, however, that there exist fears and apprehensions among the leaders of patriotic parties of East Pakistan about release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. They fear that Sheikh Mujib's release would negate their efforts at restoring peace and order in the province and would again jeopardise the nation's integrity and solidarity because of the racialist ideas of the ex-Awami League leader on which his party thrived. It may be recalled that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is facing trial for treason, secession and waging war against Pakistan.

(**THE DAILY NEWS**, Karachi—September 27, 1971)

Prevent the Ultimate Tragedy

...In this complicated and very dangerous situation, there is one man who conceivably could bring about a settlement which would be less than disastrous

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for the major parties concerned. He is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, head of the now-outlawed Awami League of East Pakistan, whose party won a clear majority in the country's national elections last December.

Since the army crackdown on March 25, Sheikh Mujibur has been under arrest in West Pakistan. Charged with treason, he has been tried in secret by a military court. The verdict, which carries the threat of a death sentence, has not been announced.

Sheikh Mujibur is believed to be the only Bengali leader, with his prestige and personal following, who might be able to reverse the ruinous trend toward chaos in East Pakistan. Even he would have great difficulty in selling any political solution to his followers that aimed at anything less than full independence. But without him no solution is even conceivable.

It is doubtful, to be sure, that the Government of West Pakistan is rational enough at this point to acquit the Sheikh of the charges against him and enter into serious negotiations. The essential thing is that the possibility should not be foreclosed by the conviction and possible execution of the Bengali leader. The United States, which has continued to supply aid to Pakistan in the hope of exerting some restraining influence on the Government in Islamabad, should use whatever leverage it has to prevent that ultimate tragedy.

(CROSBY NEYES in **THE EVENING STAR,** Washington—September 30, 1971)

Azam in Defence of Mujib

Strange indeed are the utterances of the East Wing Jamaat-e-Islami chief. Of late, Prof. Ghulam Azam is trying to prove Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's innocence. What has actually motivated this sort of public campaigning for the defunct Awami League leader? Whether it is some foreign prompting or purely an election gimmick only time will tell. Why such nonsensical defence of Mujib has irked us is the fact that the Jamaat-e-Islami Maulanas are once again keeping their political interest above national integrity. By saying that Mujib lacked farsightedness and did not give the call for independence of East Pakistan or the creation of so-called "Bangla Desh", Prof. Ghulam Azam is trying to rewrite facts....

(*Editorial,* **THE DAILY NEWS,** Karachi—October 21, 1971)

Mujib Sought Fair Deal

.....Mrs. Gandhi reportedly asked United States officials to exert pressure for the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistan Bengali leader imprisoned by the Yahya Khan regime on treason charges. The Sheikh is a moderate and intelligent leader who sought no more than a fair deal for his exploited people. His release would signify Yahya Khan's intention to treat East Pakistan justly, though it would not of itself assuage the region's bitterness nor end the mounting guerrilla warfare.....

(*Editorial,* **ST. LOUIS POST DESPATCH**—November 9, 1971)

Mujib Symbolises Tragedy of Pakistani People

The destiny of Mujibur Rahman, winner of the elections, jailed by the military leaders, symbolises the tragedy of the people of Pakistan.

The most illustrious victim of the beastly repression against the eastern part of the country—the flight towards India of the terrorised population: an exodus

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of biblical proportions—the first step towards a political solution should be the setting-free of the "Awami League" leader .....

The feudal character of West Pakistan has kept under its domination East Pakistan. It is enough to say that the situation of the workers and the farmers in East Pakistan is one of the most miserable and backward in the world.

The elections of 1970 were won by the "Awami League" which obtained 170 seats out of 330.....

Yahya Khan instead found it convenient to accuse the "Awami League" of separatism and cancelled the results of the election, starting a really military action against the eastern part of the country and arrested all those elected of the "Awami League" who did not succeed in fleeing, including Mujibur Rahman.....

The truth is that Mujibur Rahman had won the elections on the basis of a programme that contained an autonomist spirit with full respect for the unity and integrity of the Pakistan State. The programme is known as the "six-point programme". But who really would be able to say that peace and democracy can be defended and strengthened in Pakistan without resolving on autonomistic and federal basis the great national questions (political–religious–economic) that have been left un-resolved?

The political solution spoken of in the joint Indo-Soviet communique in commending the 20-year Treaty of mutual friendship and assistance is more than ever actual, necessary and urgent. The first indispensible step, in order to be on time, is that all the peoples and all the states who love and want peace should ask and obtain the immediate liberation of the Awami League leader, the heroic anti-fascist Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

(L'UNITA, Rome—November 18, 1971)

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CHAPTER III

BY-ELECTIONS IN EAST BENGAL

I. FACTS ON THE BY-ELECTIONS

FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF BY-ELECTION DATES IN EAST BENGAL

East Pakistan is to go to polls between November 25 and December 9 to elect 78 members to the National Assembly and 105 to its Provincial Assembly, according to a schedule announced by the Election Commission of Pakistan here today (Islamabad, September 19).

Under the schedule, the last dates of nomination of candidates for the National and Provincial Assemblies, respectively, are September 29 and 30. The last date of withdrawal in either case is the same—October 8. Polling to all the National and Provincial Assembly seats is to be completed by December 9.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—September 20, 1971)

DATES OF EAST BENGAL BY-ELECTIONS REVISED

Press note issued by the Pakistan Election Commission
September 21, 1971

PRESS NOTE

The Chief Election Commissioner has reconsidered the election programme for the vacant seats in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly from East Pakistan announced on the 20th September, 1971. In order to secure the fullest participation of all political parties and candidates in these by-elections, and having regard to their convenience, he has decided to modify the programme announced on the 20th September, 1971, which has been cancelled.

A fresh programme has been announced in a revised notification issued today. According to the revised schedule for these by-elections, nomination papers for election to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan will be received by the Returning Officers concerned on 20th October and 21st October, 1971, respectively.

The last date for withdrawal of candidature, if any, will be 28th October, 1971, in the case of both the Assemblies.

Polls shall be taken for elections to the two Assemblies simultaneously commencing from 12th December, 1971, and will be conducted by 23rd December, 1971.

The polling dates in respect of each of the National Assembly and Provincial Assembly constituencies have been specified in the revised notification issued today.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi—September 22, 1971)

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REVISED SCHEDULE OF BY-ELECTIONS ANNOUNCED BY THE PAKISTAN ELECTION COMMISSION

September 21, 1971

By-elections to fill in the vacant National and Provincial Assembly seats in East Pakistan will now be held from December 12 and December 23 next, the Election Commission announced here tonight (Islamabad, September 21).

These were earlier scheduled to be held between November 25 and December 9.

The Election Commission cancelled the earlier schedule and announced a fresh one in order to secure the fullest co-operation of all political parties and candidates and having regard to their convenience.

According to the new schedule, nomination papers for the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly would be received by the Returning Officers concerned on October 20 and 21 respectively and scrutiny will be held on October 22 and 23 respectively.

The last date for withdrawal of candidature for both is October 28.

In the earlier schedule, the dates of nominations were September 29 and 30, and last date for withdrawal was October 8.

Political leaders including Mr. Nurul Amin, Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi and Khan A. Sabur had demanded extension in the by-election programme announced on September 19.

Following is the new schedule:—

NE–2 Rangpur–II, PE–13 Rangpur–XIII, PE–14 Rangpur–XIV, PE–15 Rangpur–XV December 12.

NE–9 Rangpur–IX, PE–7 Rangpur–VII, PE–8 Rangpur–VIII December 15.

NE–10 Rangpur–X, PE–11 Rangpur–XI December 1, NE–11 Rangpur–XI, PE–1 Rangpur–I, PE–3 Rangpur–III December 21.

NE–13 Dinajpur–I, PE–23 Dinajpur–I, PE–24 Dinajpur–II December 12.

NE–14 Dinajpur–II, PE–25 Dinajpur–III December 15.

NE–15 Dinajpur–II, PE–27 Dinajpur–V, PE–28 Dinajpur–VI December 18.

NE–16 Dinajpur–IV, PE–29 Dinajpur–VII December 21.

NE–17 Dinajpur–V, PE–30 Dinajpur–VIII, PE–31 Dinajpur–IX December 23

NE–10 Bogra–I, PE–33 Bogra–I December 13.

NE–20 Bogra–II, PE–34 Bogra–II December 16.

NE–24 Pabna–I, PE 59 Pabna–I, PE–60 Pabna–II December 13.

NE–26 Pabna–II December 16.

NE 28 Pabna–V December 19.

NE–70 Pabna–XII December 22.

NE–30 Rajshahi December 14.

NE–32 Rajshahi–III, PE–40 Rajshahi–VIII, PE–50 Rajshahi–IX December 17.

NE–33 Rajshahi–IV, PE–42 Rajshahi–I, PE–45 Rajshahi–IV December 12.

NE–35 Rajshahi–VI, PE–51 Rajshahi–X, PE–52 Rajshahi–XI December 19.

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NE–36 Rajshahi–VII, PE–53 Rajshahi–XII, PE–54 Rajshahi–XIII December 22.

NE–39 Kushtia–I, PE–73 Kushtia–III, PE–54 Rajshahi–XIII December 12.

NE–39 Kushtia–I, PE–Kushtia–III, PE–74 Kushtia–IV December 12.

NE–40 Kushtia–II, PE–71 Kushtia–I, PE–72 Kushtia–II December 15.

NE–41 Kushtia–III, PE–75 Kushtia–V December 18.

NE–42 Kushtia–IV, PE–76 Kushtia–VI, PE–77 Kushtia–VII December 21.

NE–43 Jessore–I, PE–78 Jessore–I, PE–79 Jessore–II December 12.

NE–44 Jessore–II, PE–80 Jessore–III December 15.

PE–82 Jessore–V December 16.

NE–46 Jessore–IV, PE–83 Jessore XI, PE–84 Jessore–II December 19.

NE–47 Jessore–V, PE–85 Jessore–VIII, PE–86 Jessore–IX December 22.

NE–48 Jessore–VI, PE–87 Jessore–XX, PE–88 Jessore–XI December 20.

NE–49 Jessore–VIII, PE–89 Jessore–XII, PE–90 Jessore–XIII December 23.

NE–51 Khulna–II December 13.

NE–53 Khulna–IV December 16.

NE–54 Khulna–V December 19.

NE–58 Bakerganj–I, PE–124 Bakerganj–XIII December 12.

NE–60 Bakerganj–III, PE–119 Bakerganj–VIII, PE–120 Bakerganj–IX, PE–121 Bakerganj–X December 15.

NE–62 Bakerganj–V December 18.

NE–63 Bakerganj–VI December 19.

NE–66 Bakerganj–IX December 21.

NE–71 Tangail–I, PE–134 Tangail–V, PE–136 Tangail–VII December 14.

NE–73 Tangail–II, PE–133 Tangail–IV December 17.

NE–75 Tangail–V, PE–130 Tangail–I, PE–132 Tangail–III December 20.

NE–78 Mymensingh–II December 12.

NE–85 Mymensingh–X, PE–155 Mymensingh–XVII December 14.

NE–88 Mymensingh–XIII December 16.

NE–91 Mymensingh–XVI December 17.

NE–92 Mymensingh–XVII, PE–167 Mymensingh–XXIX December 23.

NE–93 Mymensingh–XVIII December 20.

NE–96 Faridpur–III, PE–205 Faridpur–V, PE–207 Faridpur–VII December 14.

NE–97 Faridpur–IV December 17.

NE–99 Faridpur–VI, PE–200 Faridpur–X, PE–212 Faridpur–XII December 19.

NE–107 Dacca–IV, PE–187 Dacca–VII December 14.

NE–108 Dacca–V, PE–191 Dacca–XXI December 17.

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PE-181 Dacca-XI, PE-182 Dacca-XII, PE-183 Dacca-XIII December 20.

PE-184 Dacca-XIV, PE-185 Dacca-XV December 23.

NE-103 Dacca-X, PE-192 Dacca-XXII December 13.

NE-115 Dacca-XII, PE-195 Dacca-XXV December 16.

NE-117 Dacca-XIV PE-199 Dacca- December 19.

NE-119 Dacca-XVI, PE-177 Dacca-VII December 12.

NE-120 Sylhet-I December 12.

NE-121 Sylhet-II, PE-239 Sylhet-XX December 15.

NE-122 Sylhet-III, PE-234 Sylhet-XV, PE-236 Sylhet-XVII December 18.

NE-123 Sylhet-IV, PE-233 Sylhet-XIV, PE-235 Sylhet-XVI December 21.

NE-125 Sylhet-VI, PE-230 Sylhet-XI December 13.

NE-127 Sylhet-VIII December 16.

NE-129 Sylhet-X, PE-220 Sylhet-I December 23.

NE-131 Comilla-I, PE-242 Comilla-II December 12.

NE-132 Comilla-II, PE-243 Comilla-III, PE-244 Comilla-IV, PE-245 Comilla-V December 15.

NE-135 Comilla-V, PE-254 Comilla-XIV December 18.

NE-136 Comilla-VI, PE-257 Comilla-XVII, PE-258 Comilla-XVIII December 21.

NE-138 Comilla-VIII, PE-249 Comilla-IX December 17.

NE-143 Comilla-XIII, PE-261 Comilla-XXI, PE-262 Comilla-XXII, PE-266 Comilla-XXVI December 19.

NE-144 Comilla-XIV, PE-265 Comilla-XXV December 23.

NE-146 Noakhali-II, PE-268 Noakhali-II, PE-270 Noakhali-III. PE-270 Noakhali-IV December 13.

NE-147 Noakhali-III December 15.

NE-150 Noakhali-VI, PE-275 Noakhali-IX, PE-276 Noakhali-X, PE-277 Noakhali-XI December 18.

NE-151 Noakhali-VII, PE-272 Noakhali-VI December 22.

NE-153 Chittagong-I December 14.

NE-155 Chittagong-III, PE-211 Chittagong-VIII, PE-289 Chittagong-IX December 17.

NE-158 Chittagong-VI, PE-293 Chittagong-XIII December 20.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—September 22, 1971)

EAST WING PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTIONS TO BEGIN ON DECEMBER 18

Press note issued by the Pakistan Election Commission
October 3, 1971

Polling for by-elections for the 88 seats in the Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan, which were rendered vacant on account of the disqualifications (including

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one death) will be held between December 18, 1971, and January 7, 1972, it was officially stated here today (Islamabad, October 3).

Nominations will be received by the Returning Officers concerned on November 1, 1971 in their offices during usual working hours, according to a Press Note of the Election Commission.

Scrutiny of nomination papers will be done by them on November 2. Withdrawal of candidature will be allowed up to November 7. Polling for elections for these seats will commence on December 18 and will be concluded on January 7, 1972.

Under the Legal Framework Order, 1970, as amended, by-elections in these provincial constituencies should be completed within four months of occurrence of the vacancies, i.e., before January 10, 1972. In view of this legal requirement, these by-elections have to be held between December 18, 1971 and January 10, 1972, in continuation of the by-elections from December 12, 1971, to December 23, 1971.

Because of the necessity of staggering the polls, voting in a few constituencies of the second phase has necessarily to be commenced from December 18, 1971, so as to complete the entire process of elections before January 10, 1972.

Following is the schedule:—

Number and name of constituency—Date for the poll.

1. PE—4 Rangpur—IV 24-12-1971, 2. PE—5 Rangpur—V, 3. PE—6 Rangpur VI 29-12-1971, 4. PE—12 Rangpur—XII 31-12-1971, 5. PE—16 Rangpur—XVI 3-1-1972, 6. PE—18 Rangpur—XVIII, 7. PE—19 Rangpur—XIX 6-1-1972, 8. PE—22 Rangpur—XXII 7-1-1972, 9. PE—36 Bogra—IV 25-12-1971, 10. PE—37 Bogra—V. 11. PE—41 Bogra—IX 19-12-1971, 12. PE—39 Bogra—VII 22-12-1971, 13. PE—44 Rajshahi—III 29-12-1971, 14. PE—48 Rajshahi—VII 1-1-1972, 15. PE—56 Rajshahi—XV, 16. PE—57 Rajshahi—XVI 24-12-1971, 17. PE—61 Pabna—III, 18. PE—62 Pabna—IV 1-1-1972, 19. PE—65 Pabna—VII 29-12-1971, 20. PE 68 Pabna—X 25-12-1971, 21. PE—91 Khulna—I, 22. PE—92 Khulna—II 22-12-1971, 23. PE—95 Khulna—V 1-1-1972, 24. PE—98 Khulna—VIII 25-12-1971, 25. PE 104 Khulna—XIV 29-12-1971, 26. PE—109 Patuakhali—V 23-12-1971, 27. PE—110 Patuakhali—VI, 28. PE—111 Patuakhali—VII 26-12-1971, 29. PE—118 Bakerganj—VII 29-12-1971, 30. PE—126 Bakerganj—VI 1-1-1972, 31. PE—129 Bakerganj—XVIII 24-12-1971, 32. PE—131 Tangail—II 23-12-1971, 33. PE—137 Tangail—VIII 26-12-1971, 34. PE—139 Mymensingh—I, 35. PE—140 Mymensingh—II, 36. PE—141 Mymensingh—III 7-1-1972, 37. PE—144 Mymensingh—VI, 38. PE—145 Mymensingh—VII, 39. PE—146 Mymensingh—VIII 5-1-1972, 40. PE—147 Mymensingh—IX, 41. PE—148 Mymensingh—X 3-1-1972, 42. PE—149. Mymensingh—XI 1-1-1972, 43. PE—5+152, Mymensingh—XIV, 44. PE—153 Mymensingh—XV 30-12-1971, 45. PE—156 Mymensingh—XVIII, 46. PE—157 Mymensingh—XIX 27-12-1971, 47. PE—158 Mymensingh—XB 20-12-1971, 48. PE—163 MM+Mymensingh—XXV 18-12-1971, 49. PE—164 Mymensingh—XXVI 25-12-1971, 50. PE—173 Dacca—III 30-12-1971, 51. PE—175 Dacca-V, 52. PE—176 Dacca—VI 6-1-1972 53. PE—180 Dacca—X 4-1-1972, 54. PE—188 Dacca—XVIII 29-12-1971, 55. PE—194 Dacca—XXIV. 56. PE—197 Dacca—XXVII, 57. PE—198 Dacca—XXVIII 2-1-1972, 58. PE—201 Faridpur—1 29-12-1971, 59. PE—203 Faridpur—III, 60.—PE 204 Faridpur—IV 31-12-1971, 61. PE—209, Faridpur—IX 7-1-1972, 62. PE—213 Faridpur—XIII, 63. PE—214 Faridpur XIV, 64. PE—219 Faridpur—XIX 3-1-1972, 65. PE—216 Faridpur—XVI, 66. PE—217 Faridpur—XVII, 67. PE—218 Faridpur—XVIII, 5-1-1972, 68. PE—221 Sylhet—II, 69. PE—222 Sylhet—II 25-12-1971, 70. PE—223 Sylhet—IV, 71. PE—224 Sylhet—V 29-12-1971, 72. PE—231 Sylhet

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XII, 74. PE—232 Sylhet—XIII, 31-12-1971, 75. PE—246 Comilla—VI, 76. PE—247 Comilla—VII 3-1-1972, 77. PE—250 Comilla—X, 78. PE—5+252 Comilla—XII 30-12-1971, 79. PE—259 Comilla—XIX 26-12-1971, 80. PE—260 Comilla—XX, 81. PE—263 Comilla—XXIII 25-12-1971, 82. PE—274, Noakhali—VII 29-12-1971, 83. PE—278, Noakhali—XII, 84. PE—279 Noakhali—XIII 25-12-1971, 85. PE—281 Chittagong—I, 86. PE—284 Chittagong—IV 26-12-1971, 87. PE—285 Chittagong—V 23-12-1971.

The Election Commission today have also announced the following schedule for the holding of by-election to Provincial Assembly seat of East Pakistan PE—69 Pabna—XI which fell vacant by reason of the death of the person elected from that constituency.

The nomination of candidates will be on November 1, scrutiny of nominations will be on November 2 and the last date for the withdrawal of candidature is November 7 while polling will be held on December 23.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi—October 4, 1971)

MARTIAL LAW REGULATION 94 REGARDING POLITICAL ACTIVITY
October 9, 1971

1. This Regulation shall come into force on the 10th day of October, 1971, and shall be in addition to, and not in derogation of, any other law for the time being in force.

2. In this Regulation, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, "political party" includes a group or combination of persons who are operating for the purpose of propagating any political opinion for indulging in any other political activity.

3. No political party or person shall propagate any opinion, or act in a manner prejudicial to the ideology or the integrity or the security of Pakistan or prejudicial to any of the principles enunciated in article 20 of the Legal Framework Order, 1970 (PO. No. 2 of 1970).

4. No political party or any person, in the course of political activity, shall: (*a*) Use force, violence, intimidation or threats of injury or offer monetary gains in propagating, or for securing support for any views, (*b*) in any manner cause injury or damage to any person our property, (*c*) interfere in the operation or the functioning of public services, corporations or institutions set up by or under any law, (*d*) seduce, or attempt to seduce, from his allegiance or his duty, any public servant or any person serving in any corporation or any other institution set up by or under any law, (*e*) in any manner interfere with, or cause disruption in, the functioning of educational institutions, (*f*) subject any unit of the news media, including newspaper offices and presses, to pressure of any kind, direct or indirect, in the performance of its functions or prevent it from projecting its views, (*g*) in any manner interfere with the functioning, or transgress the limits of decent and fair criticism of any other political party or its members, or (*h*) in any manner cause obstruction in or hinder or propagate against the holding of by-elections to the National Assembly or a Provincial Assembly.

5. (*a*) For the purpose of enabling the Deputy Commissioner or an officer authorised by him in this behalf to take suitable steps for the avoidance of any clash of programmes of, and consequent inconvenience to, different parties in the holding of public meetings or taking out of processions of a political nature, every person who intends to hold such a meeting or take out such a procession

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shall give reasonable notice of his intention in writing to the Deputy Commissioner or the officer so authorised specifying the date on which, and the time and place at which such meeting is proposed to be held and the route through which such procession is proposed to be taken out, (*b*) If the Deputy Commissioner, or the officer authorised as aforesaid, receives notices under sub-paragraph (1) of more than one such meeting or procession to be held or taken out in the same place or area on the same date, he shall, after such consultation with the parties concerned as he deems necessary, so arrange the programme of the several meetings and processions as to avoid any clash of programme of, and consequent inconvenience to, the parties, (*c*) no public meeting or procession of a political nature shall be held or taken out except after giving a notice under sub-paragraph (1) and, where a programme has been arranged under sub-paragraph (2), except in according with the programme so arranged.

6. No person shall attend a public meeting or join a procession of a political nature armed with any deadly weapon or instrument which can be used as a weapon of offence or carry any article which can be used for causing injury or damage to any person or property.

7. No person, while speaking at a public meeting shall—(1) (*a*) use any treasonable matter or expression, or (*b*) make any statement calculated to produce feelings of enmity or hatred between people of different regions, communities, races, castes, sects, tribes or between people professing different religions, or (*c*) make any statement calculated to excite people to violence; (2) no person attending or participating in any public meeting shall carry or display a placard or poster or raise a slogan as referred to in sub-paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*) of paragraph 8.

8. No person joining a procession of a political nature or a demonstration shall carry a placard or poster or raise a slogan, (*a*) which is calculated to create hatred against any religion, community, race, class, sector, tribe or between people of different regions, or (*b*) which is calculated to incite the people to violence or to cause damage to any property.

9. No person shall, in any manner obstruct or disturb or cause to be obstructed or disturbed, a public meeting or a procession of a political nature held or taken out by any person or political party.

10. No person shall be a member or office-bearer of a political party or hold a public meeting or take out a procession of a political nature if he (*a*) has been convicted of an offence, other than an offence of a political nature and sentenced by any court of law to transportation or to imprisonment, unless a period of five years has elapsed since his release, or (*b*) has been removed or dismissed from the service of Pakistan or service of any corporation set up by or under any law, unless a period of three years has elapsed from the date of his removal or dismissal from such service.

11. Martial Law Regulation No. 76, issued by the Chief Martial Law Administrator, is hereby cancelled.

12. Whoever contravenes any of the provisions of this regulation shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—October 10, 1971)

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BAN OFF, YET AWAMI LEAGUE IS ILLEGAL

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's outlawed Awami League remains illegal despite the lifting of the six-month old ban on political activity in Pakistan from today (October 10).

In the general elections last December, the Awami League won a landslide victory with 160 seats in the National Assembly on a six-point platform of maximum autonomy for the east. The Sheikh sought to leave only defence and foreign affairs in the hands of the Central Government.

Following the ban on the Awami League, the biggest single faction in the Assembly became the People's Party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

(*Reuter* despatch datelined Rawalpindi—October 10, 1971)

PEOPLE'S PARTY LEADER ADMITS RAZAKAR TERROR

A leading People's Party official dropped out of a party delegation hours before it left for East Bengal, alleging that power in the eastern wing had been handed over to reactionary and anti-people parties who had massacred political opponents.

Meiraj Mohammed Khan, the party's Karachi secretary, said yesterday (October 10) that he felt it was "futile for me to go".

The 10-man party delegation was scheduled to go to Dacca to survey the situation in view of forthcoming by-elections for 78 seats formerly held by members of the Awami League.

Meiraj alleged that in East Bengal "power in effect has been transferred to those reactionary and anti-people political parties defeated in the elections and rejected by the people".

He named one party—the Muslim Jammaat-e-Islami group—of indulging in wholesale massacre of political opponents for which they are using their Razakars.

Meiraj, who has influence among students, added: "Under the umbrella of a Government consisting of members of defeated and reactionary parties, elections cannot be free."

His action came as President Yahya Khan lifted the six-month ban, with effect from yesterday (October 10), on political activity in Pakistan but laid down stringent rules for the conduct of parties and politicians.

People's Party leader Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto told the party delegation yesterday (October 10) "We have watched with great anguish developments over the last eight months and I want you to convey to our brothers in the eastern wing our commitment towards national reconciliation and rebuilding a progressive and tranquil Pakistan".

Mr. Bhutto said Pakistanis must stop killing Pakistanis and "live peacefully and with charity towards all."

Mr. Bhutto said much blood had flown and "we have seen the great tragedy of Pakistanis killing Pakistanis which has brought the nation to the crossroads."

He said East Bengal was exploited in the past and its people were poorer. "The voice of the majority of people of East Bengal, must be given its due weight". Mr. Bhutto added.

(*Reuter* despatch datelined Karachi—October 11, 1971)

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108 'UNOPPOSED' RETURNS

Another three candidates have been provisionally declared elected unopposed in the by-elections to the 78 National Assembly seats from East Pakistan bringing their total to 58. Now by-elections will be held for the remaining 30 National Assembly seats. The three candidates are Mr. Jasimuddin Ahmed from Rajashahi-3, Maulvi Mumtazuddin Ahmed of Rajshahi–4 and Mr. Abbas Sattar Khan from Rajshahi–7. These candidates belong to the Pakistan Democratic Party and the Council and Qayyum group of the Pakistan Muslim League.

Twelve more candidates were today provisionally declared elected unopposed to the East Pakistan Assembly under the second phase of by-election for 88 seats. With this, the total number of candidates declared elected uncontested now stands at 108 under both phases of the by-elections.

(*Radio Pakistan*, News in English—November 10, 1971)

II. INDIA'S ATTITUDE

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI ON DECEMBER 1970 ELECTIONS AND 1971 BY-ELECTIONS

Extracts from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview to the National Broadcasting Corporation (U.S.A.)
November 7, 1971

P.M.—The solution which we had proposed earlier, and I think it is the only valid one today, is that talks should be held with the acknowledged leader of the people of East Bengal, who is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. You know, while I have been here reference has been made to the tremendous victory, majority, that I won in the last elections in India, but if I may say so, Sheikh Mujib's majority was even greater than mine, and his elections were held in far more adverse conditions, that is, under the present military regime. His programme for the elections, his campaign, was put squarely and honestly before the Government and the people. It is on the basis of this programme that he won this tremendous victory.

Now you suddenly say that, well, he is a traitor. He did not ask for independence, by the way; it was just a limited autonomy, trade with India, and some points like that. The Government of Pakistan in its wisdom, or unwisdom, whichever you would like to call it, they arrested him, declared him a traitor, and they are trying to hold re-elections for the seats where the members still exist. They are there. And what has shocked us is that I think about 55 people have been declared elected, unopposed, to these very seats where a fair and free election was held; it seems a strange thing to have an election and then send out, force people who have been elected against you out of the country. It is a diabolical—it is the word which one of your colleagues used—way of solving one's problems, of just sending those who are opposed to one out of the country.

Q.—And are we to understand from what you say that you consider that the only solution to the problem?

Ans.—Yes, because how else will you know what they will accept? And if they don't accept a solution, whether I think it is right or you think it is right, the conflict will continue, because the conflict is theirs, the movement, the struggle, is theirs.

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Q.—Isn't that an internal problem, though?

Ans.—It is. We have said it is an internal problem, but it is overflowing into India. It is affecting our country—not is, but has. It is creating political-social tension and, as I said, the most serious of all is we think our security is threatened.

III. PRESS AND PUBLIC REACTIONS

YAHYA'S DILEMMA

The People's Party leader, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is coming close to threatening President Yahya Khan with a popular uprising in West Pakistan unless he is made Prime Minister of the whole country.

It is, however, unlikely that Mr. Bhutto, whose intrigues contributed largely to the break between President Yahya and the imprisoned Awami League leader Sheikh Mujib Rahman, would be accepted by the people of East Pakistan.

At the same time, General Yahya faces a deadline of his own making.

On June 28, he told his nation that a new constitution would be promulgated and an elected National Assembly would be convened within four months. More than half of that period has now elapsed and the President's aides are still dickering with Mr. Bhutto over procedural matters.

The mood in West Pakistan and inside the Army is not one of conciliation. Can President Yahya entirely ignore the strength of feeling in East Pakistan so eloquently demonstrated by the large-scale desertions of East Bengalis from the diplomatic and other forces?

(*Editorial*, **SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST**, Hong Kong—September 17, 1971)

PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHIEF ON LACK OF DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

A military government could never keep the country united for a long time, the Pakistan Democratic Party Chief Nurul Amin said in Lahore on September 20, 1971.

The PDP chief warned the Government that if it tried to play one party against the other it would destroy the country. The Government should try to strengthen democracy, he said.

Similarly, he warned that if the Government tried to weaken democracy it would weaken the country in the process.

(**THE DAWN**, Karachi—September 21, 1971)

Mr. Z. A. BHUTTO ON POSTPONEMENT OF BY-ELECTIONS

September 22, 1971

Mr. Bhutto charged the Election Commission with having committed an "elementary mistake" in announcing the time-table of the by-elections in East Pakistan in haste without taking into account the conditions obtaining in the country.

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Mr. Bhutto thought that it was not a genuine and legitimate excuse to have postponed the by-elections on ground of floods in East Pakistan.

Talking about the restoration of democracy in the country, he said, "this ding dong battle has been going on since the last nine months".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—September 23, 1971)

CURBS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY LIFTED

Statement by Maulana Kausar Niazi of the Pakistan People's Party in Quetta September 24, 1971

Mr. Niazi said the Central Committee demanded that curbs on political activities, imposed last March, should be immediately lifted.

He said following the announcement of by-election schedule there was no justification for these restrictions and these must now go to enable the parties and candidates to project themselves before the electorate.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—September 25, 1971)

A WELCOME DECISION

Mr. Bhutto's decision to contest by-elections in East Pakistan is both brave and welcome. It is brave because on the face of it the PPP has little chance of winning a seat. It does not exist on the ground there and its image in the wing is not such as to make an appeal to the electorate.

(*Editorial*, THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—September 25, 1971)

SITUATION IS NOT IMPROVING

Yahya Khan's promise that the Government will belong to the representatives elected by the people will probably not materialize. It is reported that recourse to civil rule is still difficult, since the situation in East Pakistan is getting worse. The real reason, however, is that the rightist military group is desirous to hold on to the reins of power.

A civilian has been appointed to take the place of General Tikka Khan as the Governor of East Pakistan. Apart from the foreign diplomats, some high officials have also supported this decision. This is because of the fact that as long as Tikka Khan remained the Governor of East Pakistan, it would have been impossible to find "suitable" candidates for the 78 seats in the National Assembly in the mid-term elections.

The military clique supports the Muslim League, which could not win even one seat in the elections held last December. Another alternative for the leaders is to support the Pakistan Democratic Party, headed by Nurul Amin. However, Amin is no longer popular among the people.

The party of ex-commander of the Pakistani Air Force, Marshal Asghar Khan, proposes that a role be given to the National Assembly in the preparation of the Constitution.

Unless Mujibur Rahman is released and leads the Awami League, it is impossible to establish unity in Pakistan. However, this is out of the question under the present rule....

(YANKI, Ankara News Magazine—September 20-26, 1971)

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BHUTTO COMMENTS

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the noted opportunist who leads West Pakistan's majority political party, has told the Press in Karachi that if democracy is not established in Pakistan by the end of this year he doubts that it can ever be done. A failure of the Government to hold by-elections and convene a National Assembly by that time, Bhutto says, might impel his Pakistan People's Party to "adopt a non-parliamentary course." Asked if that means taking to arms, he calls the question premature.

How seriously this should be taken is impossible to say. It may be that Bhutto is beginning to think himself strong enough, and the Yahya Khan Government confused enough, for an actual bid for power. Or it may be that Bhutto is simply casting about for a position, as he has so often done in the past.

In any case, he appears almost to ignore the salient fact about Pakistan today, which is that the West Pakistani campaign of terror and extermination continues in East Pakistan, and that the possibilities of long guerrila fighting there—a civil war on a low scale—are steadily on the increase.

Bhutto himself, with virtually no following in the East, says offhandedly that he is not well informed about the situation there, and asks how he could be expected to be, when the Government isn't.

Against this background of seeming personal indifference, his remarks as to an establishment of parliamentary democracy have a hollow ring.

(*Editorial*, **THE SUN**, Baltimore—September 26, 1971)

JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI CHIEF ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EAST BENGAL

October 1, 1971

As regards setting up of civilian Governments in the four provinces of West Pakistan, Mian Tufail (acting Amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami) said that in West Pakistan the provincial governments were to be formed consisting of the elected representatives. This would give rise to two different patterns, i.e., elected governments in West Pakistan while nominated one in East Pakistan. This, he said, should not be done.

(**MORNING NEWS**, Karachi—October 2, 1971)

PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHIEF ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EAST BENGAL

The Working Committee of the East Pakistan PDP today (October 3) demanded that the proposed Constitution should be based on the eight-point manifesto of the party.

Meeting under the chairmanship of the party chief, Mr. Nurul Amin, it declared itself in favour of "full autonomy" for East Pakistan in view of what it called continuous differential treatment given to East Pakistan in respect of economic development and central services.

It expressed the view that no lasting peace could be restored in this region unless full provincial autonomy was given to the province.

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The party also recorded its strong disapproval of the industrial investment schedule for the Fourth Five-Year Plan as grossly inadequate for East Pakistan and urged the Government to revise it.

The Working Committee of the regional PDP noted that hardly 33 per cent of the total amount had been allocated to East Pakistan under the present schedule, and suggested that allocation be made in proportion to the population of the province to rehabilitate the economy shattered by recent disturbances.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi—October 4, 1971)

SNAGS IN YAHYA KHAN'S ORDER

President Yahya Khan of Pakistan this weekend lifted the ban on political activity imposed at the time of the East Pakistan uprising last March, and promulgated new rules allowing parties and individuals to engage in politics within certain clearly defined limits.

Under the revised regulations, Pakistanis are prohibited from expressing views "prejudicial to the ideology or integrity of Pakistan" or conflicting with the legal framework, and from exerting political pressure on schools, colleges, newspaper offices and presses. Party propaganda must not "transgress the limits of decent and fair criticism of any other political party or its members", not obstruct the "holding of by-elections to the National or Provincial Assembly". Violations incur a maximum penalty of three years' detention.

The new order does not remove the ban on the Awami League, the party which was declared illegal on March 26 after winning an overwhelming victory in East Pakistan in the national elections the previous December. The League's leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is now on trial in the Western province on a charge of "waging war against Pakistan"....

(THE GUARDIAN, London—October 11, 1971)

YAHYA PUPPETS IN EAST UNSURE OF POLL

Having announced a plan for transfer of power, General Yahya Khan is now sitting on it. He has said that elections for the 79 seats of the National Assembly from East Bengal would be held in the first week of December.

The reason given for this gap of two months between the filing of nomination papers and the holding of the elections is the need to prepare new electoral rolls. Mr. Bhutto has already complained that under the pretext of preparing new electoral rolls, "progressive and patriotic elements may be eliminated from the voters' lists". In any case, the lists are only of an academic interest.

The junta is certain to make sure that only its stooges are declared "elected". Any talk about the mechanics of election or ensuring their fairness or freedom sounds facetious under the present circumstances. Not even a stooge party like the Jamat-e-Islami thinks that fair and free elections would or could be held.

Impossible

To quote Professor Ghulam Azam, chief of the Jamat-e-Islami in East Bengal, "the conditions are such that electioneering or any other political activity would be impossible in the next six months or so".

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Apparently the regime appears to be fully aware of this difficulty. Hence the puppet Governor, Dr. A. M. Malik, has been quoted as having said that "the Government will do everything possible to complete the process of elections according to the schedule. But knowing the present circumstances, no one can say with certainty that they can be held according to the time-table".

There is also another snag which has been noticed by political observers. This is implied in the talk that very soon many more by-elections in Bangla Desh may be necessitated. Reports appearing in papers like the *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, and the *Pakistan Observer*, Dacca, have noted that very few among the 88 members of the National Assembly who have been cleared by the Government are willing to come and declare their loyalty to the regime.

According to a columnist of the *Pakistan Times*, this would necessitate "fresh elections almost in the whole of East Bengal". The official machinery has, however, fixed dates for the by-elections only for the 79 seats which have already been declared vacant. This means that the process of electioneering would be stretched to February or March next year.

General Yahya Khan has already declared that unless the elections are completed, the National Assembly would not meet and the question of transfer of power would not arise...

Pakistani newspapers have quoted Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan as having said that this sympathy and support for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been the main cause of the continuing trouble in East Bengal. According to him, if there had been a concerted attempt to quell the trouble in East Bengal, the situation would have become normal by now.

Stooge Complains

"But due to powerful elements working almost in every sphere of life, attempts to crush the anti-national forces in Bangla Desh have not been successful so far."

An East Bengali stooge of the regime, Maulvi Farid Ahmed, has gone a step further. He has complained "that powerful elements in West Pakistan were helping the Awami League revolt in East Bengal". Maulvi Farid Ahmed, who has been installed by the military regime as the president of the Pakistan Council for Peace and Welfare, has been quoted by pro-military newspapers like the *Imroze* of Lahore and the *Jung* of Karachi as having said that severe trouble was also likely to break out in West Pakistan on the pattern of what had happened in East Pakistan.

Maulvi Farid Ahmed, who also heads the Nizam-e-Islam Party in East Bengal, claimed that even the Government was in possession of authentic data about the way some of the very powerful elements in West Pakistan are continuing to help the Awami League financially, materially and morally. The "Government had not taken any steps against them only because of the fear that the situation might worsen with such an action", he disclosed.

Sympathy

Talking about the situation in Bangla Desh, Maulvi Farid Ahmed said that "the conditions continue to be far from normal. Attacks by anti-national elements under the influence of the Awami League have increased. In spite of the heroic work done by the army, pro-Pakistani elements have to face danger to life and property at every step".

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Maulvi Farid Ahmed also said that during the last few months, "hundreds of pro-Pakistani patriots" had to lose their lives at the hands of the Awami League guerillas.

Maulvi Farid Ahmed's statement assumes significance because of two reasons. Firstly, it discloses the great sympathy for the Bangla Desh cause in West Pakistan. This also gives the lie to the claim of the regime that the trouble in Bangla Desh was due merely to the help "the miscreants" have been receiving from India.

Secondly, Maulvi Farid Ahmed has categorically admitted that the resistance movement in East Bengal was growing much stronger and the freedom-fighters has made hundreds of collaborators of the regime the targets of their wrath.

(Article by Analyst, **PATRIOT**, New Delhi—October 11, 1971)

AIR MARSHAL ASGHAR KHAN FROZEN OUT OF POLL

A West Pakistani political leader claimed today (October 11) that the Government had forbidden the press to publish an announcement he made on Wednesday that his party would contest forthcoming by-elections in East Pakistan.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan, former head of the Pakistan Air Force and leader of the Freedom Movement, claims to be a friend of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, former East Pakistani leader now on trial on charges of waging war against Pakistan.

He said his party had planned to contest the by-elections caused by the disqualification of members of Sheikh Mujibur's Awami League, but it had withdrawn because it was impossible to carry out an election campaign unless it could reach the public through the press.

Air Marshal Asghar was chief of the air force for eight years until 1965 when he left to become head of the Pakistan International Airlines.

(**THE GUARDIAN**, London—October 12, 1971)

ASGHAR KHAN'S PARTY TO BOYCOTT POLL

The Tehrik-e-Istiqlal Party announced today (October 11) that it would boycott the by-elections in East Bengal scheduled to be held in December because it was "not convinced the elections would be free and fair".

The announcement was made by the party chairman, former air force chief Air Marshal Mohamed Asghar Khan, who said that political parties "discredited and disowned by the electors" were trying to falsify the elections even before the vote, and had already shared out the seats.

The Air Marshal, who had just visited Dacca, told newsmen that his statements and interviews were not allowed to be made public in East Bengal, which meant he could not undertake an election campaign.

A statement by a Provincial Assembly member elected on behalf of the now banned Awami League, who proposed to join the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal Party, was not published in the Dacca press, he said.

The by-elections are for 78 National Assembly seats and 105 in the East Bengal Provincial Assembly made vacant by the disqualification of members of the Awami League.

(*AFP* despatch datelined Karachi—October 11, 1971)

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PEOPLE'S PARTY'S DOUBTS ABOUT FREE BY-ELECTIONS

Statement by Maulana Kausar Niazi in Dacca

October 11, 1971

Maulana Kausar Niazi, Information Secretary of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), said here today (Dacca, October 11) his party believes that there are doubts in the minds of the people about the holding of 'fair and free' by-elections in the country.

Maulana Niazi, who is now in Dacca with the 10-member People's Party delegation, was briefing newsmen at Hotel Intercontinental here this afternoon (Dacca, October 11) about the activities of the delegation in the city today.

The PPP Information Secretary listed six points which, he said, had aroused doubts in the minds of the people.

The points are:—

(*a*) The present civil government in East Pakistan is consisted of defeated political parties,

(*b*) The Ministers are allowed to contest the election, whereas at the time of the last general election there was a ban on them,

(*c*) The majority party in the country, namely, the PPP, was not consulted while forming the civil government in East Pakistan,

(*d*) A fascist religious party is raising slogans to make Pakistan another Indonesia. The Party's East Pakistan chief said in Karachi recently that socialists are neither Muslims nor Pakistanis,

(*e*) The workers of that party are being armed, and

(*f*) If the civil government was to be formed in East Wing, it could be formed with the elected representatives or non-political leaders.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 12, 1971)

ASGHAR'S PLAINT AGAINST PRESS

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan yesterday (October 11) announced that his party—Tehrik-i-Istiqlal—would not participate in the East Pakistan by-elections due to, what he alleged, prohibition of the publication of news and "my consequent inability to reach the people"....

Addressing a Press conference here (Karachi) he charged a "bunch of the discredited, rejected elements" with having "reduced me and my party to such a position" that it was not possible to contest the by-elections.

The retired Air Marshal, who has returned from Dacca after a 12-day visit, referred to the Press conference he had addressed there on October 6 at which he issued a statement announcing the Tehrik's decision to take part in the by-elections in East Pakistan. But, he said, not a word of his Press Conference was published in the Press.

He expressed disappointment that he and his party should be prevented in this manner from "playing our legitimate role for the restoration of democracy and the end of political and economic exploitation".

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal Chief dubbed some of the East Pakistan Ministers as "unknown and obscure persons who represent no body but themselves" and talked of attempts on their part to "allot seats among themselves and to rig the by-elections".

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He said he was against the East Pakistan Ministers continuing in office during the elections and urged that they should be asked to quit so that the by-elections are held in a fair and free manner. "It is a question of principle", he explained....

In a voice charged with emotion, the retired Air Marshal said: "There is no freedom of the Press in the country; I say this with full sense of responsibility." He added there may be nothing like Press taboos on paper but the fact remained that not a word was being published about the political activity....

(**THE DAWN,** Karachi—October 12, 1971)

MUFTI MAHMUD DOUBTS FAIR BY-ELECTIONS

Mufti Mahmud (General Secretary, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam) and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi (Secretary, Pakistan Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam) who are here (Dacca) to attend the provincial Majlis-i-Shoora of his party, told a Press Conference that they did not favour the decision of the Government to allow the Ministers of the Provincial Cabinet to participate in the by-elections. They should resign from the Cabinet before contesting a seat.

Mufti Mahmud pointed out that the Ministers had been taken from different political parties and their presence in the Cabinet would create doubts about holding of a fair and impartial by-election. He said if the Government felt that there was no chance of holding fair elections, it should nominate members from all parties for the Assemblies.

He called upon the Government to create favourable conditions in East Pakistan so that the candidates contesting for a seat could go to the people for canvassing and the voters could also cast their votes freely.

He did not favour the formation of Provincial Cabinet consisting of members from selected political parties. Instead, he suggested that Government should have nominated non-political persons. Most of the Ministers appointed, he said, were defeated in the last general elections. To impose such elements on the people was against the principle of democracy, he said.

(**THE DAWN,** Karachi—October 12, 1971)

YAHYA'S BLINDNESS

If the situation was one which a judicious blend of half-measures and the taking of some calculated risks could gradually restore, if time were available, and if appalling international dangers were not on a knife-edge, his (Yahya Khan's) plans would have much to recommend them. The holding of by-elections in December to replace the 78 disqualified Awami League members is something—but it is based on the dubious assumption that representative candidates will come forward. The restoration of political liberty is inevitably limited. What is depressing is that President Yahya, instead of getting to the roots of East Pakistan's troubles, blames them all on India in dangerously martial language. The only real solution is to come to terms with Sheikh Mujib, now on secret trial, and even for that time is running out.

(*Editorial*, **THE DAILY TELEGRAPH,** London—October 14, 1971)

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY TO CONTEST ONLY IF ELECTIONS ARE FREE AND FAIR

Statement by Maulana Kausar Niazi

October 17, 1971

Maulana Kausar Niazi, MNA elect and Information Secretary, Pakistan People's Party, has said that if his party was convinced that the by-elections in East

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Wing are not free and fair and the administration acts in a partisan manner, PPP may think of boycotting the polls.

Talking before his departure for Rawalpindi yesterday (October 17) he said in Karachi that his party was participating in the elections with the hope that they will be free and fair.....

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 18, 1971)

ELECTIONS MAY BE DEVIOUSLY RIGGED

.....Whatever the quisling assertions, Dacca has a tame civilian governor and the glimmerings of a civilian regime. There are by-elections to replace the deposed Awami Leaguers. There will, straight after Christmas, be a new National Assembly, a new Constitution, a new national government. All of this within three or four months. Quite possibly, it may turn out sickening sham. Nurul Amin, a politician from the past trailing Petainesque overtones, may be wheeled forth as front man. The elections may be deviously rigged. Yahya has no gift for picking stooges.

If the effort fails then even Pakistani Government officials who have suffered in silence thus far are prepared to quit, ready to roll up the concept of a united land and throw it away. Yahya himself cannot endure a further botched democracy.....

(*Editorial*, THE GUARDIAN, London—October 19, 1971)

FARCE OF ELECTIONS

...Sources inside East Pakistan indicate that mass political arrests continue and that the army is pressing its policy of harsh reprisals against "miscreants", especially the Hindu minority, in East Bengal. The imprisonment and secret trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bengali leader, and the suppression of his Awami League, which swept the election in East Pakistan last December, make a farce of the new elections President Yahya has called....

(*Editorial*, THE NEW YORK TIMES—October 20, 1971)

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY MAY NOT TAKE PART IN BY-ELECTIONS

The PPP delegation which came here (Dacca) with high hopes to contest the forthcoming by-elections in East Pakistan appears to be disappointed with the results they have achieved.

After days of meetings, consultations and several visits to the districts they have set up only seven candidates to fight the elections, out of a total of 87 seats. It is a symbolic contest against the six-party alliance, as a face-saving device.

Political circles will not be surprised if these candidates are withdrawn later as all indications are there that the PPP ultimately may decide not to contest the by-elections.

If it does so, it will, among other things, show that its mission in East Pakistan has failed. A variety of political elements have held discussions with the PPP delegation but very few have any inclination to join the party or to support it. Even those who at one stage thought of lending support to PPP in its election campaign seem to have backed out for reasons of their own.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 22, 1971)

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AWAMI LEAGUE VOWS TO ANSWER POLL PLAN

Resolution adopted by Awami League Working Committee at Mujib Nagar October 22, 1971

The working committee of the Awami League today (October 22) vowed to give a proper reply to the "audacity of the West Pakistani General Yahya Khan's plan to hold by-elections in the occupied zones of Bangla Desh".

In a resolution adopted at the end of its two-day meeting which ended here today (Mujib Nagar, Bangla Desh, October 22, 1971) the executive said that the move to hold by-elections in the occupied areas was "to befool the world opinion".

It stated that the people of Bangla Desh and the Awami League "would never tolerate any sort of interference to any affair of Bangla Desh by the West Pakistani ruling coterie".

Reitering its earlier stand that complete independence was the only solution of the Bangla Desh issue, the working committee gave a clarion call to all the freedom and peace-loving and democratic countries of the world to recognise Bangla Desh forthwith "to actively contribute to the struggle of establishing human rights".

The acting President and party chief, Syed Nazrul Islam, presided over the first ever conference of the party to be held after the army crackdown.

(*UNI*—October 22, 1971)

THOSE BY-ELECTIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Quite recently, the correspondent of a leading British journal who visited Dacca wrote in his paper that "it would be quite unthinkable to hold elections in the uncertain security conditions which now prevail over about 90 per cent of the countryside". He added that two months ago it was possible to drive out of Dacca after dark, but now it was too dangerous, and it was impossible to think of holding an election campaign in Dacca itself despite the presence of the Pakistan Army. How then does President Yahya Khan propose to hold elections for 78 National Assembly and 194 East Pakistan Provincial Assembly seats? It is reported that a large number of nominations have been filed for both assemblies but the elections are still to be held.

Meanwhile, there is a report emanating from Pakistan Radio to the effect that fifteen candidates have been "provisionally" elected from East Pakistan to the National Assembly. They consisted of five members each from the Pakistan Democratic Party and the Jamaat-E-Islami and two each from the Convention Muslim League and the Nizam-E-Islami and one from the Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum Group). If this report is authentic, it seems to reflect a situation where candidates from the political parties which failed to get anyone elected from East Pakistan last time will now be elected unopposed without the painful necessity of campaigning in the region. There is no news of Mr. Bhutto's People's Party which sent a delegation to Dacca to see if it could make contact with moderate Awami Leaguers.....

Though Gen. Yahya Khan may go ahead with this convenient method for filling in the empty seats in the National and the Provincial legislatures, it seems that there will still be plenty of trouble in dealing with the West Pakistan political parties. The three splinters of the old Muslim League have still to come together and the radical programme of Mr. Bhutto's Peoples' Party still infuriates the orthodox parties like the Jamaat. And while it may be quite safe to hold the session of the National Assembly in West Pakistan, it will not be so easy to convene the Provincial Assembly in Dacca. The Pakistan Government is no doubt

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going on the assumption that, sooner or later, the resistance movement in the east wing will crumble and the local people will accept the rule of the West Pakistanis as they did for so many years. But in fact the operations of the Mukti Bahini are gaining, not losing, in strength. According to some analysts, a new phase has opened with the ending of the monsoon where battles are likely to be fought for the major towns and airports. In this context of armed conflict, plans for constitution-making are premature and meaningless. They could acquire some meaning only if Gen. Yahya Khan decides to deal with the imprisoned leader of East Pakistan.

(*Editorial*, **THE HINDU**, Madras—October 27, 1971)

HOAX

As the date fixed by President Yahya Khan for his fake by-elections in East Bengal comes closer, it becomes even more clear that the stage is being set for a gigantic hoax. The Awami League is an outlawed party but that does not seem enough assurance to the frightened President that members of that party will not come in as individuals into the Assembly and spoil his game. He has therefore ordered all the rightwing parties whose leaders are willing to stooge for him to get together and agree on a common list of candidates so that the possibility of a contest can be eliminated between them and any chance of men who are not obedient to him being returned, eliminated. This is the greatest tribute to the Awami League's popularity that the West Pakistani President can pay. Only Mr. Bhutto has stuck out for his People's Party but it will not be difficult for the President to use appropriate means of persuasion and get him to come to an understanding with the rightwingers on a division of seats among themselves. President Yahya Khan may believe that by these tricks he will succeed in throwing dust in the eyes of the world. He will not; it is plain that what he is attempting to do is to get persons who are ready to betray the people of East Bengal into the Assembly; but he could have spared himself the trouble of staging the elaborate hoax, simply by nominating his men to the seats from which he has arbitrarily disqualified the lawfully elected members. He has not made his position any more secure by these means. What he has done is perhaps to risk the security of the handpicked Judases who will be planted in these 78 constituencies.

(*Editorial*, **PATRIOT**, New Delhi—October 29, 1971)

PAKISTAN BARS 53 ELECTION CONTESTS

The Pakistani Government announced today (November 2) that 53 of the National Assembly seats taken away from members of the outlawed Awami League in East Pakistan would be filled without contest.

The announcement, which was regarded here (Dacca) as a severe blow to Bengali hopes for representative government in East Pakistan, means that only 25 vacated seats would be contested in special by-elections next month. All candidates for these seats have been carefully screened by the Government.

The National Assembly, which has 313 members, was elected December 7 and charged with the task of writing a constitution to return Pakistan to civilian rule.

Session Postponed

But when the military Government headed by President Agha Mohmmad Yahya Khan postponed its first session in March, protest strikes were begun by the Awami League, which had won a commanding majority—167 of the 313 seats

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—on a platform of regional autonomy. The Pakistani Army's military action in East Pakistan began at the end of March, and the League was outlawed.

When President Yahya Khan announced later that the National Assembly would eventually be convened, 78 of the 167 Awami League members who had been elected last December were declared ousted on the ground that they had committed crimes against the State.

A seat won by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, was to be held in escrow pending results of his trial on treason charges. The 88 remaining members-elect were told they would be permitted to take their seats as independents or as members of parties other than the banned Awami League.

Session Set for December 27

President Yahya Khan announced on October 12 that the Assembly would meet December 27 and that he would turn over power to a new central government soon after. He said that within 80 days of such a transfer of power, the Assembly could propose amendments to a constitution that was being prepared under the President's direction.

Members of the Bengali groups opposing the Pakistani military Government have denounced the forthcoming by-elections and the scheduled convening of the Assembly as a fraud and a betrayal of hopes engendered by the election of last December.

Dr. A. M. Malik, a civilian appointed by the army as interim Governor of East Pakistan, said in a recent interview that "the by-elections have many imperfections, but they are certainly better than nothing".

All politicians subscribing to the views of the Awami League have been barred from the by-elections and other potential opposition candidates have been prohibited access to the Government-controlled press.

Government Backs Rightists

The Government has backed candidates from minor right-wing groups with strongly religious and pro-Government tendencies. These parties generally chose to pool their candidates.

The party getting the biggest bloc of seats from the 53 being filled without contest is the Jamaat-e-Islami, also known as the Moslem Orthodox party. This extremely right-wing group, it was reported today, is to get 14 seats.

It has no appreciable political following in East Pakistan and won no seats in the December elections.

The Government has asked the 88 members-elect from East Pakistan who were not barred from their Assembly seats to prepare to take seats. However, most of them have fled to India or have joined the Bengali guerrilla underground.

(MALCOLM BROWN in **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—November 3, 1971)

ELECTIONS A FARCE IN EAST PAKISTAN

"I first learned I had withdrawn from the election and the Peoples party candidate had been declared elected unopposed when I heard it on the radio news.

"But I had not withdrawn. I had refused to. How have they done this? I have protested, and I will take legal action."

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Ahmed Ali Mandal said the illegal declaration that he had withdrawn followed his resistance to official pressure to get him out of next month's by-elections. He refused to say what pressure had been involved.

The by-elections will fill some of the national and provincial assembly seats which were won in last December's free elections by the Awami League. The League, which took 72 per cent of the vote, was banned when the Pakistani army cracked down on Bengali nationalism last March.

Must all Withdraw

In Gopalganj, the home-town of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the League's leader who is now being tried by Pakistan's military regime on charges of treason, one man was quite clear on what kind of pressure had been brought to bear on him.

"The colonel called us in and told us we must all withdraw so the right candidate would be elected unopposed", the chairman of the district peace committee told a visiting American correspondent. The army officer escorting the Americans interrupted. That was not the colonel, he said. "Who was it then?" the chairman asked.

The officer suggested the man's political party secretary had made the decision. "Sir, he's dead", the chairman replied respectfully.

Suggestion Repeated

After further discussion, the chairman turned his back to the correspondent and repeated what the officer told him. It must have been a party official who ordered him to withdraw. The simple fact, admitted by almost everyone here, is that the army controlled government has rigged the by-elections with the co-operation of politicians who were wiped out by Mujibur Rahman's landslide victory.

One Bengali observer said "Bad habits" of old politicians made them grab for offices that the army regime is offering.

The Awami League had won 167 out of 313 national seats and in the East Pakistani Provincial Assembly; 287 out of 300.

Rally to Government

Not all of these were declared vacant when the party was banned. Possibly up to 40 national assembly-men have rallied to the government at considerable risk to their lives from the Mukti Bahini (freedom army) guerrillas representing the Awami League exile government established in India.

With some others still missing, by-elections are being held for 78 national seats and 193 provincial seats. Except some, most of them are not actually being held.

Upto a few days ago, some of the national seats were declared filled without contests—including the one Mandal tried to contest. So far, only 51 provincial contests are shaping up, with more withdrawals still coming in.

Because of the difficulty in getting rid of some unwanted candidates, President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan decreed last Friday a change in the election law allowing withdrawals up to four days before the voting.

Political Adviser

According to informed Bengalis, the apportioning of vacated seats in East Pakistan is being decided by the national government and actually carried out by a "political adviser" to East Pakistan's new Governor A.M. Malik.

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The adviser is the same man who headed civil affairs under the previous governor who commanded the army's crackdown here, Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan. Tikka is now commanding an army corps in West Pakistan.

The adviser is Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali Khan. He is widely regarded as the man who runs East Pakistan behind a facade of civil officials.

The decision taken in the national capital of Islamabad was to apportion the seats among a six-party alliance that jointly won only 23 national seats from the voters last December. By giving them free seats in the East, they might be able to manoeuver into forming a government that the army likes....

Officials here have the helpless feeling of watching a puppet show whose strings are being pulled from Farman Ali's office.

(HENRY S. BRADSHER in **THE EVENING STAR,** Washington—November 16, 1971)

EAST BENGAL WILL NOT ACCEPT THIS

....In spite of this, we have had the incredible situation in which of the 78 East Bengali seats arbitrarily declared vacant by Islamabad, as many as fifty have been filled "unopposed" long before the election date with carefully screened and selected persons.

They have been bestowed as manna from heaven upon Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. His party won only about 80 odd seats out of over 300. Yet he is ambitious to replace President Yahya Khan when he gives way.

The remaining 90 East Pakistani members have also been disciplined sufficiently as to leave them no choice except to serve as yes-men. It remains to be seen how many of these will be available to attend the new assembly.

Under the latest dispensation, this assembly will have to accept the constitution which is placed before it by President Yahya Khan. It will be allowed to propose amendments which the President may or may not accept.

Will the majority of the people of Pakistan, who live in East Bengal, accept such regimentation?

They will not....

(NARAIN SINGH in **THE SUNDAY POST,** Nairobi—November 22, 1971)

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CHAPTER IV

CONTINUING ATROCITIES IN BANGLA DESH

I. PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR AGHA HILALY ON ATROCITIES IN EAST BENGAL

Extracts from transcript of a Television interview to the ABC Television network in Washington

August 15, 1971

Mr. Bob Clark: Would you admit that your troops have been guilty of some wanton killing of civilians?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Very little. Very little, if any.

Mr. Bob Clark: Very little!

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Very little, if any. Because armed action—you see the troops had to face when the federal government had been declared and the federal government had been put up there were about at least a hundred and sixty thousand armed personnel who defected on account of the Awami League propaganda.

The army was asked on the 25th of March to go and deal with these hundred and sixty thousand armed people. Now how do they do it? They had to use force. And in using force they do kill people—the civil population in place of—get into the cross-fire. But the killing of the civil population—some of it did take place—was unwittingly done by the army. The army had not declared war on unarmed mobs.

Mr. Bob Clark: Mr. Ambassador, these reports of massacres that come from a wide variety of sources, from foreign diplomats, from missionaries, from reporters who are on the scene early in the war—wouldn't this tend to lend some credence to many reports from refugees themselves, who have poured out of Pakistan?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Foreign diplomats were in Dacca—they did not see people being killed on this scale anywhere.

* * * *

Mr. Ted Koppel: Well, Mr. Ambassador, with all due respect, I was in Dacca during March and while I was not permitted at that point once the fighting started to go into the interior we did see evidence during the right of March 25th of very severe repression, of tanks being used against civilians, the university being bombarded. I don't think you would suggest that in all of these instances it was merely the East Bengali Rifles against the West Pakistani Army. There were civilians who were killed and who were killed when they had no opportunity to fight back.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Yes. I did not say there were no civilian casualties....

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Villages haven't been destroyed. Some of the houses have been burned and destroyed....

Mr. Bob Clark: By reports from the scene the destruction has been very widespread and devastation of entire villages.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: This is——you see we differ on facts. It is not so widespread that it cannot be rebuilt. Certain destruction has taken place. But it is not on the scale that it is beyond our capacity to rebuild these houses and rehouse these refugees.

II. SOME EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS *

TORTURE BEFORE MURDER

by

Mohammad Shohidul Islam

Mohammad Shohidul Islam is son of Md. Siddique, of 13, Free School Street, Dhanmandi, Dacca, aged about 27 years

Today I am free. But had I died on the 4th day of November, 1971, my mortal remains would have been mixed with mother earth. No body in this world, not even my wife or child would have known how or when I expired. No one knows how those innocent inmates of the concentration camp were shot dead before my very eyes and before the eyes of my fellow brother Sikdar Ibue Noor, son of late Noor Baksh Shikdar of 399, Free School Street, Dhanmandi, Dacca. I removed at the command and at the point of rifles of the Pakistan Army the dead-bodies of those unfortunate persons done to death. Before the end of groaning of one victim, the other would fall dead at the shot of the Pakistan Army. I and my companions would have perished in similar manner and my last shriek would have melted away in air.

It is the incident of 10th October, 1971. From the liberated area of Moniondi, 3 miles South-East of Akhaura, we started for our home which lay in occupied Zone. We boarded in a boat on our way to Dacca through Bhangura. There was 8 more persons on board that boat plied by 7 boatmen. Five of the unfortunate persons on board the boat were returnee from India on the announcement of "amnesty" by General Yahya. One was an old man, aged about 65 years, by name Asgar Ali of village Sridharpur, Omar, Gouranga, Bachchu, Promode and Rafique and three brothers of Dacca. They were all shot dead mercilessly before our very eyes. We reached Ghatiara village at about 11-30 p.m. From darkness came the command: "unless you near the boat you will be shot at". The boat had to be plied near the muzzle of a battalion of rifles. Then all the persons on board the boat were lined up. Their persons searched and cash, watches, etc., whatever found were snatched away and all were tied with rope with hands on their back, not a word was said, no question was put. One captain, Mr. Julfiquar Ali by name, came and looked at the faces of all and whispered something to his companion army. We wanted to know why we were detained but we were not allowed to utter a single word, we were peremptorily gagged by signs and utterances.

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* From "How Pakistan Violated Human Rights in Bangla Desh", The Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi.

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We were kept tied from behind throughout the whole night. A little before sun-rise, we were led in the boat and two other big boats were plying towards us through that course, with males, females and children, about one hundred in number. No articulate voice to stop those boats was heard. The Army Captain with his hands signalled something to his assistant and then atonce began the showers of bullets. Many bullets whizzed the upper ends of our hair on heads. Within a span of ten seconds the passengers of the two boats lost their lives and we too gazed blank and were dumbfounded. Tears rolled down our cheeks. Unknown fears overcame us. Every moment we thought that L.M.G. firings were touching us too.

No, that did not happen. Had that happened, it would have been an end of a chapter and this description would not have seen the light of the day and would have remained undisclosed and unheard. The Army Captain fired a shot up. In a moment's time wherefrom great numbers of boats with army on board rushed towards the two destroyed boats just like beaming faced men following the shot-at wounded birds. A little after only one survivor was dragged through paddy field to our boat. With gun and army-loaded boats in front and in rear of us we were taken to Akhaura Bazar in Comilla district. We were taken down there from the boat and on interrogation we were divided into two groups. On one side Refugees and on the other side smugglers and we were classed in the Refugee group. Needless to state that we gave some assumed names on the night before as we learnt that there were mass murders of intellectuals, journalists, doctors, teachers and literate Bengalees on the only ground that they were Bengalees. We gave assumed names only to protect ourselves from being killed.

We were huddled in godown No. 1 of Akhaura Railway Station with only one collapsible gate each on the front and on back without any window. It was extremely hot and on being ushered therein we felt simple burning and frying. The nuisance of pigeons made an half-inch thick carpet of the godown. Innumerable holes appeared in the walls of the godown and in some places we noticed fresh cement plaster placed.

That 65 years old man also was classed in the Group of "Refugee" by the army. The Captain simply expressed that the "Refugees" will be shot dead and the smugglers will be sentenced to 14 years' rigorous imprisonment and after that the Captain left and with terrible sound the front gate was closed.

We began to tremble then with consternation and uncertainty. We spent the whole day in the hot furnace and nauseating smell. We were provided with no water or food throughout the whole day. Suddenly at 8 a.m. with a great sound the gate was opened and we, the group of Refugees of prisoners, were taken behind that godown where a great number of army people were present. At our sight, those army people became jubilant just like ferocious animals at the sight of their prey. Random interrogations and questions were put to us and we were beaten indiscriminately with iron rods, long metal whips and other instruments of physical torture. These ferocious army pounced upon us. We had no voice at all. I lost my consciousness and when I regained the same it was dead of night. I simply growned in darkness and there was pain all over the body. I was devoid of movement and sobbed with the minimum of noise. It occurred to me that I was not ever beaten even by my parents. Days rolled on in the midst of such untold miseries and tortures throughout the day and night. There was no meal and we were given one rotten bread every 36 or 48 hours. Even water was not available to us. At an interval of 36 or 48 hours only one-eighth of a glass of water was given to us. Within a week the number of the prisoners mounted to 60. Some were arrested and taken from their houses

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while in sleep, some were arrested from the markets and some from their paddy-field. They were all from the neighbouring villages of Akhaura.

With these arrested people the condition of the prisoners became worse. A small bucket of water was given every two days. There was no glass. The thirsty prisoners used to drink water just like animals in the habit of drinking water from the pot. Out of the water of the bucket a good quantity generally fell on the floor. Water mixed with the nuisance of the pigeons had to be taken by hand to the mouth from the floor. At first it was impossible to drink water in this manner but thirst and hunger compelled us to such a procedure and ultimately we became used to it.

Our body was smeared with the paste of the mixture of sweat and secretion of the pigeons and we used to sleep in this condition. Words and language fail to describe the magnitude of our condition created by such torture—physical and mental and even death was considered as far better than and preferable to such torments and torture.

Towards the first part of detention the memories of parents, wife, children, brothers and sisters occurred of the mind and our heart would burst for them and we longed to see them only once in this life.

Many of us often fainted on continuous weeping but as time went on no tears used to come out of the eyes of the prisoners—all of them are no more—we only are left behind after bearing all these tortures and persecutions.

We spent 22 days in that dark godown and in the evening of 1st November, 1971, one Punjabi Quarter Master with a register came to the prison and entered our names there and told us that next morning we will be released. We gave our assumed name and addresses as before.

Everybody beamed with happiness and embraced one another in glee and one invited the other to his house.

Suddenly the heart rending wail attracted our attention and found the same as that of small boy Bachchu who used to adore me and would always love to talk with me and described all his sorrows and happiness to me. On query the reason learnt was that his name was not noted and also the names of Promode, Amar, and Gouranga—all Hindus by religion. It was taken for granted that they would be killed. There was no word with us to console Bachchu. Suddenly at 11 p.m. the gate of the prison (godown) was opened and we all were roped and the happiness of the evening disappeared and gloom came instead. We apprehended that all of us will be killed soon. But after departure of the train, we were all again unroped. Next early morning amongst us, 45 in number, again were roped and were told that on being taken to the Police Station, we would be released.

Those 4 Hindus and the brothers of Dacca were not roped. Those roped were taken out and we were told by the Punjabi Quarter Master that we would not be taken to the Police Station but we would be released from there direct.

Those 45 roped in prisoners were shot dead, one and all.

On the 3rd November some more persons from the neighbouring villages were arrested and put up with us. Those persons said that after last March thousands of persons were shot dead here in this godown and later thousands were also shot dead near the tank adjoining that godown and at present farther near the railway track the people in rows are shot dead. We also learnt from them that in the adjoining Imambari a good number of females are confined and they are raped in presence of their husbands and children. The helpless husband and children simply weep in helplessness. We also learnt that 27 Hajis of village

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Maudail were murdered in this manner. People in the field are shot dead, people at sight are shot dead. From Bitghar village alone 175 villagers were shot dead.

We were again roped on the 4th November evening at about 3 p.m. and got the same reply that we will be released from the Police Station. We did not believe the same as we were being led towards North while the Police Station was to the South near Gangasagar Camp.

We were led with loaded rifle in the front and back and it was difficult to walk due to the proximity of one prisoner to the other. After about an hour we reached Gangasagar Army Camp and found a Captain sitting under the banyan tree there and from the talk of the army people we understood that we would be shot dead there. A stern Baluchi Army personnel neared me and asked me wherefrom I was arrested and on what offence. On hearing my reply he was astonished and whispered to another Sepoy to let me off. The Sepoy in front of me and other Sepoy became angry with the Baluch Sepoy. In the meantime the Captain ordered us to be taken to further South and we understood that there we would be shot dead.

We were led near the village Moniondi and we were made to stand near the small bridge near the railway track where we saw innumerable human skeletons strewn around. On one side a black dog was found devouring the belly of a human dead body.

Then began the gruesome murder. The foremost man on the rope was unroped and taken on the bridge and shot dead there. One after another were being taken out, made to stand on the western side of the bridge and shot down dead. After shooting 6-7 persons Bachchu's turn came. He looked at me, gazed at me, stared at me and was shot dead. I was waiting my turn and witnessed the massacre of others one by one—all the known faces. When only 4 more remained, suddenly that Baluchi Sepoy took hold of the rifle of the butcher and beseeched weeping and saying "No, no, no more, let these remaining be let off. Have some mercy. Have you no relations?" On this the butcher stopped when the Baluchi joined us in the line and in front. We do not know how and why that butcher Sepoy stopped and ordered us to remove the dead bodies from the bridge and we complied the orders and were let off.

The Hindus were killed without their names being entered in the register and the Muslims were killed generally after the entry of their names in the register. We have witnessed a heap of registers in that godown where we were imprisoned.

I am hearing the resounds of the wailings of those brutally murdered persons. Is there any justice? Is there any human rights?

BURNING OF VILLAGES

by

Father John Hastings

Father John Hastings is from Norwich, U.K. He had also been associated with churches in Leicester. Served in India with United Relief Service and Bangla Desh Volunteer Service Corps.

Here are the cases of some people taken at random from April to October, 1971. We began to go to the border in April and within the first few days we realized there were people who had come under very great stress and some had already lost their children and some said they had been bayonetted and many said they had been lined up before firing squads and many managed to escape from these firing squads by pretending to be dead. Several cases that I saw in

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Hospitals and After Care Centres had bullet wounds through their shoulders. One old man I met in Berhampore Hospital, a man about 65, he gave me a story (which I have recorded) of how several hundreds came to the banks of the Ganga from the Rajshahi area, and while they were there they were surrounded by the Pakistan Army troops and prevented from getting into boats to cross the Ganga. The women and girls were then put on one side and told they could go home. The men and boys were asked to sit on the sand and they were then all machine-gunned. Many were killed instantly, others pretended to be dead and then they were all picked up and piled like faggots in a bonfire. Petrol was poured over them and this was set light to. This man said he was aware of what was going on but when the fire started, he of course couldn't pretend to be dead any more, and he scrambled out of the piled bodies and his son also did same. There were several others with them and with their clothes burning and part of their bodies very badly burnt, they rushed into the Ganga as fast as they could. And at this time it was getting dusk and though the Pakistan Army tried to shoot them, it wasn't very easy in the dark, and some of them died of their burns there, even though they had got out of the bonfire and this man himself, along with several others, managed to hide during the darkness and eventually got to Berhampore Hospital. He was there a month later, still with his badly burnt legs, swathed in bandages and still in fact wearing the blood-stained dhoti that he had on at the time.

I went to another department in the same hospital and found another man who corroborated this story. They had been in the same group. That even must have taken place around April the 12th.

Nobody knows what happened to the women—there were no witnesses to that.

The people of West Dinajpur District came over in great floods in April and May. Many of them came completely naked. They had been attacked during the night and stripped and came running as they were. At the village of Hilli, one day in April I was there, there was shelling and firing of bullets by the Pakistan Army—this would be about the 26th of April and some of these bullets landed at a refugee camp in Hilli which is very close to the border. The Government decided to evacuate the refugees from this camp. At the same place Hilli that same moring, I saw a girl with a dead baby. This baby looked quite healthy and wasn't suffering from any apparent disease, but it had died through lack of milk and possibly also pneumonia. It had no medical attention. The mother was in a huge crowd of people who had been sheltered in a school-building at Hilli, during the previous two or three days. Many of these people had only lived three or four miles away and their villages had been burnt by the army invaders, the Pakistan Militia. They had run away apparently terrified, and this girl would only be 15 or 16, and this was her first baby. She had run away in terror carrying her baby. She had tripped over the railway line into Hilli which marked the border, and been the railway line along with some 500 others in this school. But through fear, terror, panic, so on, her milk had dried up and although she was aware of this and herself very wet (I remember it was a very rainy day), she couldn't draw the attention of someone to her individually, among such a crowd, so although everybody else had milk, she herself had not said anything about the needs of this baby that she could not suckle any more. So the baby died, and it was found the next morning. Later on that morning, I looked across the railway line to Pakistan and saw a place which used to be a rice stock ablaze with fire. There were Pakistan soldiers watching this and we saw officers on the other side with guns pointing in our direction. We went inside and saw the next village, North of Hilli, being gradually set fire systematically, there was a column of smoke suddenly at one point and then a few yards on, another big fire would begin. I took photographs of that also.

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It was in West Dinajpur District. I saw families there, some of whom had tiny children which had just been born on the way from Pakistan. Some were born the day on which the flight began, and some were born under trees by the side of the road, or where they were being registered inside West Bengal. The plight of these women and new-born babies was, of course, horrifying. On one occasion I saw the after-birth also and a make-shift tent being put up for this woman.

Further south, near Calcutta, at Bongaon, we met many people who had no one left. One woman had one child in her arms and said the other five had been killed. Her husband was gone. And a young man said he had gone out to buy buffaloes. When he came back to his village, there was nothing of the village left, whatever it was completely destroyed and he didn't know where his family was.

In May, there were occasions when I visited Hasnabad, Taki, Basirhat, called some times at the hospitals round camps. In Bashirhat Hospital there was one woman who had a foot amputated from a bullet wound. She had three children with her, and all of them were injured, either by a bayonet or a bullet. They had bandages on, the baby had a bullet wound across the thighs, and she said her husband had been shot. She was part of, I think, a very big group that were coming from Khulna and crossed at Hakimpur and into West Bengal. And they had been surrounded on the way, a place called Jaldanga. This was apparently done with the collaboration of some villagers along the way who stopped the thousands who were moving in this direction and passed information to the Army, who came along and then machine-gunned them. And they say some 400 of them died, while they were on their way to what they thought was safety in India. The Army followed them and other groups to the border of India and were in fact shooting at them as they were trying to cross on more than one occasion.

One day the Army came to the river crossing and seized girls who were about to cross into India by boat and carried them off. Other women and girls jumped into the river and tried to swim across and two were drowned. I spoke to one woman who had crossed at that time. I actually have her photograph here, and this woman told of her husband being killed just as he was reaching the border of India.

Then in the Bongaon Hospital, I saw young men, and girls also. Some had been bayonetted in the vagina, and one of them was so demented that she was crying all the time. They will kill us all, they will kill us all. It was an incessant refrain that she couldn't cease uttering. At that time. "They will kill us all, they will kill us all." It was an saw the mass graves of 200 people and another grave where they said there were 65 bodies. This was actually at Shikarpur near the reception centre.

I was away for some time, but again on return in September and on renewed visits to the border found again many cases of people arriving without clothes, or anything at all. The numbers coming then were perhaps a little less but still seemed to be about 50,000 a week. More recently, there were three girls who had been raped on their way through Bangla Desh and they met a Major of the Mukti Fouj and said to him: this is our condition, we cannot live any longer. Please spare three bullets for us. And the Major felt the only kindness he could do was to shoot them, so he did. Other women who had become pregnant by rape hanged themselves from trees in Hasnabad and others sought and got abortion, others who tried abortion and failed, killed themselves. And we understand there is something like 400 of such pregnant women round about the Bongaon areas, at least 50 in Calcutta and possibly another 500 in other West Bengal camps and many of them are now approaching full term. So we have arranged a very quite place in Kalyani and we are sending the word round to all camps, if any girl wants private attention this can be given to her.

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Some of them have put *sindoor* on their foreheads and pretended to be married and some of them will keep the children. We would like them to be helped to love the children and make homes for them and give them the assistance to do that, rather than spurn the child, having been so impregnated with hate and horror. This is extremely difficult, but worth trying, we feel. It at least gives these girls a chance for a future where probably they are thinking they have no future whatsoever. More so than other refugees they deserved special attention. But how successful this will be, we have no idea.

Recently, in September, October and November, I have been to the border and found people still fleeing across and have tape-recorded them. We met a woman at Shikarpur, who had a bullet wound through her right breast. We also met girls, some of whom gave their story reluctantly, but of how they had been raped, sometimes by more than one soldier. How their daughters had been taken off and they had not seen them since. Their sons in some cases had been killed and also their husbands and they told stories of how the Pakistan Armies had come to their villages and set fire to them. They said: "we imagined we could stay on. We had survived the first wave, the second wave, but gradually we realized that we cannot stay any longer." This was said by both Muslims and Hindus and at least in September, half of those who came across were Hindus. Many Christians who came across in April from Dinajpur had been raped and lost their wives—educated people, not peasants. We have eyewitnesses of that and there would be several thousand Christians who have come across from Ballabhpur and other places in Nadia district. One senior Christian leader gave the estimate. He thought a third of the Christians had come out. I am not sure how far he was able to test this. But certainly many came out from Dacca and some went North and came out through Rangpur and emerged in Cooch Behar. Mr. Samar Das is one of these. He came out, he is a Christian, he was director of music in Dacca Radio but still composing Bangla Desh songs for Bangla Desh Radio. We also have Mr. Ranjit Sen who had been working on consignments of WAPDA and is now consigning blankets for us. He was lined up before a firing squad. He then said he was working for the Pakistan Government and was told to go off to work.

Then there is Dr. Malik who was working in Rajshahi itself, in charge of the hospitals, and brought several Christians across who had been working with him. He evacuated the hospital.

These are the kinds of things. One about children: In Kalyani we saw a child of about three weeks, blinded by disease and with so many lesions on the lower part of the body. We were surprised she was able to survive. I don't think she survived finally. And so many cases of children with legs amputated, children with limbs amputated. Then at Shikarpur, we came across children who were still lying there, unable to move across the border, they had been carried across and still shaking with fear. This is just endless, one could go on for hours and hours and hours....

THE BATTERED BUDDHISTS

by

Rupam Kishore Barua

Mr. Rupam Kishore Barua was an M.A. examinee in Economics in Chittagong University.

Driven and charged by the atrocities and inhuman Pakistani forces I along with many other Buddhists residing in village Mohamuni under police station

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Raozan in the district of Chittagong in Bangla Desh had to take shelter in India in Tripura State where we entered on 30—5—1971.

On last Baishakhi Purnima Day, the Armed Pakistani troops followed by local looters and anti-social elements entered into our village Mohamuni. The Pakistan troops robbed people of their watches, ornaments, cash and all valuables, and prepared a list of Government servants and assaulted them. The Pakistan troops raped some women of the village on the spot and carried away some.

The Muslim Leaguers led by the son of Mr. Fazlul Kader Chowdhury, a Convention Muslim League member who had suffered an ignoble defeat in the last election, did the looting. Zahur, Yusuf, Yunus and Mohmamad Ali are some of those who also did the looting.

Two or three days thereafter people of several villages predominantly Buddhists numbering 300 to 400 started for India but at a place called Dhaishya Babar Khamar and at Ranirhat the Pakistani troops attacked them and shot dead some of them while the looters looted all their belongings. After this attack when I along with some other had fled to the hills did no more proceed along that route. With great risk I returned to Chittagong town only to find that the Hazari Golly, Nabagraha Bari, Awami League office and the houses of the Awami Leaguers had already been burnt. All the houses and shops on either sides of the Chittagong—Dacca Grand Trunk Road had been reduced to ashes and the entire villages at Mirsharaj and Sitakund had been completely burnt. These are only few of the barbarities and atrocities committed by the Pakistan troops.

IT WAS A CRIME TO FEEL THIRST

by

Piarul Haque

(Mr. Piarul Haque is a permanent resident of P.S. and P.O. Jaldhalia Rangpur. He was a student of Jagannath College, Dacca.)

Finding it impossible to remain alive in Bangla Desh I have left Dacca city where I was a student of Jagannath College. I crossed over to India for safety. I have no definite address as yet although I am posting this letter from Agartala where I have taken the refuge just yesterday.

At 11 a.m. on 11—5—1971, the Pakistan troops caught me near Baitul Mukarram in the city of Dacca and examined me physically to see whether I was a Muslim or not and then took me to Dacca Cantonment and detained me in a room where there were fifty others all tied up legs and hands. Next morning at 10 a.m., the troops presented me and two others before a Punjabi Major of the Army who asked me again if I was a Hindu or Muslim and if Muslim whether I was a student. Under his order I and thirty others were tied hands and feet and made to lie in an open yard under the sun with faces turned upward. We were kept like this for 13 days and by night thirty of us were packed into a small room which could barely accommodate ten or twelve. During the whole of day and night the troops used to give each of us one piece of atta bread and half a mug of water and nothing more in a period of 24 hours. If anyone wanted more water he was kicked with boots.

On 19—6—1971, we were taken before a Colonel and while being so taken we saw 30 to 35 young girls all in tattered clothes with wretched appearance confined in a room having wire-net window. They tortured them and the oppression to which unfortunate girls had been subjected to night after night were written large

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on their faces. There were good number of boys, youngmen and students confined in the Cantonment. The troops used to draw out blood from those young people and throw away their dead bodies in truck loads at Mirpur.

A Punjabi Army man at the request of a Police Inspector who was my former acquaintance asked me to get myself tied with the dead bodies of persons dying as a result of extraction of blood and carried in truck and thrown at Mirpur. This was the only chance offered to me to save myself from sure death. At 12 at night I was so tied and carried with the dead bodies and thrown into the river at Mirpur. With difficulty I untied myself and moved away as fast as I could and trekked to Tangail and then to this place and then to Agartala from where I post this letter in the hope that though quite late the world conscience at long last be roused.

III. WORLD PRESS

WAR OF ANNIHILATION

The Pakistani officer stood in one of the small villages of East Pakistan (Bengal) and told the hungry public gathered around him: "My men are wounded and I want some blood, I want volunteers". Before waiting for a reply...the soldiers rushed forward, selected some young men, threw them on the ground, and pricked them in the arteries. Blood began to flow and continued flowing until the young men died.

This is one picture out of dozens of others which take place every day since the present regime in West Pakistan declared a war of annihilation against the opposing "people" in Pakistan.

The migration of millions to India, therefore, is not strange. They have fled from massacre and hunger.

(AL HAWADITH, Lebanon—August 20, 1971)

SATURATION OF SUFFERING

"*Three hundred Bengali young girls released by the West Pakistani army after four months' detention think of committing suicide.*"

This sensational caption which would probably attract the attention of even a callous western reader, if it was a question of possible suicide by three hundred American or Swedish young girls, does not arouse any exceptional reaction, and indeed no surprise, among the refugees from East Pakistan scattered in the Indian part of Bengal and in the other eastern provinces of India.

The three hundred suicides thus foreseen by the weekly "*The People*", a widely circulated paper among the refugees in India, organ of the resistance against the Pakistani army and organ of the Awami League (the party of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which is now banned), would in fact add only three hundred new victims to the tally of the Bengali holocaust.

Perhaps there has been a saturation in regard to misery, suffering and horror. Struck in November last by a cyclone which had caused half a million deaths, terrorised since March by a politico-military operation which caused the death of dozens or hundreds of thousands of innocents, in the proper sense of the word, and which drove away from their homes more than eight million persons, who fell victims very recently to cholera and other endemic plagues. Threatened by a new wave of armed repression and by a famine of catastrophic proportions,

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Bengal seems to be saying to its fate like the slave to Ceasar, "Beware, you will not be able to do anything more once I am dead".

The three hundred candidates to suicide discovered by "*The People*" were said to have been systematically "raped" during four months by the Pakistani soldiers of the Pathan, Punjabi, Baluch and other West Pakistani units, having been sent to them as "prostitutes" for the regiments. They would have all become pregnant and that is why a West Pakistani officer considered them as "out of use" and thus they would have been released.

(LA PRESSE, Tunisia—August 29, 1971)

SLAUGHTER OF 200,000 BENGALIS

The slaughter of 200,000 Bengalis in East Pakistan can only be described by its true name: Genocide. The crime has been perpetrated by the West Pakistan army under the orders of the tyrant who governs there: General Yahya Khan. This figure of 200,000 given by Leon F. Hesser, Director of (U.S. Aid Agency) A.I.D. rises to 300,000 in British calculations. "This has been like a Greek tragedy" expressed the British expert sent there with help.

What did East Pakistan, inhabited principally by Bengalis, ask for? Autonomy. The western sector of the country is separated from the eastern one by 1,600 kilometres of Indian territory. How can it exist in these conditions? Is it fit that a country should have its territory in two parts at a great distance from each other? This request for autonomy last March was answered with guns and arms even to the extent of sending to the grave of such an incredibly large number of people. A U.S. commentator stated that only the Second World War had produced crimes of this magnitude.

And it is not only that so many have perished—this crime continues, even though in smaller numbers now—but that 8,000,000, plagued by hunger and terror, have crossed the frontier and fled into India. The Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi received them and is now the intermediary for the distribution of the aid received from the U.S.A., U.K. and a few other countries. For the next six months, many millions of dollars will be essential if those unfortunate people are to be saved from dying of misery and hunger.

The tragedy has increased even more. The whole of East Pakistan appears menaced by famine. By November, the shortfall in the food requirements and the actual production will be 4,000,000 tons of rice and wheat. Even if this shortfall is obtained, how can it be transported in a country whose roads and bridges are completely destroyed by the war of liberation? The patriots have tried at every point to prevent communication by the soldiers of the tyrant Yahya Khan and continue obstructing the criminal repression by destroying roads and bridges, even though thereby the danger of starvation is coming to them as fatally as the destruction they have been experiencing....

This whole game with its devious and deceitful manoeuvcrings is developing with the neglect of the main problem: the human being. Not one of the countries who have granted help to those unfortunate millions, have condemned the mostrous genocide committed there with such fury and ruthlessness. The whole world should have risen up in arms to denounce the terrible slaughter. Nobody has spoken; not one has done their duty of defending the right to life which is clearly the focal and fundamental point in the Charter of Human Rights,

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fully observed in "theory" only. The man of the twentieth century—said Russell—is more ruthless and cynical than that of all the previous centuries.

(ALFONSO RUMAZO GONZALES in EL COMMERCIO, Ecuador—September 2, 1971)

DESPAIR IN EAST PAKISTAN

....In a clandestine meeting elaborately arranged to elude military surveillance, a Bengali farmer told this correspondent about one such experience. Talking with great reticence and glancing around in fear that he had been led into a police trap he said:

"The army came to the village on the night of April 11. One patrol led me away from my house to identify something, and when I got back I found my sister was missing. Another girl, the daughter of a neighbour, was gone, and there was a Hindu family whose girl was missing.

"In the middle of May they released my sister and the neighbour's daughter, but the Hindu girl is still gone. The two girls who came back are both pregnant and will have their babies. At the place where they were kept there were 200 or 300 girls doing the same thing. They had to wash clothing and to make love to soldiers two or three times a day."

"My sister doesn't know where she was kept", the farmer added.

Many Dacca residents, including foreigners, tell of having seen young women taken away by military policemen without even an identification check....

(THE EVENING STAR, Washington—October 14, 1971)

EAST PAKISTAN : EVEN THE SKIES WEEP

....Though Islamabad has ordered the military command to ease off on its repressive tactics, refugees are still trekking into India at the rate of about 30,000 a day, telling of villages burned, residents shot, and prominent figures carried off and never heard from again. One of the more horrible revelations concerns 563 young Bengali women, some only 18, who have been held captive inside Dacca's dingy military cantonment since the first days of the fighting. Seized from Dacca University and private homes and forced into military brothels, the girls are all three to five months pregnant. The army is reported to have enlisted Bengali gynecologists to abort girls held at military installations. But for those at the Dacca cantonment it is too late for abortion. The military has begun freeing the girls a few at a time, still carrying the babies of Pakistani soldiers.

A Million dead

No one knows how many have died in the seven-month-old civil war. But in Karachi, a source with close connections to Yahya's military regime concedes: "The generals say the figure is at least 1,000,000". Punitive raids by the Pakistani army against villages near sites sabotaged by the Mukti Bahini, the Bengali liberation army, are an everyday occurrence....

(TIME MAGAZINE, U.S.A.—October 25, 1971)

50 DIE IN PAKISTANI REPRISAL

About 50 unarmed civilians have been killed by Pakistan army, police and volunteers in the Dayaganj residential district of Dacca.

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Fifty more civilians were wounded in the raid which took place a week ago just after two men, believed to be members of Mukti Bahini, the Bangla Desh freedom army, shot six Pakistani soldiers, killing four of them.

As a reprisal, the army, aided by police and razakars, went from house to house firing into rooms and setting buildings alight, according to eye-witnesses.

At least 60 homes occupied by shop-keepers, workers and Government officials were burned down. The incident was one of a series of exchanges of fire which are said to occur almost nightly throughout the capital city.

(THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, London—October 27, 1971)

REPRISALS CONTINUE AGAINST UNARMED EAST PAKISTANIS

Inspite of the military regime's persistent denials, the Pakistan army and police continue to take reprisals against unarmed civilians living where the Bengali rebels operate, even within sight of the residence of the new civilian governor in the middle of Dacca....

Evidence of reprisals is a burned strip 200 yards square in the Dayaganj residential district astride the railway line connecting Dacca to its river port of Narayangunj 11 miles away.

According to eye-witnesses, troops, police and volunteer "razakars" burned dozens of homes and shot scores of people a week ago, an hour after two men believed to be members of Mukti Bahini, the Bangla Desh freedom army, gunned down in daylight six soldiers in a patrol.

Survivors claimed the reprisals took the lives of at least 50 persons and many others were wounded as forces carrying automatic weapons went from house to house firing into rooms and setting buildings afire.

From the top of one bridge one can count at least 60 homes razed to the ground. Residents said the families have fled from most of the 300 houses in the neighbourhood....

(THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London—October 27, 1971)

KILLINGS CONTINUE

.....Even if the centrally promulgated "normalcy" measures were not as limited and partially fraudulent as they are, the power of the police and razakars in villages and towns would undermine and vitiate them. In one area north of Dacca I visited recently, which cannot be identified for fear of giving a pointer to the information source, nine Hindus were said to have been killed in one village and twelve in another in unjustified executions by razakars in the previous seven days alone.....

(THE GUARDIAN, London—October 29, 1971)

A COUNTRY FULL OF CORPSES

The extermination of the jewish people by the Nazi regime, the atomic crime of Hiroshima and Nagaski, the massacres of Biafra, the napalm of Vietnam, all the great genocides of humanity have found a new equivalent: East Pakistan. Despite the world press having supplied a clear exposition of facts, the people

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do not appear to have realised that at this moment—and again in Asia—millions and millions of human beings face destruction of their life and motherland.

The fact can be briefly summed up: East Pakistan has been invaded 5 months ago by the army of West Pakistan, may be, their own brothers. Its inhabitants have been murdered in thousands, its women have been raped; children and aged are dying of hunger and cholera, and more than eight million persons have carried out one of the most dramatic migrations in history, crossing the frontier and taking refuge in India, the country with which once Pakistan was united.

A pathetic view of the tragedy is given to us by the fact that in a single night in the city of Dacca were killed 50,000 persons by the invading army. Between 26 March—the date of invasion—and this moment, the dead reach more than a million, and every day 30,000 persons leave East Pakistan and take refuge in Indian territory.

(SUMMA MAGAZINE, Caracas—October, 1971)

FEAR, THE ONLY LAW IN EAST PAKISTAN

A young jute-mill superintendent told how be fled his village only hours before, after an Army visit in which the village was burned and a young college graduate was killed. He did not know why the army came.

Further down the road, six villages had been burned and some of their occupants killed in reprisal for a guerrilla ambush.

Asked if these incidents could be the fault of the Mukti Bahini, the mill superintendent and a primary school teacher who had joined the discussion responded as if personally insulted.

"Nay, sir, nay, nay," they said "Pak Bahini! [Pakistani army] Pak Bahini! Pak Bahini!"

The mill superintendent said he fled because the Army is killing all educated Bengalis in a drive to strip the province of its natural leaders. The teacher agreed.

So do diplomats in Dacca, some of whom are collecting evidence that constitutes a persuasive argument that the Army has systematically hunted down professors, doctors, lawyers, students and other educated Bengalis and killed or jailed them.

(THE SUN, Baltimore—November 13, 1971)

TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD

...Here is a narration of an eye-witness of an incident in Comilla: "I reside in Chadda Gram village in the south of Comilla. An old woman along with her 20-year old pregnant daughter named Batisha were walking towards their home, about two miles from the local police station. On the way, the Pak. soldiers beat the old woman and took way the pregnant girl. Two days later the girl was discovered dead. Her body carried marks of the most brutal treatment. Her private parts presented a grotesque sight. Besides her lay the unformed body of her still-to-be-born child."

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In a shelter in Chittagong, I met an old woman. Her face was blank, her eyes though gazing at me seemed to be always remembering the harrowing experience of the last few days. Her voice rang the spirit of revenge. Everyday in Chittagong, the women used to run away to the outlying areas at night to protect themselves from the clutches of the Pak. army. I have even heard of accounts where women were raped as their houses were set on fire. Some of these women, somehow freeing themselves from the arms of the soldiers, threw themselves into the same fire. Many of our sisters have committed suicide when they became certain that their honour could no longer be defended. The daughter of a local judicial clerk, named Babli, was kept captive by an army Major in his house so long as he was posted there. He satisfied his perverted and animal lust upon her and then left her behind.

In the Kharam Pal area of Kishoregunj, one girl and a newly-wed wife were mercilessly assaulted. Both these women had their breasts cut off which were later hung up in front of their houses. In the same area, from a hospital, 50 to 60 nurses and young patients were subjected to brutal assault. They were indiscriminately raped and many died later....

(MALEKA BEGUM, General Secretary, Bangla Desh Mahila Parishad,
in NEW AGE—November 14, 1971)

EAST PAKISTAN TOWN AFTER RAID BY ARMY

Fire and Destruction

A task force of West Pakistani troops visited this town Shekharnagar, East Pakistan, of 8,000 on October 27 and destoryed it.

Apparently informed—mistakenly, according to residents—that a guerrilla group was here, the army attacked without warning in motor launches. Toward the end of the 20-mile trip from Dacca the launches' engines alerted Shekharnagar's population, most of which fled into nearby ponds, canals and paddy fields.

Shooting into houses and huts as they advanced, the troops set fire to nearly every building. Surviving residents pointed to the fresh graves where 19 villagers were buried.

The concrete schoolhouse was stripped of its furniture and doors, which the troops burned to cook their evening meal, and a rice mill was destroyed. The village's stock of freshly harvested rice was burned for the most part, and some 300 cows and sheep were slaughtered.

A large quantity of wheat that villagers said had been sent under a United States aid program was reportedly loaded into the boats by the troops.

A warehouse filled with bags of phosphate fertilizer was burned and most of the bags were destoryed.

Several buildings belonging to the mosque were burned down and the Hindu temple—there are about 400 Hindus in the community—was burned and sacked, and its idols were smashed by gunfire.

Even the local post office was sacked, and the villagers say the troops took away its stock of stamps and money.

"Do you see this?" a villager said, "They even destroyed our fruit. Banana trees like these take a long time to grow, and the soldiers heaped up burning straw around them and destoryed them."

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Another man, stifling tears, told this correspondent: "You Americans with your aid, you know who you helped with your wheat and oil and medicine? You help only Yahya's murderers."

A foreign official, hearing of the fate of Shekharnagar, commented: "It certainly seems that in cases like this the Pakistan army and outside nations trying to provide humanitarian relief are working at cross-purposes. We bring food and fertilizer in and the army seizes or burns them."

(THE NEW YORK TIMES—November 17, 1971)

BENGAL: THE TIME OF REVENGE

The ghostly remains of recently burned villages scarred the semi-tropical countryside. Bloated corpses, entangled among white and purple water hyacinths, floated in the canals as reminders that the verdant landscape was a scene of tragedy. Along with Clare Hollingworth of London's *Daily Telegraph*, I had travelled 45 miles outside the capital of Dacca—and into the heart of one of the "liberated" zones held by the Mukti Bahini guerrillas. The evidence—living as well as dead—of civil war was everywhere. Hundreds of peasants watched our small dugout during the three-hour trip through the swampland canals, but none of them—not the children tending cattle, nor the fishermen repairing their nets, nor the women carrying mounds of mud to repair their flimsy palm leaf houses—returned our waves. "The reason for their seeming sullenness," Mukti Bahini fighter told me later, "is their sufferings. There is hardly a Bengali family left that has not lost one or several of its relatives"....

...In ramshackle towns and tiny villages, people were quick to tell me of daily executions carried out by the army, of wanton destruction and brutalities. In one small village, everyone seemed to know the story of a 14-year-old girl who was raped by twelve soldiers and then killed—together with her day-old baby. Inhabitants of another village recounted how two soldiers had been captured and taken to the martial-law administrator when they demanded two virgins; the next day the village was burned and 38 people were killed by the army. Several times during my trip into the rebel area, I saw Pakistani soldiers loot stores and help themselves to anything they wanted. To the Bengalis, such barbarism is a stimulant to their hopes of a free state. Everywhere I went, Mukti Bahini rebels and sympathizers were talking about the coming hours of judgement. At one river crossing, I came upon an army sergeant beating a Bengali with a huge stick. He stopped when he saw me, and later the Bengal. told me, "It's like that every day. But the day of revenge is coming and it will be terrible."

(NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE (U.S.A.)—November 22, 1971)

CRUELTY OF THE RAZAKARS

The cruelty of the "razakars" has turned the majority of the villagers into supporters of Bangla Desh. When people are asked whether they wish to remain citizens of Pakistan or form a state of their own, almost all reply that they are for Bangla Desh. Although the green flag of Pakistan can be seen flying even on top of the most wretched hut, people work for Bangla Desh in secrecy. Like Americans in South Vietnam, the leaders of the Pakistani army seem to be totally unaware of the true feelings and loyalty of the local population.

(HELSINGIN SAROMAT, Helsinki—November 23, 1971)

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EAST PAKISTAN: A RECONQUERED COLONY

A villager along the roadside, desperately anxious that two foreigners should see the full reality of army devastation, whispers through the car window: "Go to Jamalpur and you will understand everything."

Jamalpur is a town without children on the streets, without commerce in its remaining shops, almost without noise in a land where conversation is loud and cherished. Men retreat at a foreigner's approach, a shopkeeper's hands tremble as he rises to greet unwanted foreign guests, and a teen-age boy says quietly "The people are ashamed because they dare not tell you what is in their hearts." The boy, after ten minutes of furtive conversation, is afraid and walks away. Before March, Jamalpur had 50,000 people (5000 of them Hindu), large market-place, and a small army headquarters. By now most people have fled, no Hindus are left, the market has been destroyed, and the army headquarters are swollen with the garrison that subdued Jamalpur. The Hindu crematorium on the banks of the Brahmaputra is the army's killing ground. The bodies are thrown into the river, and now the remaining residents of Jamalpur refuse to eat river fish.

(PETER R. KANN AND LEE LESCAZE in THE ATLANTIC MAGAZINE (U.S.A.)—December, 1971)

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CHAPTER V

CONTINUING FLOW OF REFUGEES

I. FACTS OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Consequent on the liberation of Bangla Desh, the influx of refugees from East Bengal has ceased. After December 16, 1971, with the liberation of Dacca, the return of refugees gained momentum and a large number of refugees started returning at their own initiative. Shortly afterwards, planned movement of refugees, under Government arrangements, took place.

The last batch of 3,869 refugees in camps left for Bangla Desh on March 25, 1972, exactly after one year of the Pakistan army crack down on Bangla Desh people. With the return of these refugees, all the Central and State refugee camps have now been closed. About 60,000 refugees staying with their relatives will go back on their own.

Since March 25, 1971, 9,899,305 refugees had sought refuge in India. The tables given below give an idea of the magnitude of the problem that India had to face.

INFLUX OF REFUGEES FROM MARCH 25 TO DECEMBER 15, 1971

Serial number.	*Name of State.*	*Total Influx.*
(1)	(2)	(3)
1	West Bengal	7,493,474
2	Tripura	1,416,491
3	Meghalaya	667,986
4	Assam	312,713
5	Bihar	8,641
	Total ...	9,899,305

DISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEES IN VARIOUS STATES IN INDIA

Serial number.	*Name of State.*	*Number of Camps.*	*Refugee Population as on December 15, 1971.*		
			In Camps.	*Outside Camps.*	*Total.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	West Bengal	492	4,849,786	2,386,130	7,235,916
2	Tripura	276	834,098	547,551	1,381,649
3	Meghalaya	17	591,520	76,466	667,986
4	Assam	28	255,642	91,913	347,555
5	Bihar	8	36,732	...	36,732
6	Madhya Pradesh ...	3	219,298	...	219,298
7	Uttar Pradesh	1	10,169	...	10,169
	Total ...	825	6,797,245	3,102,060	9,899,305

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TREND OF INFLUX

	Month. (1)	Average daily. (2)	Monthly arrivals. (3)
		(PERSONS IN THOUSAND)	
1	April 1971 (10th to 30th)	57.00	1,221.00
2	May 1971	102.00	3,158.00
3	June 1971	68.00	2,056.00
4	July 1971	26.00	797.00
5	August 1971	34.00	1,055.00
6	September 1971	27.00	804.00
7	October 1971	14.00	425.00
8	November 1971	8.00	217.00
9	Backlog	...	166.00
		Total ...	9,899.00

INFLUX OF REFUGEES *VIS-A-VIS* NORMAL POPULATION IN THE CONCERNED STATES

	Name of the State.	1971 Census.	Refugee Population.
		(PERSONS IN THOUSAND)	
1	Assam	14,952.00	313.00
2	Bihar	56,383.00	9.00
3	Meghalaya	983.00	668.00
4	Tripura	1,557.00	1,416.00
5	West Bengal	44,440.00	7,493.00
		Total ...	9,899.00

II. RELIEF AID FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES UP TO FEBRUARY 24, 1972

Offers of assistance through various International agencies and foreign governments have been received. The foreign assistance offered up to February 24, 1971 amounts to about Rs. 198.37 crores. The UNHCR has established a Focal Point in Delhi for channelling assistance from the various International Organisations

1. OFFERS RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

		(IN DOLLARS)
(*i*)	Through U.N. Focal Point	192,935,136
(*ii*)	Direct to the Government of India	41,778,283
	Total ...	234,713,419

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Serial number.	Name of the Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars. Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct to the Government of India.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Australia	3,935,072	1,220,000	5,155,072
2	Argentina	240,000	...	240,000
3	Austria	164,790	...	164,790
4	Barbados	2,500	...	2,500
5	Belgium	1,126,078	...	1,126,078
6	*Burma*	...	*	...
7	Botswana	7,000	...	7,000
8	Brazil	9,250	...	9,250
9	Canada ...	16,651,000 (cash and kind) 762,376 (in cash) 2,846,931 (in kind)	...	20,260,307
10	Ceylon	336,134	...	336,134
11	Chile	3,000	...	3,000
12	*Czechoslovakia*	...	66,667	66,667
13	Cyprus	11,999	...	11,999
14	Denmark	2,650,293	...	2,650,293
15	Dahomey	126	...	126
16	*E. E. C.*	...	8,600,000	8,600,000
17	Finland	477,783	...	477,783
18	Federal Republic of Germany ...	19,771,298	...	19,771,298
19	Fiji	5,000	...	5,000
20	France	2,908,115	...	2,908,115
21	*German Democratic Republic* ...	...	1,695,500	1,695,500
22	Guinea	40,000	...	40,000
23	Gambia	235	...	235
24	Ghana	25,010	...	25,010
25	Guyana	5,180	...	5,180

* Burma—500 tons rice.

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Serial number.	Name of the Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars. Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct tothe Government of India.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
26	Holy See	5,000	...	5,000
27	Ice-land	8,595	...	8,595
28	Iran	183,606	...	183,606
29	*Iraq*	...	83,333	83,333
30	Ireland	215,983	...	215,983
31	Italy	22,764	...	22,764
32	Jamaica	12,745	...	12,745
33	Japan	5,000,000	...	5,000,000
34	Kenya	26,834	...	26,834
35	Khmer Republic	1,000	...	1,000
36	Kuwait	60,000	...	60,000
37	Republic of Korea (South Korea)...	5,000	...	5,000
38	Liechtenstein	7,433	...	7,433
39	Liberia	30,000	...	30,000
40	Libyan Arab Republic ...	200,000	...	200,000
41	Luxembourg	15,957	...	15,957
42	Mauritius	50,000	...	50,000
43	Monaco	5,434	...	5,434
44	Malaysia	13,072	...	13,072
45	Nepal	2,451	...	2,451
46	New Zealand	115,171	70,560	185,731
47	Netherland	5,754,247	...	5,754,247
48	Norway	1,990,760	...	2,970,760
	...	980,000		
49	Oman (Sultanate of) ...	25,000	...	25,000
50	*Poland*	...	*	...
51	Philippines	100,000	...	100,000

* Poland—100 litres of Cholera Vaccines and Antibiotics.

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Serial number.	Name of the Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars. Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct to the Government of India.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
52	Spain	42,857	...	42,857
53	Swaziland	1,200	...	1,200
54	Sweden	6,000,584	...	6,000,584
55	San Marino	1,603	...	1,603
56	Singapore	13,147	...	13,147
57	Senegal	7,194	...	7,194
58	Switzerland	2,467,062	180,000	2,647,062
59	Trinidad and Tobago	10,059	...	10,059
60	*Turkey*		*	...
61	Tanzania	8,404	...	8,404
62	Thailand	13,300	...	13,300
63	Togo	1,079	...	1,079
64	Tonga	283	...	283
65	U.A.R.	60,000	22,223	82,223
66	U.K.	28,262,132	9,920,000	38,182,132
67	U.S.A.	35,500,000 (Cash) 53,657,000 (Kind)	...	89,157,000
68	*U.S.S.R.*	...	20,000,000	20,000,000
69	Uganda	14,006	...	14,006
70	Uruguay	2,000	...	2,000
71	Yugoslavia	20,000	...	20,000
72	South Vietnam	15,000	20,000	35,000
73	Zambia	28,004	...	28,004
	Total ...	192,935,136	41,778,283	234,713,419

* Turkey—Blankets, Medicine, Baby Food, etc.

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2. OFFERS RECEIVED FROM U.N. AGENCIES

Offers received from U.N. Agencies ... ... $ 4,352,280

Serial number.	*Name of the International Organisation.*	*Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.*			*Total.*
		Through U.N. Focal Point.	*Direct to the Government of India.*	*Direct to the Voluntary Organisation.*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	WHP	3,097,280	...	...	3,097,280
2	UNHCR	500,000	...	...	500,000
3	UNICEF	600,000	...	...	600,000
4	WHO ...	155,000	...	...	155,000
		4,352,280	...	...	4,352,280

3. OFFERS RECEIVED FROM VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

(IN DOLLARS)

(i) Through U. N. Focal Point 5,451,140

(ii) Direct from Voluntary Organisations 19,979,623

Total ... 25,430,763

Serial number.	*Name of the International Organisation/Foreign Government.*	*Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.*		*Total.*
		Through U.N.Focal Point.	*Direct through Voluntary Organisations.*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	**Australia—**			
	(*a*) AUSTCARE	47,603	...	285,733
	(*b*) Other Organisations	238,130		
2	(i) Belgian Committee for aid to refugees	46,286	...	111,361
	(ii) Other Organisations	65,075		
3	Voluntary Organisations (Canada) ...	64,653	...	64,653
4	CIMADE (France)	9,058	...	855,814
	Other Organisations	846,756		
5	Voluntary Organisations (Guyana) ...	5,000	...	5,000
6	(*a*) Deut Sche Welhungerstrife (F R G) and Other Organisations ...	1,505,487	...	1,505,487
	(*b*) Voluntary Organisations (F R G) ...	...	6,580,000	6,580,000
7	Voluntary Organisations (Iceland) ...	1,200	...	1,200
8	Citizens of Hong Kong		25,000	25,000

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Serial number.	Name of the International Organisation/Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars. Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct through Voluntary Organisations.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9	**Japan—**			
	(*a*) DOMEI	85,000	...	95,000
	(*b*) Other Voluntary Organisations ...	10,000		
10	Voluntary Organisations (Luxembourg) ...	1,005	...	1,005
11	**Netherlands—**			
	(*a*) LUNICEF	140,056	...	5,940,046
	(*b*) Relief Committees	2,629,054	3,170,936	
12	**New Zealand—**			
	CORSO	52,788	95,400	194,126
	Other Organisations	45,938		
13	**Norway—**			
	Norwegian Refugee Council ...	14,000	126,000	140,000
	Other Voluntary Organisations ...	139,997	...	139,997
14	**Switzerland—**			
	Private Agencies	...	777,000	777,000
15	**Sweden—**			
	(*a*) Red Cross Society and Luthern World Federation, Sweden. ...	...	70,000	70,000
	(*b*) Radda Barmar	116,279	...	116,279
16	**U.K.—**			
	Voluntary Organisations	12,830	...	12,830
17	**U.S.A—**			
	(*a*) World Student Christian Federation.	3,375	...	400,490
	(*b*) Other Organisations	397,115		
18	Gift Coupon, UNESCO	8,205	...	8,205
19	Sovereign Order of Malta	10,801	...	10,801
20	Air Companies	232,936	...	232,936
21	I C F U	1,463	...	1,463

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Serial number.	Name of the International Organisation/Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars. Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct through Voluntary Organisations.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
22	**Private Donors—**			
	(*a*) Switzerland	1,216	...	1,216
	(*b*) United States	16,408	...	16,408
	(*c*) Other Countries	2,014	...	2,014
	(*d*) Malayasia	1,308	...	1,308
	(*e*) Zaire	13,540	...	13,540
23	U.N. Staff Association	16,767	...	16,767
24	International Red Cross Society ...	...	70,000	70,000
25	National Societies to I R C S ...	...	6,615,233	6,615,233
26	Catholic Hierarchy	...	144,000	144,000
27	Protestant Church	...	7,200	7,200
28	Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Australia	...	483,000	483,000
29	Indian Community, Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone	...	30,166	30,166
30	Indian Community, Dublin (Ireland) ...	...	5,688	5,688
31	Double counting	(—) 1,330,213	...	(—) 1,330,213
	Total ...	5,451,140	19,979,623	25,430,763

Grand total—1, 2 and 3 **$ 264,496,462**
or
Rs. 198.37 crores.

III. INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

STATEMENT OF PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGHA KHAN, UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, AT THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNHCR HELD IN GENEVA

October 4, 1971

Mr. Chairman, half a century after the inception of International refugee work by. Fridtj of Nansen, and twenty years after my office embarked upon a challenging task of solving refugee problem, it is painful for me to have to report that the world refugee situation has, if anything, become grimmer and increasingly explosive. Year after year, we have lived with the idealistic hope that the humanitarian work

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of UNHCR, would cure the disease of refugee problems. It is symptomatic that this year when observing our twentieth anniversary, present events remind us of the harsh and sad realities of a world in turmoil which is far from meeting our hopes. The plight of vast masses of refugees is not past history; it remains very much a current phenomenon.

While the basic structure of UNHCR has remained the same, the problem of uprooted people throughout the world has greatly developed in dimensions and in variety. As a result of the ever-changing nature of the situation of displaced persons, my office has been called upon increasingly to perform functions not foreseen when its original mandate was evolved. The use of UNHCR's "Good offices" role is a natural by-product of this evolution. By striving to promote rapid solutions to refugee problems, UNHCR surely contributes to the lessening of tensions between states. The more a situation is complex and loaded with political overtones, the more we are required to be flexible in our work and diplomatic in our approach. While determination of refugee status remains a matter for the host country to decide upon, we must spare no effort to alleviate human suffering.

Although it is heartening to recall such highly successful operations as the repatriation of Nigerian children or the usual work carried out in delicate political, social and economic conditions in African countries and many others in various parts of the world, it is nonetheless both alarming and tragic to note that these successes are dwarfed by a challenge of unprecedented magnitude that this year has brought with it for the international community and which preoccupies you all as much, I am sure, as it preoccupies me: I am now thinking of the gigantic and cruel problem of displaced persons from East Pakistan in India and other neighbouring states.

After the events of last March in East Pakistan, the Government of India, faced with a sudden and most serious influx of East Pakistanis into its territory, requested the Secretary-General on April 23, 1971, to make available necessary assistance from the United Nations in order to alleviate the suffering of this mass of refugees and to ease the burden on the Indian economy which their presence inevitably carried in its wake. This request was brought to the attention of all Heads of United Nations Agencies and Programmes at a meeting of the administrative committee on co-ordination presided by U-Thant at Berne on April 26 and 27. It was clear during this meeting that a problem of this magnitude required a concerned and co-ordinated effort of all members of the United Nations system. The varied and colossal nature of immediate relief measures—be it food, shelter or medical care—was such that it was far beyond the financial or technical means of UNHCR alone. The Secretary-General was therefore convinced of the need to step up a mechanism of co-ordination without delay. His decision was also in line with the thinking of the Government of India which, in its request, addressed itself to the whole United Nations system. After consultations with all executive heads, the Secretary-General decided on April 29 that the High Commissioner for Refugees should act as the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance from the United Nations. By then, the increasingly large numbers of refugees were already imposing great sacrifices on India and its administration, and many more were yet to come.

Immediately after assuming these additional functions, I sent to India a team of three senior staff members headed by the Deputy High Commissioner to investigate and assess the situation. A succinct report of the findings of this mission was made available to Governments. An analysis of the situation and of the views of the two Governments principally concerned, that is to say India and Pakistan, made it clear from the beginning that the United Nations action was to concentrate upon two things: First, urgent relief measures for refugees in India and

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whenever possible, promotion of their voluntary repatriation, which was generally agreed to be the only lasting solution to the problem. Consequently, on May 19, 1971, the Secretary-General launched an appeal for assistance to East Pakistani refugees. Whilst emphasizing his deep concern for their plight, U-Thant expressed the hope that these refugees would be "voluntarily repatriated at the earliest possible time", I indicated that, "pending such repatriation, massive external assistance will be required on an emergency basis" and appealed "to governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, as well as private sources, to help meet the urgent needs".

I have actively followed up this appeal, and I am gratified to say that the response of the international community has been generous though it may yet seem inadequate in relation to India's needs. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation of all donor governments and non-governmental organisations and voluntary organisations which, so speedily, made available contributions in cash and kind. While it is heartening to note that the response of the international community to this refugee problem has been of unprecedented magnitude—with contributions in cash and in kind amounting to date to some 115 million dollars—I must emphasize that much more is still required. I intend making available shortly to all governments a detailed account of priority needs for their immediate attention.

As for the actual mechanism of the Focal Point, immediately after assuming these responsibilities I set up in Geneva a standing inter-agency consultation unit. Its task is, first to mobilise and secure international support and contributions; second to arrange for the procurement of supplies in a co-ordinated manner and to deliver the supplies in India; third to maintain close liaison with the Government of India. Parallel to this consultation unit, the Government of India has set up in Delhi a co-ordinating committee where all operational Ministries of the Central Government as well as the United Nations Agencies directly interested are represented. This double mechanism, in Geneva and in Delhi, for consultation on and co-ordination of all activities is yielding positive results to the satisfaction of all concerned. I wish here to extend my warmest appreciation to the specialised agencies of the United Nations system for their immediate response and effective co-operation.

I should like to stress, for better understanding of the combined efforts in this situation, that this new United Nations role is not an operational one. We have subscribed to the express wishes of the Government of India and left the operational responsibility to the authorities. The Focal Point, consequently, does not have any operational staff in the field. My representative in India, Mr. Jamieson, who is well known to you, and his focal point team, act essentially as a liaison and co-ordination link and their duty station is Delhi, though they frequently visit the States where the refugees are concentrated. The responsibility of the United Nations system is restricted to taking action at international level for raising funds for assistance and contributions in kind; to channel these to the Government of India and to co-ordinate activities as regards their use in order that the Focal Point may be able, with the help of the Government of India, to give a satisfactory account of the use of their contributions to the donors. The most significant characteristic of this non-operational role is that it goes against the danger of the institutionalization of refugee camps and limits the threat of this United Nations operation becoming yet another permanent political and economic burden on the international community. The principal incentive must remain the promoting of

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conditions leading rapidly to a permanent solution. Being non-operational on the other hand, it is relatively less easy to report on and have readily available all details relevant to the assistance measures taken. It is difficult to neglect this aspect of the work in view of the natural desire of donors to receive full satisfaction that their contributions have been used to the maximum benefit of recipients. This being said, I cannot express sufficient admiration for the countless men and women of India who are joining together against frightening odds to bring succour to the refugees.

As for the overall assessment of the situation, I need hardly point out, particularly to this committee, that relief measures now being provided in India will never be a solution in itself. What is eventually going to happen to these suffering masses of displaced persons? As is already recognised, it is the expressed wish of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan that these refugees be repatriated. You are aware that in refugee situations voluntary repatriation has traditionally served as the best solution. UNHCR has had recourse to this in many countries all over the world. I should point out, however, that UNHCR achieved results because there was a consensus of opinion between the host country and the country of origin and both sides agreed not only on the solution but also on modalities leading to this solution. In our past experience, if and when a settlement had occurred in the country of origin, a system of mutual co-operation and help was established with the active participation of UNHCR which facilitated repatriation. Until this stage is reached, substantial and well organised repatriation cannot be a success and the trend is difficult to reverse. It is with this in mind that I established contact with the Government of Pakistan at a very early stage. The Government extended full co-operation and agreed to the stationing of a UNHCR representative in East Pakistan who is now working and has a small team of field assistants. His activities are closely co-ordinated with the United Nations East Pakistan relief operation. The Government of Pakistan has set up reception centres in order to receive refugees and facilitate their return to their homesteads and those are visited regularly by UNHCR.

Mr. Chairman, I have had myself occasion to visit both India and Pakistan in order to make a personal assessment on the spot and to consult with the two Governments regarding the situation which is causing so much concern not only to both of them but also to the whole international community. I proceeded not only to the two capitals and had discussions at the highest level but also saw the border areas on both sides. In India, I visited some refugee camps and in Pakistan, some reception centres.

The situation remains very grim indeed and demands much greater effort and more generosity on the part of the international community. Interest must not slacken and apathy should not set in. The recent floods have had a devastating effect on the camps, and distribution problems as a result of the floods have added a new dimension to this tragedy. The fragile health of the young and old will be further affected.

I have given a very limited account of UNHCR's role as Focal Point and of the magnitude of the task which confronts us. The information paper which is being made available will give you the updated details. Whilst no solution is yet in sight for this refugee problem, we must clearly not allow it to detract or monopolize our attention from other refugees in other parts of the world, and particularly in Africa where progress has been achieved.

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STATEMENT BY SHRI G. S. KAHLON, REHABILITATION SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN THE 22nd SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNHCR HELD IN GENEVA

October 5, 1971

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and members of your Committee for providing me with this opportunity to address you. May I, Sir, begin by extending to you my Delegation's and my own warmest congratulations on your election as Chairman of this Committee? You, Sir, and your country have taken such deep interest in refugee problems and have great knowledge of humanitarian issues involved therein. I wish you and your colleagues, the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, every success, and extend to you our fullest co-operation in discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

May I also take this opportunity to join all other delegations in congratulating The High Commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, for his most interesting and informative statement. He and members of his staff have difficult and demanding task to perform all over the world, and we in India, in our present position, would like to express our appreciation to them for prompt and efficient assistance they have kindly given so ungrudgingly.

Your present meeting has historical significance, since it coincides with 20th anniversary of setting up of Office of UNHCR. However, it is unfortunate that world should today be faced with tremendous tragedy of human situation involving over 9 million of people who have had to flee their hearths and homes and seek refuge in another country, and whose hardship we are all trying to mitigate. As the distinguished High Commissioner himself had pointed out in his statement yesterday, "The common objective—inside and outside the United Nations—should be to seek ways and means to eradicate the cause of refugee problems and to solve political, social and economic ills which trigger off all large movements of population". It is only through eradication of these causes that solution of this complex problem can be found; only then can any voluntary repatriation of refugees, like those who have crossed into India in millions, be brought about.

As you know, Sir, India is so vitally and extensively concerned with current problem of influx of refugees from East Pakistan that I feel it is necessary to apprise this Committee of some essential details of problem that India has had, and is still facing, in this context, and manner in which she is tackling it, with assistance of course from international community.

Unfortunate and unparalleled circumstances leading to enormous human suffering that caused this exodus of vast numbers from East Pakistan from end of March, 1971, onwards are well known already. In these most distressing circumstances, India had to extend, on purely humanitarian grounds, shelter and relief to millions who crossed over into border States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura from East Pakistan. Influx was so sudden and so rapid that India had to strain her economic and administrative resources to very great extent from very beginning. Thus, beginning from end of March, within a couple of months total influx of refugees into India had gone up to nearly four million, and today it has crossed 9 million already, without any signs of them returning to East Pakistan at all. Average inflow per day still continues to be between 30,000 to 50,000 persons, and if this rate continues at this scale we may well have not less than 12 million refugees on our hands by end of this year.

For organising gigantic programme of providing relief to such phenomenal number of refugees, Government of India has had to establish special Branch Secretariat in Calcutta under a very senior officer. This Secretariat is intended to be the executive outpost of the Central Rehabilitation Department, and has been

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given necessary financial and other requisite powers for undertaking and executing on-the-spot decisions with regard to relief measures, by setting up camps, providing food and other necessary supplies, including medical supplies and for organising co-ordination with different State Governments as well as other voluntary agencies concerned. Also at Centre in Delhi, a Department has been established with a Central Co-ordination Committee for providing liaison, advice and assistance in implementation of Government's policies as well as various international agencies' efforts in this behalf.

The Government of India has made provision of Rs. 260 crores (US dollars 360 million) for all this relief work up to end of December, 1971. This includes expected amount of Rs. 50 crores (US dollars 69 million) in foreign aid. However, now for 8 million refugees in camps (which, it is considered, will be the figure shortly because of increased inflow, as well as demand of those who had come to friends and relatives to be helped by Government now) it is estimated that for a period of six months we would require Rs. 419 crores or US dollars 558 million. Grand total is Rs. 4,187.89 million or say Rs. 4,188 million. This is equivalent to 558 million US dollars.

Details of these calculations have been worked out carefully in Government of India and have also been duly communicated lately to Focal Point at Delhi.

It has been necessary to ease pressure in area where it had become unbearable, and so Government of India has had to disperse three million refugees to central camps into interior where properly organised arrangements under direct supervision of Centre are being run.

Even with enormous influx into India, we have tried our best to provide some shelter at least to refugees in whatever way we possibly could. In this, we have had very significant assistance from U.N. Focal Point in procuring requisite shelter material. As a result, 50 per cent of families will be accommodated in improvised huts, and rest will get tents, tarpaulins, polythene sheets, etc.

Adequate medical and public health facilities have also been organised from the very beginning. Therefore, we were able to cope with outbreak of cholera in summer months when widespread infection had been brought in by refugees with them in large numbers, and it threatened to spread all over the countryside too. Up to September 20, 1971, 46,752 cases of Cholera were reported, and of these, 5,834 persons died in hospitals, health centres and camps. In this effort too we greatly appreciate the help of all the international agencies who rendered every possible assistance most urgently.

The Government of India have also been specially concerned over incidence of malnutrition among very young children in the camps. So a team of top grade medical experts, under chairmanship of Director of All India Institute of Medical Sciences, had been set up to survey the problem and suggest a programme for coping with it effectively. UNICEF organisations were also requested to suggest programme of supplementary feeding. Total proposals in this context have already been finally approved by Government of India and "Operation Lifeline" has been started. It will look after over two million children and will cost about Rs. 3 crores (US dollars 4·1 million). Both preventive and clinical requirements of the situation have been fully kept in view while devising total programme. For all medical and para-medical requirements, we have had good, all round response in the country itself, from technical personnel from all over India. That is why we have had to gratefully decline some very generous offers from outside agencies in this behalf, although we do so appreciate the spirit behind it.

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For feeding refugees, Government of India have fixed scales of rations for adults and children according to advice of its nutritional experts. Thus, every adult gets 300 grams of rice, 100 grams of wheat flour, 100 grams of pulses, 25 grams of edible oil and 25 grams of sugar per head per day; and every child between the age of 1 year and 8 years gets 150 grams of rice, 50 grams of wheat flour, 50 grams of pulses, 12 grams of edible oil and 15 grams of sugar per head per day. Apart from this, a small amount is also provided for each refugee in cash per head per day for the purpose of buying vegetables, spices, fuel, washing soap, etc. Similarly, for clothes, deserving people in camps are being given these—cotton or woollen. With coming of winter now there is urgent requirement of woollen blankets for which we have requested Focal Point specially.

Arrangements have also been made within these camps for providing basic education to children through refugee teachers who are given token honorarium for this work. Adult education through audio-visual methods is also organised in settled camps. However, no institutionalised form of education has been organised in view of fact that these refugees (all registered as foreigners) have to be soon returning to their homes. Refugees themselves are being encouraged to carry out recreational and welfare activities within camps on self-help basis. Unattached women's homes and orphanages have also been established near these relief camps so as to keep these women and children in their own environment and in context of their kinship and culture.

We in India are deeply appreciative of efforts so far made by several Governments, combined U.N. Agencies and other voluntary organisations for providing relief assistance to refugees. At the moment, according to latest figures, total amount committed is approximately 154 million US dollars. This, however, as Committee itself will appreciate, and the distinguished High Commissioner pointed out in his statement yesterday, is not at all adequate to the needs which today amount to 558 million US dollars. Even out of this committed amount of 154 million dollars, we have so far physically received only about Rs. 25 crores (US dollars 34.7 millions).

Sir, I have described briefly about the organisation which Government of India has had to lay on for coping with the enormous problem that just descended on it suddenly. India has had to take on this stupendous task on purely humanitarian basis in trust for international community whose responsibility really these refugees are. But the strain—economic, social and administrative—that this serious emergency has put on India, and her finances, and general development, I am sure it will be appreciated, is of colossal magnitude. We trust, therefore, that through your good offices, international community will duly realise the gravity of the situation. Of course, ultimate real remedy for total situation lies not only in providing temporary relief, on howsoever extensive scale it may be, for these millions of refugees, but in finding permanent solution for enabling them to go back to their homes in conditions of security, peace and political satisfaction. For this, Sir, conscience and conscious effort of the world community will have to bestir themselves most urgently, lest this highly explosive situation gets further worse and goes the irreversible way.

With your permission then, Mr. Chairman, may I request this august body to appeal to the world at large to take in hand its responsibilities to meet this grave situation by providing enlarged relief assistance as required, and to urge upon the Government of Pakistan to take all necessary measures for creating a climate of confidence to encourage voluntary repatriation of these millions of unfortunate people so that they can return to their hearths and homes in peace and security.

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DECISION CONCERNING THE GENERAL DEBATE ADOPTED BY THE TWENTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNHCR'S PROGRAMME

October 12, 1971

Decision concerning the general debate (Item 3 of the agenda)

The Executive Committee:

(1) Paid tribute to the Office of the High Commissioner for the results it had achieved during the first two decades of its existence, and emphasised the humanitarian and non-political character of its task, the observance of which had enabled the Office to assist refugees, often in difficult circumstances, in many parts of the world;

(2) expressed general agreement with the policies enunciated by the High Commissioner in his introductory statement;

(3) expressed deep concern at the magnitude of the tragic problem of refugees in India;

(4) acknowledged with great appreciation the way in which the High Commissioner was discharging his duties as Focal Point of the United Nations for coordination of assistance to these refugees, which were entirely separate from his usual activities;

(5) urged all governments to respond generously to the appeals for increased assistance launched by the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to meet the continuing emergency;

(6) noted with satisfaction that good progress was being achieved by UNHCR in respect of its usual activities, although it was facing continuing problems of a considerable size in certain areas, and especially in Africa; and

(7) stressed the importance of vigorously pursuing the usual activities of UNHCR, as in the past.

PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGHA KHAN, U.N.H.C.R., IN GENEVA

October 13, 1971

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Jamieson, Chief of the Focal Point operations in New Delhi, held a press conference at the Palais Des Nations in Geneva on October 13, regarding the activities of his office as the Focal Point of United Nations assistance to East Pakistani refugees.

He said that he had to make a strong and urgent appeal to the international community for urgent and substantial contributions essentially from Governments, since the inflow of cash and kind had tended to dry up during the last few weeks....

"We have to fight against apathy which is beginning to set in," he stated. For the last fortnight, there had been no new funds to make allocations for purchasing much needed commodities. All the goods were now in the pipeline, but if no further contributions were received there would be a risk of a gap in supplies in two months' time and "the situation might become extremely dramatic."

The last allocation made from funds available had been used for the first purchasing order for clothing and blankets to the value of dollars 4,800,000 to the UNICEF and dollars 480,000 to the Government of India for the purchase of straw mats.

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All Governments were now being given detailed information supplied by the Government of India concerning future needs. Dollars 558 million was the total amount estimated to assist 8 million refugees in camps for six months.

The High Commissioner stressed the impact on India's economy, of the Government having to devote energy, time and goods to relief work. He hoped that Governments would realise the value of assisting the relief work, which, from a humane point of view, was urgent but was also an element of reducing tensions in the area. He insisted on the fact that relief by itself was not a solution, underlined the stand-points of both the Indian and Pakistani Governments that the solution was voluntary repatriation, and said that the UNHCR was available to assist this voluntary repatriation in every possible way.

He referred to the presence of UNHCR officers in East Pakistan as part of the UNHCR's function to help returnees.

The High Commissioner then outlined the various ways in which nations could help. It was particularly important that substantial cash contributions are made, as this afforded great flexibility in the acquisition of commodities. Quite a few of these could be found in India itself. Furthermore, the Focal Point would be able, through the UNICEF, the World Food Programme, and the World Health Organisation, to purchase throughout the world, on the most economic terms, goods needed by the Indian Government to assist the refugees.

Regarding the immensity of task, it was necessary to mobilise public opinion and appeal to all voluntary organisations to co-operate. The League of Red Cross Societies was already closely associated with the work of the Focal Point. It was already giving logistical support to the Indian Red Cross.

Mr. Jamieson said that the Government of India had made arrangement whereby voluntary organisations established in India could associate themselves with the relief work, and that there were regular joint meetings with them and the Indian Red Cross and the Government of India representatives in Calcutta.

The High Commissioner explained that the Government of India had advised him that there was no need for helpers from abroad as enough qualified personnel had come forward from India. The UNHCR, as the Focal Point, was ready, as in the past, to transfer to India donations from the private sector.

Both the High Commissioner and Mr. Jamieson explained the working of the Focal Point in Geneva as the co-ordinator of United Nations action and, in India, as the link with the Government of India and the United Nations Agencies. The *ad hoc* arrangements worked smoothly.

In reply to questions, it was stated that, of dollars 115 million contributed to the Focal Point, dollars 11.7 million in cash had been transmitted to the Government of India, dollars 24.5 million worth of goods had been delivered, and the rest were on the high seas, being loaded or brought, and would all be delivered before the end of the year.

As for future requirements, attention was drawn to priority items such as clothing and blankets for 6.5 million adults and 2 million children to the amount of dollars 15.5 million.

In this connection, the High Commissioner mentioned that he had just been informed by the Netherlands Committee for Aid to Refugees that they had allotted dollars 1,929,000 for purchasing clothing for 600,000 adults and 300,000 children in the Northern part of West Bengal, Assam and Meghalaya. In addition to clothing, shelter material for 4 million persons was needed on the priority list in an amount

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of dollars 43 million, as was the support to be given to "Operation Lifeline" which required some 92,500 metric tons of protein rich food.

PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGHA KHAN'S STATEMENT IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY November 18, 1971

Madam Chairman, when I spoke to this committee earlier, it was the sixth report that I presented to this distinguished forum on the regular work of my office since my election as High Commissioner for Refugees. Each year, I have pointed to the changes in the refugee situation and our efforts to deal with them. Whilst new and serious problems have arisen in the course of these years, I have been immensely grateful for the growing support and understanding of the international community. It has helped immeasurably in facing the situation effectively and with courage, and in fostering permanent solutions which remain the constant objective of my office. Today, unfortunately, I speak with urgency of an overwhelming problem. A problem that has grown in dimension and anguish, almost beyond comprehension and endurance. That this should coincide with the Twentieth Anniversary of UNHCR, when we had been appealing for, and working towards, an end to the refugee problem, is the starkest commentary on the times in which we live. Four months ago, on July 16, I informed the Economic and Social Council of the humanitarian efforts of the U.N. system to alleviate the suffering of East Pakistani refugees in India. Early in October, I spoke to the Executive Committee of my regular programme of the situation as it then exisited. But this is a situation that has relentlessly grown more tragic from day to day. The suffering is not over, but continues; the number has not lessened, but has increased; the gap between needs and resources, which has consistently been adverse, threatens catastrophically to become a chasm. And all this, despite a truly remarkable relief effort being made by the Government and people of India and an unparalleled response by the international community. Where will this deteriorating spiral end?

If I have, at the very outset of my statement, sounded a voice of deepest concern, it is because that indeed is what the situation demands. It is not for me, today, to analyse the complexities of the political, economic and social factors that are responsible for this situation. The analysis of the United Nations is clearly expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the organisation (document A/8401/Add.1 of 17 September 1971). What I shall speak of is the purely humanitarian task entrusted to me on behalf of the United Nations. It is a task in which I seek your assistance as never before, for it touches the life of many millions of refugees—upon the fate of whom depends the restoration of tranquillity in a sub-continent. I could do no less for the refugees. They would expect no less from us, here in the United Nations. It has been quite evident since April 23, when the Government of India requested the Secretary-General for assistance from the United Nations, to alleviate the suffering of the refugees and to ease the burden on India that their presence entailed, that this was a problem the magnitude of which required exceptional measures of the U.N. system. The varied and colossal nature of immediate relief requirements—whether for food, shelter, medical care or logistical support—was far beyond the financial or technical means of UNHCR alone. Accordingly, following consultations in a meeting of the administrative committee of co-ordination, the Secretary-General decided, on April 29, that the High Commissioner for Refugees should act as the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance from the U.N. system. This decision was also in line with the thinking of the Government of India which, in its request, addressed itself to the whole U.N. system. Immediately after assuming these additional functions, I sent to India a team headed by the Deputy High Commissioner to study and assess the situation. A succinct report of the team's findings

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was made available to Governments. An analysis of the situation and of the views of the two Governments principally concerned, namely India and Pakistan, made it clear that United Nations action had to concentrate on two objectives: First, urgent relief measures for the refugees in India; second, the promotion of their voluntary repatriation—it was generally agreed that only this could provide a lasting solution to the problem. Consequently, on May 19, 1971, the Secretary-General whilst expressing deep concern for the plight of the refugees, expressed the hope that they would be "voluntarily repatriated at the earliest possible time". He further indicated that, "pending such repatriation, massive external assistance will be required on an emergency basis" and he appealed "to governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, as well as private sources, to help meet the urgent needs. At that time, it was estimated by the Government of India that some dollars 175 million would be required to meet the minimum needs of three million refugees for a period of six months. Neither needs, nor numbers, have stood still since, and our efforts have had to race against them and time. On June 26, 1971, the Government of India indicated that the requirements would be dollars 400 million for six million refugees for six months. Subsequently, on October 1, 1971, and essentially as an illustration for the broad order of magnitude, we received from the Government of India a calculation estimating that dollars 558 million would be required in expenditure to care for eight million refugees for six months. More recently, a special meeting of the consortium of Governments and institutions interested in India's economic development was held in Paris on October 26, 1971, under the Chairmanship of the World Bank. According to the announcement issued, the meeting "discussed the impact on the economy of the recent large and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan and assessed the cost relief at dollars 700 million in the financial year ending March, 1972".

I quoted this from the actual announcement of the World Bank; the consortium had before it a report on the cost of refugee relief prepared by the World Bank, which worked on an estimated 9 million refugees in camps by December 31, 1971. The precise costs will naturally be proportionate to the caseload of the refugees who are in camps by that date. The direct costs of refugee relief are governed, broadly, by three considerations: first, the number of refugees involved; second, the length of time over which relief is provided; and third, the norms of assistance. As regards the first and second of these factors, we have been kept informed continuously by the Government of India of the position as they have registered it over the past seven months. As of November 12, the Indian authorities indicated that the number of refugees is 9,744,404. Members of this committee are also aware that the Government of Pakistan has informed the Secretary-General on September 2, 1971, that it estimated the number of persons displaced from East Pakistan to be 2,002,623. I shall not endeavour here an independent projection of numbers into the future, since clearly there are far too many conjectural elements involved. In particular, I would not do so because of the ever present hope that the uprooted people may soon be able to return to their homes. Nevertheless, there can be no preparedness without working hypotheses, and I wish to assure this committee that we are conscious of the contingent. Turning to the third factor, i.e., the norms of assistance, these are well known to us. They comprise the base and the common element in each of the calculations that have been made of anticipated costs, calculations to which I have referred earlier. Broadly, these norms draw a distinction between recurring costs (such as food, medicines, salaries for relief personnel, maintenance of facilities, etc.) and non-recurring costs (such as shelter, medical and other equipment, vehicles, etc.). For the purpose of all the calculations made so far, the non-recurring costs have naturally been treated as one-time expenditure. However, should the problem continue for any length of time, certain of these costs would need to be repeated—for example, on some of

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the polythene flown out as shelter material. As regards the norms themselves, they are modest indeed. They have been worked out in close consultation with the Focal Point and the staff of the other U.N. Agencies associated with this effort, treating, as already indicated, non-recurring costs as one time, it has been calculated that average relief expenditure amounts at present to Rs. 2.74 per capita per day (or less than 37 US Cents).

Such, briefly, are the direct costs of the relief programme with which we in the Focal Point are concerned. There are other indirect costs, that have a widespread effect on the Indian economy. These have been discussed, *inter alia* in the recent meeting of the India consortium, at which my office was represented. I wish to make it quite clear, however, that consideration of these indirect costs and the long term economic repercussions of the refugee influx go beyond the concern of the Focal Point. Here, I wish to address myself strictly to the direct costs of the emergency relief operation. And these direct costs, based on the three criteria I mentioned earlier, namely the numbers reported, the period for which assistance is provided and the norms of assistance, lead to the staggering requirement that I have referred to earlier. It is not hard to conclude from this that the expenditure involved in sheltering, feeding and treating this mass of several million refugees is already far in excess of the international assistance pledged or delivered. Turning now to the response of the international community, may I say once again, that it is unparalleled in U.N. experience and I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for it. Till November 16, 1971, the Focal Point had received pledges totalling dollars 161,412,986.84. Of this amount, dollars 89,261,753.35 were pledged in cash and dollars 72,151,233.49 in kind. Lists of these contributions are annexed to an information paper that I have made available to this committee. The paper, in essence, recapitulates and brings up-to-date information that I provided to my executive committee in Geneva last month. Also contained in this paper is break-down of the actual and prospective deliveries by the U.N. system to India, as of October 31, 1971. I wish to thank most sincerely all these Governments, non-governmental organisations and private individuals who have channelled their help through the U.N. system.

I would also like to mention our deep appreciation of those who have contributed bilaterally or directly. This is clearly a situation that calls for universal response and the greater the universal effort the better. Taken together, all pledges from external sources now total an estimated dollars 247.6 million. Need I amplify on the gap? Seeing how patent it is, and after a summer of following up on the Secretary-General's May 19 appeal, I addressed a comprehensive aide-memoire to Governments again on October 11 and appealed on Television and Radio for further generosity. In particular, I stressed the need for unearmarked cash contributions to allow the greatest flexibility. I further pointed out that whilst some of the requirements could be met expeditiously in kind (e.g. Rice, Pulses, Sugar), the Focal Point, in line with the express wishes of the Government of India, would welcome contributions in cash to enable the purchase of as many commodities in India as possible. By mid-October, practically all the aid, whether in cash or kind, that had been pledged to the U.N. system had either been transmitted to the Government of India or was in the pipeline for delivery before the end of this year. It had been committed for the purchase and movement of shelter material, medicines, food supplies, blankets and clothing and for the provision of logistical support.

In consequence, the flow of material and financial resources was in imminent danger of interruption. Since this latest appeal, there have been further generous contributions, but the position remains exceedingly grave. Without wishing to belabour this committee with the details of the operation, which can be gleaned

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from the information paper, permit me to illustrate the dimensions of the effort, with a few vivid examples of the response through the U.N. system: Food: nearly 142,000 MT of rice have been pledged and 62,671 tons delivered; transport: over 2,200 vehicles have been ordered of which over two-thirds have been delivered; shelter: polythene sheeting, providing roofing for over 3 million refugees, has reached from abroad; blankets: about three million have so far been located and are being transported after a worldwise search; medicines: in one of the longest humanitarian airlifts ever, over 700 tons of medicines and medical supplies have been flown to India; health: provision is being made to combat malnutrition in its early stages and to cure it when it exists in camps scattered along the length of the border. None of this would have been possible without the excellent co-operation and co-ordination that has grown between my office and the other members of the U.N. system principally concerned. Which leads me to the actual mechanism of the Focal Point. Immediately after assuming this responsibility, I set up in Geneva a standing inter-agency consultation unit. Its task is, first to mobilize and secure international support and contributions; second to arrange for the procurement of supplies in a co-ordinated manner and to deliver the supplies to India; third to maintain close liaison with the Government of India. Parallel to this consultation unit, the Government of India has set up in Delhi a co-ordinating committee where all the ministries concerned of the Central Government as well as the U.N. Focal Point and the U.N. Agencies directly interested are represented.

This double mechanism, in Geneva and in Delhi, is yielding most positive results to the satisfaction of all concerned. I wish to extend my warmest appreciation to the specialized agencies of the United Nations for their immediate response and effective co-operation. It is important, too, that I should clarify for a better understanding of the combined efforts in this situation, that the role of the United Nations is not an operational one. Subscribing to the express wishes of the Government of India, we have left the operational responsibility to the authorities. My representative and his Focal Point team act essentially as a liaison and co-ordinating link and their duty station is Delhi. From there, they frequently travel to the States where the refugees are concentrated and they have visited numerous camps in each of the States. Additionally, staff members of UNICEF, WFP and WHO have undertaken missions to the refugee areas, UNICEF also having an office in Caluctta and Liaison Officers in the States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. The responsibility of the United Nations system is essentially to take action at the international level to raise contributions, to channel these to the Government of India and to co-ordinate activities in regard to their use in order that the Focal Point may be able, with the help of the Government of India, to give a satisfactory account of the use of their contributions to the donors. Additionally, the team in Delhi is associated with the planning of needs and priorities, particularly in regard to items that have to be obtained from abroad or for which financing from the Focal Point is feasible. The utility of the Focal Point mechanism is being proved by the results obtained. A centre exists within the United Nations system to co-ordinate information and activity. This facilitates contacts both with Governments and non-governmental organisations and is convenient for all concerned. Additionally, the United Nations system has been especially suited to offshore procurement of items, such as shelter material, vehicles, blankets, etc. I believe this has been of real assistance in the emergency. The mechanism has also enabled flexibility in seeking commodities at the most economic world prices and has thereby assured an optimum use of aid for the cash pledged. With all these advantages, I think it is important to stress that the United Nations does not have the means to operate itself a relief programme of such magnitude for an indefinite period of time. This is all to the good, for to try to do so would be to run the risk of institutionalizing and perpetuating a situation that no one desires, least of all the host country. It would also expose

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the international community to an economic and political burden without end, affect the morale of the refugees and become a confession of hopelessness. The principal objective must, therefore, categorically remain the promoting of conditions leading rapidly to voluntary repatriation. On the other hand, being non-operational, it is relatively less easy to report on and have readily available all details relevant to the assistance measures taken. For obvious reasons, it is essential not to neglect this aspect of the work in view of the natural desire of donors to receive full satisfaction that their contributions have been used to the maximum benefiit of recipients. In this regard, I am sure I can count on the full co-operation of the Government of India. I cannot express sufficient admiration for the countless men and women of India who are joining together against frightening odds to bring succour to the refugees. You have heard at length of the relief operation, of the funds needed and contributed and of our efforts to be of assistance. Critically, important as this is—and it is clear we need to more than double our efforts—the only viable and lasting solution lies, as obviously, in another direction.

This is the terrible paradox of the situation. We all know and agree that this cruel and gigantic problem can only be resolved by the repatriation of the refugees; the question is, how can this best be achieved, particularly since it is the expressed wish of both the Governments principally concerned that the refugees be repatriated. The life of the uprooted refugee is a tragic one. Undoubtedly, the best solution for a refugee lies, whenever it is possible, in voluntary repatriation back to his home, where he can live again a normal life among his own people. This has been the experience of my office throughout its twenty years of work all over the world and was indeed reiterated yesterday by many speakers in the Third Committee. In our past experience if and when a settlement had occurred in the country of origin a system of mutual co-operation was established with the active participation of UNHCR which facilitated repatriation. Until this stage is reached, substantial and well organised repatriation cannot be a success and the trend is difficult to reverse. I should point out additionally that UNHCR has achieved results only when there has been a consensus of opinion between the host country and the country of origin leading to voluntary repatriation. This consensus must apply not only to the solution, but also to the timing and modalities. It has been with this in mind, and to further the two objectives of our effort to which I referred earlier, that I have travelled twice to India and to Pakistan in the last six months, my latter journey just being completed last week. In India, I had an opportunity of seeing for myself refugee camps in northern West Bengal and in the State of Meghalaya. In the latter, I particularly saw the way in which refugees are methodically registered and issued ration cards and I witnessed the distribution of rations. I then proceeded to Delhi for useful and productive talks with the Foreign Minister and his colleagues. I also held detailed technical discussions with senior officials of the Government in regard to the assistance programme. I wish to thank the Indian authorities for the full co-operation they have extended to my representatives in India and to me personally. In Pakistan, I called on the President and met once again with the senior officials concerned. As you know, the Government extended full co-operation in the stationing of my representative in Dacca. He is now working there with a small team of field assistants. During my latest visit, I was informed by my representative that returnees who are seen coming back are sent to forward reception centres some miles inland where they are registered and innoculated. After a day or two, they are given a bus ticket to their village, clothing if need be, food for fifteen days and five rupees each. I was also informed that they are given a note for the village authorities, asking that every help be given to them for their rehabilitation. The Government of Pakistan has informed us that so far 200,000 refugees, of whom 30 per cent belong to the minority community, have returned to East Pakistan, some 64,000 through the

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reception centres and the rest on their own. When considering my annual report, this committee reacted once again yesterday with understanding of and support for the functions of my office. It was with good reason indeed that the General Assembly, in drafting the statute of my office, called upon the work of the High Commissioner to be purely humanitarian. I must respect this obligation as you would wish me to. Till such time as the refugees return, and they will only repatriate in significant number when here, as elsewhere in the world, they are convinced that real peace and security prevail, I would appeal to Governments and the people of the world to assist them generously. Away from their homes, living in an accumulation of despair that can destroy the fibre of the strongest, these people have suffered many times more than is inherent in normal human fate. Words without generosity and generosity without a permanent solution that would apply to all of them will make a mockery of their hopes. Need I add that the challenge is immense, and that we must pursue every worthwhile lead to meet it. I wish I could say today that a solution to this vexed problem is imminent and that we are moving with certainty in the right direction. But I cannot say so as yet. This does not mean that there shall be no change. Peace and the suffering of millions demand it. "For peace", as Auden has written in his hymn to the United Nations, "means to change at the right time". I would hope that this change comes soon, for it certainly would be calamitous if it came too late.

STATEMENT BY THE INDIAN DELEGATE, Mr. SAMAR SEN, ON UNHCR'S REPORT IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 18, 1971

We have followed with great interest the statement of the distinguished High Commissioner for Refugees on the latest situation of the East Pakistani refugees in India. It is particularly gratifying to us that the High Commissioner has, in spite of his remarkable diplomatic sweep and skill, confirmed in every important particular the account we have been giving of all aspects to this formidable problem. He has just returned from India where he visited some refugee camps of his choice and was given all facilities to put his understandably limited time to the best use. On several occasions, we have expressed our appreciation for the work being done by Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan. His statement here has confirmed once again the full co-operation that he and his representatives in India have been receiving from the Government of India in carrying out their duties. We should not like to recall the tragic course of events in East Bengal which forced the massive number of Pakistani citizens to leave their homes and come and live in India in most difficult conditions. Nor is it our wish to speak about the efforts made by India to deal with the intolerable burdens imposed on us by the actions of Pakistani military junta. A detailed account of these efforts was placed before the recent meeting of UNHCR's executive committee in Geneva. At present, we shall focus our attention mainly on steps to be taken to relieve the misery of the refugees, to the extent possible, through the United Nations.

The tragedy and the immensity of the problem can be described in the High Commissioner's words. At the ECOSOC meeting in July this year he said:

> "There is no doubt, therefore, that we are confronted with one of the major population movements of modern history, with all the tragic aspects of human misery and sufferings that such movements entail."

Reporting to his executive committee three months later in October he described it as a:

> "challenge of unprecedented magnitude".

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And this month he said in a broadcast message over All India Radio:

"I have no doubt that the influx of refugees from East Pakistan into India, since six months, in terms of its magnitude is the worst problem of uprooted people that the world has ever faced."

It should be clear to all, who have any feelings or objectivity, that never before have so many people fled across an international frontier in such a short period or in such distressing conditions. When we first approached the United Nations on April 23, 1971, for assistance to meet the needs of the refugees, they already totalled half a million. This number continued to increase as Pakistani military regime carried on with murder, loot, rape and other unspeakable atrocities.

On October 26, the Special Consortium of the World Bank meeting in Paris announced that "more than 9.5 million refugees have entered India by now and the influx is continuing". The latest figure is 9,608,901 on November 5, the daily average influx in September was 27,000 and in October 17,000.

This meeting in Paris was held to discuss the impact on the Indian economy of this large and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan. With your permission, I should like to read the communique issued, it is not long.

"A special meeting of the consortium of Governments and institutions interested in India's economic development was held in Paris on October 26, 1971, under the Chairmanship of the World Bank. It discussed the impact on the Indian economy of the recent large and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan, and assessed the cost of relief at dollars 700 million in the financial year ending March, 1972. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Governments of Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, and by representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Representatives of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand attended the meeting as observers.

The meeting heard statements by I. G. Patel, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, and by Charles Mace, Deputy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and considered a report on the cost of refugee relief prepared by the World Bank. More than 9.5 million refugees have entered India by now, and the influx is continuing. Delegates expressed deep concern about the situation and its serious consequences for the economic development of India and unanimously recognised the need for special assistance to offset the burden of refugee relief. Members emphasised that assistance for refugee relief should be additional to normal development assistance. Considering the nature of the problem, this assistance should preferably be in the form of grants. To prevent drastic cutbacks of development expenditures in India, commitments of special assistance are required urgently and should be in a form which would provide immediate support to the budget of the Indian Government and the Indian economy generally.

It was the sense of the meeting that the problem of refugees in India was an international responsibility. The meeting noted that world wide contributions pledged to date came to over dollars 200 million. Delegations urged the UNHCR as the Focal Point of the whole United Nations system to continue his efforts to seek contributions from the international community to cover the cost of relief estimated at dollars 700 million. The countries represented at the

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meeting agreed, because of their special interest in India, that they would make efforts to meet a substantial part of the total need ".

We in India deeply appreciate the offers of help from wherever they come and I should like to thank all Governments, international agencies, non-governmental organisations, voluntary agencies and private individuals—all of whom have done so much to help. But this response, generous as it is, takes care of only a small part of our needs. Between the requirements as assessed by the World Bank and the pledges so far made, the difference is nearly dollars 500 million. The actual gap is even wider since all the promises of help have not yet been fully kept.

The presence of millions of refugees has brought grievous impact on the economic, social and political life in India and is a continuing threat to India's stability and security. We wonder how many States in the world can receive nearly ten million refugees, with more coming every day, and still survive for six months. The driving of millions over millions of people into neighbouring country in a manner and in such conditions as would endanger the existence of the receiving state is nothing but a civil invasion and an intolerable interference in its domestic affairs.

That is what we are facing today and India has become a victim of a new kind of aggression by the military regime of Pakistan. The High Commissioner has spoken of two principal fields of action: first, urgent relief measures for refugees in India, and secondly, the promotion of their voluntary repatriation. The action so far taken for relief measures has been described fully in the statement of the High Commissioner himself. Voluntary repatriation is the only lasting solution to the problem. We emphasise that this is not only the best but an imperative solution. And that it must come soon. The international community as a whole is responsible for caring for the refugees, and if today India is looking after the massive millions of Pakistani refugees, she is doing so as a trustee on behalf of the international community and strictly for the shortest time possible. Conditions which will persuade them to return home must be created without further delay. We cannot and do not accept their indefinite presence in India. We agree with the High Commissioner that the relief operation should not become yet another permanent political and economic burden on the international community. Since most of the burden has to be borne by India, what the High Commissioner has said is much more true for India herself.

In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General stated that "efforts to bring about the repatriation of refugees have so far been unavailing. Since President Yahya Khan announced his agreement to allow the East Pakistan refugees to return on May 25, the total number of refugees in India has steadily increased. The crux of the matter is that international and Government efforts in East Pakistan are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation ".

To this reason for the lack of progress in repatriation, must be added another and more basic explanation of why the influx has continued over these six months. It has been described indeed as a haemorrhage. Unless we can diagnose the disease, we cannot provide any effective cure. Volume of reports from impartial international observers which explain the causes exists, but we do not have time to discuss all the details; chiefly, the basic cause of this unprecedented movement of people is to be found in the massive, systematic and continued violation of the most fundamental human rights, including the right of life itself. It amounts to a genocidal punishment to 75 million people. Seldom before, and certainly never after the U.N. Charter was promulgated, have human rights and fundamental freedoms been violated on such a vast scale and with so many brutalities

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and with such cynicism as has taken place this year in East Pakistan. This latter half of the 20th century, when man is striving to conquer space and time, we have had the misfortune to see a gigantic operation of medieval butchery. There has been an attempt to crush and humiliate a people simply in an attempt to suppress their freely and democratically expressed will. I do not wish to recount the events that led to this grim drama staged in East Pakistan since the mid-night of March 25, although we can easily and readily place before this committee unassailable facts of the entire situation as it unfolded from day to day. But we must emphasise that no solution to the problem of East Pakistan refugees in India can be found without discussing the nature and extent of massive violation of human rights in East Pakistan.

Ever since the tragedy started, there have been attempts to mislead and confuse the basic and root cause of this unprecedented movement of population. We understand these attempts by desparate and unwise men, and we cannot and will not sympathise with them. At first, all was sought to be hidden and protested by citing domestic jurisdiction and internal affairs. Subsequently, persistent efforts have been made to present the problem inside East Pakistan as an India-Pakistan dispute. Yet another argument is that India is preventing the return of the refugees, as if India could afford, under any circumstances, to feed or look after nearly ten million refugees for any length of time, and now established facts are perversely challenged in the hope that impact of public condemnation will be diffused, and so, reduced. But truth is hard to conceal; Pakistan's propaganda figures for refugees have been contradicted by President Yahya Khan himself who the other day, when discussing the question, said: "two or three million, there may even be four million." The President is obviously in doubt and is aware of the canard whose only purpose is to involve India in a process which has never been followed in any refugee problem, and yet his delegation continues to give figures as if they are based on anything except political imagination. It would indeed be a remarkable feat to count absent people. It is also noteworthy that Pakistan's figure of 200,000 refugees having returned to their homes has remained unchanged over the last three months. And then the figure is nicely divided and rounded upto 140,000 muslims and 60,000 Hindus, at the same time as the High Commissioner has been informed that 640,001 passed through reception centres and 136,000 came back on their own. Here again is another instance of counting people who, no one knows, how they came; but then people, who first described all the refugees as "criminals", who define all free voters as "anti-state" elements, who call all freedom-fighters as "miscreants" or now "indian infiltrators", cannot be expected to be too scrupulous about facts.

To discuss the mechanics of repatriation before creating the basic conditions for making repatriation possible and practicable, is unrealistic and inaffective. For facilitating the repatriation of the refugees, the High Commissioner made a pertinent comment to his executive committee in Geneva last month. He repeated the same comment today when he said: "In our past experience, if and when a settlement had occurred in the country of origin, a system of mutual co-operation and help was established with the active participation of UNHCR which facilitated repatriation. Until this stage is reached, substantial and well organised repatriation cannot make any sense and the trend is difficult to reverse."

We return once again, therefore, to the fundamental cause of the crisis in East Pakistan and the ceaseless flow of refugees. "The basic problem", writes the Secretary-General, "can be solved only if a political solution based on the reconciliation and the respect of humanitarian principles is achieved". The international community is entitled to ask if any solution to the basic issues which accompanied this man-made disaster, is being worked for. We see no effective attempt being made in that direction; on the contrary, much evidence is available

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that sophistry and confusion between great right and great wrong are being encouraged to conceal a lack of courage and to justify inaction. Events of the past months, with the understandable popular resistance to the discredited regime and its methods which is increasing steadily inside East Pakistan, should now make it clear that a climate of confidence can be created in East Pakistan only through reconciliation with the already elected and accepted leaders of the people of East Bengal. It is less than a year back that the East Pakistanis voted almost to a man for a certain leadership and a well defined programme, and they are 75 million of them—the majority of the population of the whole of Pakistan. Regrettably, the only attempts which have been made by the Government of Pakistan in this direction are propaganda measures to beguile increased international concern for a political solution. This concern was widely and unmistakably expressed during the General Debate of the Assembly. At the same time, military repression continues with the burning of whole villages as reprisals and on wrong information even in areas next to the capital of East Pakistan, and other brutalities are periodically and frequently reported in the Foreign Press.

Diverting attention from this main cause of the trouble will not solve the problem before us. To hurl accusations against India and deliberately to create tension through military concentration on the Indian borders, are totally negative and dangerous policies. We deplore these as much as the violation of human rights in East Pakistan.

We agree with every word of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Denmark when he said on November 16, 1971, before the first committee: "The Danish Government appeals, as others have done, to the Government of Pakistan for moderation and restraint, with a view to bringing to an end the violence in East Pakistan. Only a political settlement based on respect for human rights and the freely expressed will of the people can solve the problem of East Pakistan." Can such an expression of view in the larger interests of the sub-continent and the world be termed as an act of non-co-operation or of political motivation? No propaganda can change a problem, which is wholly and essentially a problem between the Government of Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan, into one of a dispute between India and Pakistan. The basic problem lies inside East Pakistan and must be solved there itself so that the refugees can go back under credible guarantees for safety of life, property and honour.

My delegation has also noted with deep interest the statement on the activities being undertaken by UNEPRO—United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation.

Suffering people are everywhere the same—refugees who seek shelter in a foreign land or the victims of the man-made disaster in their own country. But I should like to make, very briefly, one or two points regarding UNEPRO. First of all, certain circles in East Pakistan have expressed concern that the U.N. relief operations there might inadvertently assist the military regime. For example, let me refer to a report by Mr. Browne of *The New York Times* written from East Pakistan that appeared in its issue of November 17: "...once the supplies reach the final depots the responsibility of foreign relief organisations ends and distribution is handled by the army or its politically reliable 'peace committees', subject only to occasional spot checks by United Nations officials. It is widely charged that the army is using the aid more as a political lever than for genuinely humanitarian purposes, withholding it from rebel areas...."

Mr. Browne also noted: "The problem of helping feed the East Pakistanis was underscored by a foreign relief worker recently visiting the northern district of Rangpur, where pockets of near famine have been reported, due largely to lack of transportation.

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'We had to stop at a bridge to wait for a column of trucks to pass from the other direction', he related. These trucks were headed south, away from Rangpur, and they were loaded with Basmati Rice.

"Although East Pakistan always has a rice deficit, the province grows this very high quality Basmati rice which enjoys a good market abroad. Ordinarily, Pakistan exports this rice and sells it for hard currency, importing cheap rice from China and elsewhere for its own consumption.

"But now it certainly does not look very good for donor nations to be struggling at great cost to bring rice into East Pakistan so that the Islamabad Government can go on making a profit on home grown rice.

"Bengalis argue, in fact, that continued foodgrain and other assistance to the Government is nearly as much resented as the recently discontinued United States policy of providing Pakistan with the spare parts needed to maintain her military air-lifts from West to East."

These aspects of the operation have to be constantly watched and reviewed. We are glad that the representative of the UNEPRO in his statement has given recognition to some of these important problems. The news coming from East Pakistan is however not at all reassuring.

Secondly, we doubt if the present impression of relationship that exists between the UNHCR operation in India and the UNEPRO is altogether relevant or wise. The Secretary-General launched UNEPRO as a humanitarian operation and this was never intended to be, nor can it ever be, a substitute for the political solution inside East Pakistan. Should the donor countries come to consider that the UNEPRO is a way of solving the refugee problem in India it would be both unrealistic and unfortunate. This committee will, I am sure, avoid such an impression. Even if East Pakistan was over-flowing with rice and other foods, people will continue to take refuge outside it and refuse to return to their homeland as long as political persecution continues. People have fled to India because they have been terrorised and are full of fear of being killed and maimed and humiliated in a variety of ways.

To sum up, Madam Chairman, the burden on India imposed by the political refugees from East Pakistan continues to grow and is becoming intolerable. We all know the reasons for this most massive movement of population in human history in such a short time, and judging from the statements made by the numerous delegations in the General Assembly during its 26th Session, it would appear that our organisation as a whole is clear on the steps that should be taken by the Government of Pakistan to reverse the present trends. There is, however, deep disappointment that neither the United Nations nor individual States have yet been able to persuade that Government to take steps towards a solution. We in India, who are facing the most vicious impact of the problem created by another country, have tried to deal with it as humanely as possible, and at a great cost to ourselves. It is not by skirting round the problem, not by expressing sympathies alone, not by rendering financial or other assistance—however urgent such assistance certainly is—and not by evading the responsibility for taking forthright decisions, that the international community can act justly towards 10 million helpless and unfortunate refugees taking temporary shelter in India. It is by clear reasoning, a clear grasp of the basic causes of the problem and by a determined effort to make the Government of Pakistan see reason and act in conformity with the acknowledged principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms, that this committee, or for that matter the U.N., can truly discharge their responsibility towards suffering millions of East Pakistanis. Before I conclude, I repeat that all the causes of the crisis lie in East Pakistan, and it can be solved

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only in co-operation with the elected and accepted leaders of the people of East Pakistan and in accordance with their freely expressed will. Meanwhile, as long as we eat, the refugee will eat also.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS ON THE REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE U.N.H.C.R. AS U.N. FOCAL POINT FOR RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO EAST BENGAL REFUGEES IN INDIA, IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 18 and 19, 1971

The problem of East Pakistan refugees was debated in the Third Committee on November 18 and 19, 1971. Thirty-one countries participated in the debate including India and Pakistan. India spoke twice, as also U.K., France and Tunisia. Salient points made by various delegations who spoke in the debate are given below:

1. **U.S.A.—Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett:** In the matter of the refugees we recognise that it is India which has borne the heavy load. Considering the vast challenge, the lack of existing facilities and the initial need to improvise in the face of unforeseen emergency, the Indian effort in caring for the refugees deserves great praise. We are mindful of the serious impact of this new refugee problem on India's economy and on its programme for economic development. The cost of caring for the refugees through March 31, 1972, it has been estimated by the World Bank, will reach the equivalent of dollars 700 million. United States believes it is the responsibility of the international community to make a massive effort to help India meet this cost. Conscience and awareness of the vast human need permit no other course. President Nixon has asked Congress to appropriate another dollars 250 million for assistance to refugees in India and for relief assistance in East Pakistan. In the face of this unparallelled human emergency, my country will not be found wanting. We agree that the total contributions as compared with the need are disappointing. Until the refugees have been repatriated, there can be no slackening of international financial and material support. We also note the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to facilitate the return of refugees by establishing 25 special camps where returnees are fed, clothed and generally assisted to resettle. The UNEPRO activity is a most encouraging example of innovative response for the international community to the challenge of a major human tragedy. The Secretary-General still requires major support for this effort. The solution to this humanitarian problem lies in the return of the refugees to their homes. We hope conditions will be established to make return and resettlement possible. Until a solution is reached, my delegation appeals to the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all possible measures to facilitate the role of the U.N. in its efforts to provide relief assistance to the refugees in India and to the displaced and needy persons in East Pakistan. May we continue to witness an outpouring of human concern among people throughout the world for those unfortunate refugees.

2. **U. S. S. R.—Ambassador V. S. Safronchuk:** Noting the complex internal problems had arisen in Pakistan by not following peaceful political means without use of force, repressive measures against the people will not solve any political problem. India had reason for concern since the flow of refugees across the border had caused serious economic and other problems. In East Pakistan repression against people should be ended and a political solution must be found in the interest of the whole Pakistani people. Urgent measures for achieving political solution by granting the inalienable rights of East Pakistan should be adopted. Refugees can return only when security is guaranteed. We hope that restraint and reason would prevail in the area and that an armed conflict would

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not threaten peace of the region. Soviet Union would do everything possible to assist in a solution of the problem.

3. **U.K.—The Earl of Gowrie :** Spoke twice: The humanitarian issues are clearly the responsibility of the Third Committee, though obviously we all recognise only too clearly the problems of a political nature which lie behind this present situation. Political solution must be found if the refugees problem is to be ended, if voluntary repatriation is to be achieved and the hunger and misery are to be removed. But the question of how a political solution is to be achieved is not a matter for this Committee. It is, therefore, to the humanitarian aspects that my remarks are directed. Misery fell on innocent people and the Committee faced the responsibility of caring for those peoples. United Kingdom had given a total of £ 14.75 million to assist East Pakistani refugees in India and £ 2 million for aid in East Pakistan. The need was gigantic and the response must be of the same dimensions. We extend deep appreciation to UNEPRO for coping with disrupted patterns of life in East Pakistan. It was a question of relief to the population in sensitive areas susceptible to border problems. His Government urged that full co-operation and aid be given to UNEPRO in its work.

4. **FRANCE—Mon. J. Kosciusko Morizet, M. P :** Spoke twice : He shared the concern of India on the intolerable burdens faced by her by the influx of refugees into India and appealed for humanitarian assistance to India sharing the concern expressed by the High Commissioner over the Pakistani refugees in India. As regards assistance to the population in East Pakistan, it was unfortunate that UNEPRO was experiencing difficulties and even danger in the efforts to render help. He called on the international community to heed the warning that there could be conditions which would make it impossible to get it to the people. He declared that the future is dark and we must heed the warning. We must observe that although the international community has sympathy for East Pakistan, there are limits to the humanitarian aid we can give in the immediate future. He appealed to all concerned for a peaceful and generous solution which will end this ordeal.

5. **POLAND—Mr. W. Neneman :** A dramatic humanitarian problem on an unprecedented scale had been created. Aid could limit suffering, but it could not solve a problem which could only be ended by the return of the refugees. The only permanent solution is the return of refugees in safety. We hope that the Government of Pakistan would find a political solution in East Pakistan to enable refugees to go back. That would be in the best interests of peace.

6. **NETHERLANDS—Ambassador R. Fack :** Realising that the world has been confronted with the staggering problem of the refugees of East Pakistan on Indian soil, and deeply moved by the miserable plight of these millions, I have been authorised today to announce that my Government will make available a further gift of 10 million Guilders (about 3 million dollars) for the refugees in India and a further gift of 10 million Guilders (of which half will be in food aid) for the population of East Pakistan. The world's assistance has not been sufficient. What can this Committee and the General Assembly do to help find or promote a solution of a humanitarian problem of unprecedented scope which is putting an enormous strain on India, and at the same time on the relations between India and Pakistan. The Indian Government deserves the world's gratitude for this speedy and generous response. Both India and Pakistan seem to share the view of the international community that voluntary repatriation of the refugees is the only solution to this problem. As there are no signs of an impending large scale return, the world community faces two problems, namely, an immediate need for increased international aid to relieve the sufferings of the refugees and of those living in abject circumstances in East Pakistan, and secondly

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the urgency of promoting a solution by means of voluntary repatriation. The Committee should lend its weight to previous appeals for massive aid and assistance and at the same time bear in mind that it should be commensurate with the world community's willingness to indicate and promote a solution, as world's interest in specific refugee problems tends to flag if allowed to drag on unresolved; and the longer they last, it becomes difficult to raise funds and their mere presence becomes an international liability. Therefore, this Committee and the General Assembly, in the interests of the refugees and in accordance with the declared views of the Governments of India and Pakistan, tackle the two aspects of the question at the same time. To this end, the Netherlands delegation and the delegation of New Zealand have drafted a resolution. The tragedy of the subcontinent was caused by mortal fear—often understandable, sometimes perhaps irrational—but still mortal fear... The co-sponsors regard the draft as entirely non-controversial. The appeals to the two Governments are strictly in conformity with the declared intentions of these Governments.

7. **NEW ZEALAND—Ambassador J. V. Scott:** The refugee problem has worsened with refugees continuing to cross the border into India. Greater international efforts were required to provide for the refugees and the people of East-Pakistan. They would like to see that the ECOSOC review the situation when next in session. India could not be expected to bear the burden of the refugees indefinitely. The only satisfactory solution to the problem is for the refugees to return in safety and confidence to their country. Conditions must be created in East Pakistan which would encourage the refugees to return to their homes and take part in the development of the country. That was the only way to achieve a durable solution. So far, relatively few refugees have returned to their homes, and in the last few weeks security conditions in East Pakistan had deteriorated, border clashes have become more frequent, and tension had risen to a point where there was a serious danger of war between India and Pakistan. At the heart of the problem was the desire of the people of East Pakistan for greater control of their own affairs. Thus the problem could only be solved by negotiations between the Government of Pakistan and the freely elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan. The resources available were still far from adequate to meet the needs of the situation. In the belief that the General Assembly could address itself to the humanitarian aspects of the problem, his delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution. The purpose of the draft was humanitarian, prompted by deep concern and focussing attention on means to alleviate the distress of those affected by the upheaval in East Pakistan.

8. **YUGOSLAVIA—Mr. B. Osolnik, M. P.:** The international community could not reduce its involvement merely to material assistance, for political conditions must be created for an early return of the refugees to their homeland. It was clear that the refugees could not be supported by assistance indefinitely. A political climate acceptable to repatriation must be achieved.

9. **SWEDEN—Ambassador O. Bydbek:** The refugee population in India is now greater than the population of most Member States of the U.N. Both qualitatively and quantitatively, the refugee problem is successively growing into disastrous proportions. All nations should contribute to the relief activities in relation to their economic strength. We have admiration for the efforts to alleviate the plight of the refugees undertaken by the Government of India and the Indian people. Never before has a poor and developing country been faced with such a gigantic task which cannot but have serious consequences in terms of internal, social and economic conditions. The humanitarian situation which we are considering is of gigantic proportions. It can only be solved if conditions are created which make voluntary repatriation of the refugees possible. Quoting

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from the statement of the Foreign Minister of Sweden on 28th September, the Ambassador said "The Swedish Government joins those who appeal to the Government of Pakistan to show moderation and restraint in order to bring an end to the violence in East Pakistan. Only a political solution based on respect for human rights and the will of the people as expressed through the ballot can solve the problem of East Pakistan". We hold the same view today. We therefore, support the initiative of the Netherland and New Zealand delegations and become a co-sponsor of the draft resolution.

10. **CYPRUS—Mr. C. Papademas:** The Committee was entrusted with the humanitarian aspect of the tragedy of the refugees and there has to be some way of translating humanitarianism into action. The refugees fled to India because of fear of their lives. The 9 million refugees presented an overwhelming number that each country could realise by comparison to the size of their own population. His country sympathises with India and its people, for India is doing a noble task to give shelter to this vast mass of people. This is a man-made tragedy of proportions exceeding the imagination of man.

11. **BHUTAN—Mr. A. N. Ram:** The central issue before the Committee was the presence of more than 9 million refugees who had left East Pakistan to enter India. A grave sense of fear and insecurity had led those people to abandon their homes and they must return as soon as adequate conditions are created for their safe return. These conditions could be created only if the Government of Pakistan enter into a dialogue with the representatives of the people of East Pakistan in an attempt to reach a political solution. The General Assembly must address itself to the root cause of the problem to assist in the achievement of a political solution.

12. **CANADA—Mon. P. Gerin Lajoie,** President of the Canadian International Development Agency: I had led a Canadian fact-finding team to India and Pakistan and the impressions were deep and sombre. The massive influx of millions of refugees from East Pakistan to India has greatly increased tensions in the sub-continent, and as the number of refugees grow, it is evident that even India's herculean efforts to provide food, shelter and medical care, must be supplemented. The care of refugees had placed a serious burden on India's limited resources and threatened to undermine its own plans for social and economic development. Clearly, voluntary return of the refugees was the ultimate solution to be reached. The Canadian Government appeals to India and Pakistan to solve the problem and reduce the tensions, adding that war would cause untold physical destruction and severe dislocation of the economies of these countries.

13. **JAPAN—Miss C. Sanyo:** She expressed the hope that the great Asian nations would come to an agreement through the office of UNHCR.

14. **EGYPT—Mr. A. M. Moussa:** The refugee question required the concerted assistance and efforts of the international community until voluntary repatriation could be achieved. The co-operation of India and Pakistan, referred to by the High Commissioner, was appreciated by his Government which also agreed that the influx of refugees had placed immense burden on India. Quoting an earlier statement by the Egyptian Ambassador, he urged a solution by Pakistan which would safeguard its unity.

15. **UGANDA—Mr. P. J. Okia:** It is most unfortunate that we should have added to the already explosive refugee problem of about 8 million people which has taken place in the continent of Asia. Indeed the people and the Government of India have borne a burden unparalleled before in the history of refugees. We hope that this heavy burden will be lifted from the hands of the Government of India by an early repatriation of these refugees. My delegation does

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not intend to enter into political as well as economic factors which have caused this untold suffering. We feel that this is a problem to be settled by India and Pakistan, but this does not stop us from making an appeal to the two countries to resolve their differences quickly. In the case of Pakistani refugees, and those in the Middle East, we hope that a lasting political settlement will be arrived at as soon as possible.

16. **HUNGARY—Mr. G. Badi:** His delegation believed human wisdom would prevail leading to the voluntary repatriation of the refugees.

17. **GREECE—Mrs. E. A. Daes:** We spoke about the Pakistani refugees in the last ECOSOC meeting and expressed the hope that it would be for a temporary period of time. Since then, we have been informed that millions of refugees have left their homes in East Pakistan under the most tragic conditions and have fled to India, and recently the number has not lessened but has increased. My delegation has been very much concerned with the humanitarian reasons of the flight of people into India as refugees, and for contributing to the alleviation of their suffering.

18. **TUNISIA—Ambassador R. Driss:** The draft resolution of the Netherlands and New Zealand presented a disagreeable choice between the friendship of India and that of Pakistan, while the important factor was a reconciliation between the two nations. A recommendation should be made to the President of the Assembly to launch an appeal calling in particular on the authorities concerned to manifest a spirit of co-operation and understanding, which alone would lessen tensions, and that they intensify efforts to establish a climate of confidence favouring the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes. Speaking again, the Ambassador said that he would prefer that no vote be taken on his recommendation, but rather a consensus result with ensuing unanimity. He was aware of the seriousness of the problem facing the U.N. Delegations must reach an agreement and introduce an element of harmony, and not confrontation. A solution could not be found by words. The only document existing was the Secretary-General's appeal. The President of ECOSOC had found it difficult to convince both sides that it was in their best interests to have a document concentrating on the humanitarian aspects of the problem. Now it is up to the international community to assume its responsibility. To this end, he urged the three co-sponsors of the draft resolution to withdraw it so that all together can draft a recommendation in the humanitarian spirit and co-operation that all seek.

19. **BURUNDI—Mr. A. Nyankiye:** His country was sympathetic to the people suffering in India and in East Pakistan, for it too had experienced refugee situation. He expressed the hope that India and Pakistan could solve the situation peacefully. A political solution is possible between the two Governments, and they must make an effort for instilling mutual confidence. "Let us not seek the origin of this disaster but simply help the victims of it."

20. **AUSTRIA—Mr. S. Ermacora:** The problem cannot be solved in a humanitarian angle only but the tragedy had roots in highly political events. He expressed the hope that a political solution would be found adding that the purely human problems would also have to be solved. The debate should not be controversial, but he considered that Tunisian initiative represents an acceptable compromise.

21. **LIBYA—Mr. I. Babaa:** Only through the respect of the national unity and territorial integrity of Pakistan could the return of refugees become a reality. He would support the recommendations proposed by Tunisia.

22. **NIGERIA—Mr. A. Mohammed:** He viewed the refugee problem in an entirely and absolutely humanitarian way, and urged that political interventions

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should be omitted. Outlining the matters that must be taken into account were: Pakistan was a sovereign State and that Pakistan had internal problems. Also that the refugee problem in India was the biggest and worst ever in the world. "We could not engage in any political discussion of the problem as it was to be dealt with by the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charter. We recommend that all States should endeavour to contribute even more to help India, but in the problems between India and Pakistan we do not need any international action. The problem between the two countries were not caused by the refugees, but began with the partition of India. Even if the United Nations were able to solve the refugee problem, there would be other bones of contention between the two countries, such as religious ones, Hyderabad, Indus, Kashmir, Junagarh, etc. So long as we respect the sovereingty of any country, all internal problems within it are not the business of the United Nations". He proposed that—

(*a*) the Committee discuss the problem and leave no record, i.e., no summation ;

(*b*) the Chairman should make summary of discussion on a kind of concensus;

(*c*) the Tunisian proposal should be considered; and

(*d*) the Three-Power draft resolution should be so amended as to delete operative paragraph 3 which was highly political and amend operative paragraph 4 to appeal to the Governments of India and Pakistan to continue to promote an atmosphere which would encourage the speedy return of the refugees to their homes.

23. **IRELAND—Mr. T. Corcoran :** His Government had viewed with great concern the desperate plight of 7 million men, women and children (exceeding the population of Eire) rendered homeless and prey to hunger, disease and death. It was one of the greatest human disasters that had occurred in this century and also it could not fail to arouse the profound sympathy of the world community; sympathy was not enough. A political solution based on reconciliation can be realised which will be the permanent solution. His delegation supported the Three-Power draft resolution.

24. **ALGERIA—Miss S. Senami :** The refugee situation was rapidly degenerating into a conflict between the two Governments and the hostility and supicion which hurt all concerned. Her country's friendship with both Governments had led it to be hopeful of a quick return of refugees, the effective humanitarian aid and national reconciliation within Pakistan. She supported the Tunisian recommendation and hoped that it would be unanimously adopted.

25. **GHANA—Mr. K. Sekyiamah :** The situation in India had been compounded by the suddenness and magnitude of the refugee influx. Whether the Pakistani or the Indian figures were accepted, the situation is no less grim or disturbing. We strongly supported measures which would assure voluntary repatriation and called on the two Governments to co-operate in establishing a climate which will promote this voluntary repatriation.

26. **ITALY—Mr. Di Bernardo :** The present situation showed no signs of improvement and the social and human pre-occupation that prompted the Three-Power draft resolution reflected the opinion that efforts must be made to assist the refugees in returning to their homes. Any further initiative to alleviate the distress of millions and to hasten the return home should be taken without delay.

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27. **MOROCCO—Mrs. H. Warzazi:** The Committee should formulate positive proposals which must achieve unanimous support through the elimination of political elements. The Three-Power draft resolution contains certain basic political elements which made it unacceptable to both India and Pakistan. Humanitarian solution should be found, but allusions to a political solution were out of place in the Third Committee which had no need to draw the attention of Pakistan to the need to create conditions permitting a return of the refugees.

28. **KUWAIT—Mr. K. Al Babtin:** Noted that Pakistan had offered assurances as to the return of the refugees. India had shown great restraint in dealing with the problem. The alleviation of suffering was vital, but a formula must be found to give those refugees hope.

29. **AUSTRALIA—Mr. R. A. Peachey:** The numbers of people involved were so staggering that at times there might have been a tendency to think of them as masses of people rather than as millions of individuals. The refugees must be free to return to their families and their friends, to their houses and communities which were left behind. Expressed the hope that enmities should be set aside in the face of tragic situation, and that strenuous efforts would be made by those in authority to bring about an early solution.

30. **PHILIPPINES—Mr. H. J. Prillantes:** There was creeping into the subject an element of politics which is unhealthy. The Three-Power draft resolution should be withdrawn. Instead, the Chairman must make a summation for the record leaving it to the President of the General Assembly to endorse that summation.

31. **NEPAL—Mr. J. Jha:** This humanitarian problem contained a seed of a major conflict in the region. Therefore, it was very properly the concern of the international community. The international assistance, although unprecedented, was obviously inadequate. There was a clear need for more generous assistance. The only solution to the problem lay in the voluntary repatriation of the refugees and to that end the General Assembly should appeal for the promotion of conditions to allow them. Any appeal would be effective only when the parties to which it was addressed feel inclined to heed it.

REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY SUBMITTED BY THE NETHERLANDS AND NEW ZEALAND

November 18, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the report made by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on his activities in co-ordinating international relief assistance for refugees from East Pakistan in India:

NOTING also the report made by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Programme of Relief Assistance to the people of East Pakistan:

WISHING to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner for Refugees, and their staff, for the work they have done in difficult conditions:

DEEPLY CONCERNED at the magnitude of the human suffering to which the crisis in East Pakistan has given rise, and at its possible consequences:

CONCERNED ALSO at the heavy burden imposed on India, and at the disturbing influence of the general situation on the process of economic and social development in the area:

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NOTING with appreciation the prompt and generous response of the international community to the needs that have arisen from the crisis, including the efforts of non-governmental organisations, to raise funds for the relief of the suffering:

RECOGNISING that voluntary repatriation is the only satisfactory solution to the refugee problem, and that this is fully accepted by all concerned:

BELIEVING that the voluntary repatriation of the refugees can be brought about only if a climate of confidence is created:

CONVINCED that further large-scale international assistance is required to meet the needs of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan:

1. *Expresses* its profound sympathy with those who have suffered from the situation in the area.

2. *Appeals* to all Governments, inter-governmental agencies and non-governmental organisations to intensify their efforts to assist, directly or indirectly, in relieving the suffering of the refugees and of the people of East Pakistan.

3. *Appeals* to the Government of Pakistan to create conditions which would restore the climate of confidence indispensable for the promotion of voluntary repatriation.

4. *Appeals* to the Government of India to promote an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness which would diminish tension in the area and encourage the refugees to return to their homes.

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan.

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 22, 1971

THE THIRD COMMITTEE,

HAVING listened attentively to the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, His Highness Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, on the activities of the co-ordination centre, and the report of Mr. Paul Marc Henry, representative of the Secretary-General, on the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO):

RECOGNIZING the large-scale efforts undertaken for humanitarian reasons to meet the unprecedented problems confronting the international community:

AWARE of the urgency and extreme seriousness of the situation of the refugees which is assuming dangerous proportions:

RECOMMENDS that the President of the General Assembly should make a statement in the following terms:

1. The concern of the international community, which has seldom been confronted with a refugee problem of such enormous dimensions as that of the refugees from East Pakistan in India.

2. That the voluntary participation of Governments and private organisations should be continued and intensified with a view to assisting the Secretary-General

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and his representative. The High Commissioner for Refugees, acting as Focal Point, in their meritorious humanitarian action for the relief of the suffering of the refugees and of the population of East Pakistan.

3. That the only solution to this grave refugee problem is the safe return of the refugees to their homes, and that this requires a favourable climate which all persons of good will should work to bring about in a spirit of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE

December 6, 1971

United Nations assistance to East Pakistan refugees through the United Nations Focal Point and United Nations humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on his activities as the Focal Point in co-ordinating international relief assistance for refugees from East Pakistan in India:

NOTING also the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations programme of relief assistance to the people of East Pakistan:

WISHING to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner, and to their staff, for the work they have done in difficult conditions:

DEEPLY CONCERNED at the magnitude of the human suffering to which the crisis in East Pakistan has given rise and at its possible consequences:

CONCERNED ALSO at the heavy burden imposed on India and at the disturbing influence of the general situation on the process of economic and social development in the area:

NOTING with appreciation the prompt and generous response of the international community to the needs that have arisen from the crisis, including the efforts of non-governmental organizations to raise funds for the relief of the suffering:

RECOGNIZING that voluntary repatriation is the only satisfactory solution to the refugee problem and that this is fully accepted by all concerned:

BELIEVING that the voluntary repatriation of the refugees can be brought about only if a climate of confidence is created:

CONVINCED that further large-scale international assistance is required to meet the needs of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan:

1. *Expresses* its profound sympathy with those who have suffered from the situation in the area.

2. *Endorses* the designation by the Secretary-General of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to be the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance to East Pakistan refugees in India, from and through the United Nations system, as well as the Secretary-General's initiative in establishing the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation.

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is

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used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan.

4. *Appeals* to Governments, inter-governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations to intensify their efforts to assist directly or indirectly, with the collaboration of the Governments concerned, in relieving the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan.

5. *Urges* all Member States in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to intensifty their efforts to bring about conditions necessary for the speedy and voluntary repatriation of the refugees to their homes.

RECOGNIZING the large-scale efforts undertaken for humanitarian reasons to meet the unprecedented problems confronting the international community.

AWARE of the urgency and extreme seriousness of the situation of the refugees, which is assuming dangerous proportions.

RECOMMENDS that the President of the General Assembly should make a statement indicating:—

(*a*) The concern of the international community, which has seldom been confronted with a refugee problem of such enormous dimensions as that of the refugees from East Pakistan in India;

(*b*) That the voluntary participation of Governments and organizations should be continued and intensified with a view to assisting the Secretary-General and his representative, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees acting as the Focal Point, in their meritorious humanitarian action for the relief of the suffering of the refugees and of the population of East Pakistan.

(*c*) That the only solution to this grave refugee problem is the safe return of the refugees to their homes and that this requires a favourable climate which all persons of goodwill should work to bring about in a spirit of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

IV. PRESS AND PUBLIC REACTIONS

TRAGEDY OF UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS

The main reason, why events in East Pakistan continue to get a wide press coverage everywhere, is simply because in that part of the world a tragedy of unprecedented proportion is unfolding as a result of the endless flow of refugees into India.

Senator Edward Kennedy, after an extensive tour of the refugee camps in India's West Bengal in his capacity as Chairman of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Sub-committee on refugees, confirmed that the five-month-old conflict between East Pakistan and West Pakistan had driven over seven and half million Bengalis to take refuge in India.

On his visit to some of the refugee centres inside India, Kennedy said he saw "a scene which only can be described as the most appalling tide of human misery in modern times".

What the Yahya Government is accused of is the militaristic way with which it attempts to solve a political problem, one which since the period of Ayub Khan has plagued not East Pakistan alone but the entire Republic as a whole.

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Yahya Khan is worse than his predecessor only because in this case he threw the full weight of his army against the unarmed millions of Bengalis, driving them into India and inviting bloody clashes from a meaningless few.

(*Editorial*, **INDONESIAN OBSERVER**, Djakarta—August 30, 1971)

Mr. PETER SHORE, BRITISH M. P., ON REFUGEES FROM EAST BENGAL

A visit to India can leave one in no doubt about the magnitude of the Pakistani refugee problem. But at least, in confronting these difficulties, there is an overriding purpose in both the Indian Government and the voluntary agencies to feed the refugees. This point must be stressed to bring out one of the crucial differences between the situation in West Bengal and in neighbouring East Bengal (East Pakistan), still substantially in the grip of the Pakistan army. For, in East Bengal, the relief of hunger is not the overriding aim of the Pakistan Government or army. Their prime task, as the expulsion of eight million people from their own country has already made plain, is to hold East Bengal for Pakistan, at almost any cost.....

(**THE SUNDAY TIMES**, London—September 5, 1971)

ACTION, NOT WORDS

These days, when 50 years have passed since Fridtjof Nansen became the world's first High Commissioner for Refugees, the big humanitarian organisation of our country go together to carry out an action in aid of the East Pakistani refugees in India. We implore each and everyone to support this action.

When 8 million people leave everything and pass the borders of a poor country to start a miserable existence as refugees, this is evidence of how exploited, suppressed and shattered they have been. How mercilessly they have been exposed to injustice and persecution. And how totally they have been deprived of the fundamental rights of the individual: freedom and human worth.

India with its thousands of poverty problems have generously received them. But India is under no obligation to take on their maintenance. In the declaration of territorial asylum—unanimously accepted by the U.N. in December 1967—it is stated that "the situation for persons applying for asylum is a question which concerns the world society". And it goes on: "The world society shall help the nation which finds it especially burdensome to grant asylum."

So far, India has had to carry most of the burden alone. Appeals from U-Thant and the High Commissioner have been more or less in vain.

Words can save no one. That only action can do. In the period to come our actions will speak for us, disclose our moral standard, show whether we are preoccupied with ourselves or whether we feel under obligation according to the U.N. declaration and whether we are siding with and sharing with the unfortunate people of our time.....

(*Editorial*, **AFTENPOSTEN**, Norway—September 7, 1971)

HELP THE EAST BENGALIS

The world has not yet grasped the extent of the catastrophe which has hit the East Pakistani people. By the end of the year, 10 million people are expected to have fled the country, and this is going to create enormous nutritional problems for the neighbouring country, India, where the refugees have settled down.

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Those who are working out there say that up till now 100,000 children are threatened by death due to starvation if aid is not given soonest possible. Only about 3 million refugees in West Bengal are accommodated in the camps established by the Indians. To this Indian state have arrived more than 5 million refugees. That means that more than 2 million people are living on the road out in the countryside, on pavements in the towns and in other places where there is a possibility for existence.

Apart from hunger, there is still cholera. The epidemic has been slowed down to a certain degree, but the disease is still playing havoc with the less resistant and undernourished among the refugees. The least resistant are often children and a part from the 100,000 directly threatened by death there exist over 300,000 who are seriously undernourished.

In these figures lies a tragedy which is inconceivable to outsiders. The tragedy is of such vastness that the Biafra events in all likelihood are small in comparison.

The relief work done so far has been considerable, but far from sufficient. The fact that aid for close to half a billion Norwegian kroners has been given, indicates the extent of the tragedy. And this is far from sufficient. By the end of this month, the Refugee Commission of the U. N. needs another 700 million kroners to keep going.

It is on the basis of this sombre background that 5 Norwegian Relief Organisations have started their great collecting campaign in Norway and on September 20, on election day, 10,000 volunteers will be outside the election premises and approach 80 per cent of the electors who are going to the polls on that day.

We do hope that each and everyone has something to give.

(*Editorial*, **DAGBLADET**, Norway—September 8, 1971)

THE LOST MILLIONS

More than 160 days after the first East Pakistani massacres, ragged, sad-eyed Bengali peasants are still walking into what they believe is the haven of India carrying their naked babies with them.

Astonishingly, as many as 40,000 still come every day. This is a movement of people the like of which the world has rarely seen. Indian officials now say freely they expect the influx—more than eight million have arrived already—to rise above 10 million well before the end of the year.

The September refugees talk of shootings, burnings and rape almost as commonly as did the forerunners five months ago.....

(MAX BEATTIE in **THE AGE**, Australia—September 11, 1971)

REFUGEES REPORT SITUATION IN EAST BENGAL

The latest refugees from East Pakistan report that the Pakistani army and its civilian collaborators are continuing to kill, loot and burn despite the Central Government's public avowals that it is bent on restoring normalcy and winning the confidence of the Bengali people.

Dozens of refugees interviewed by this correspondent today (September 21), all of whom fled into India from East Pakistan in the past week, describe the killing of civilians, rape and other acts of repression by soldiers, most of them West Pakistanis.

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As the refugees talked in their over-crowded half-flooded camps in and around this Indian village (Kutibari, West Bengal) about four miles from the border and sixty miles north-east of Calcutta, the sound of shelling could be heard from the frontier. It was impossible to tell whether the shells came from the Pakistani army, Indian Border Force or the so-called Liberation Forces of Bangla Desh (Bengal nation)—the name the Bengali separatist movement has given to East Pakistan since the attempt to repress the movement began in March.

Most of the refugees interviewed came from the region of Faridpur, family home of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the jailed leader of the Bengalis.

The refugees said that although general living conditions were very difficult in East Pakistan, they would have stayed had it not been for the killings. Nearly all the latest arrivals are Hindus who said that the military regime was still making the Hindu minority its particular target.

They said the guerrillas were active in their areas and that the army carried out massive reprisals against the civilians after every guerrilla raid.

Nira Pada Saha, a jute trader in Faridpur district, told of a reprisal against a village near his that had sheltered and fed the guerrillas. Just before he fled five days ago, he related, the army struck the village, first shelling it and then burning huts.

"Some of the villagers did not run away fast enough", he said. "The soldiers caught them, tied their hands and feet and threw them into the flames."

There were about five thousand people in the village, most of them Hindus, Saha said, and not a hut is left.

(SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG in **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—September 23, 1971)

EAST BENGAL REFUGEES, A WORLD PROBLEM

No sooner had the embers of hate started dying down in Vietnam than a worse holocaust was let loose in East Bengal. Over eight and a half million human beings have fled from their homes leaving all their possessions behind and crossing swamps to live in over-populated tents, but to stay alive.

Since March this year when the trek started, refugees have kept pouring into India, itself already over-populated. Almost fifty thousand of them have crossed over every day and helped to swell a population as large as that of London or Paris. At first, world opinion was slow to assess the impact of such a change of population on the economy of a country which itself has been, since its independence, struggling to survive yearly floods, drought, a growing birth-rate and wars. Thanks to visits by personalities belonging to all parts of the world, and wide newspaper coverage of one of the greatest migrations ever within human memory, the immensity of the holocaust hit public opinion in the face like a man's fist. Representatives of religious or benevolent societies have come back with harrowing tales of sufferings and deaths of women and children whose corpses are often seen uncared for on the way to the other side of the border... The presence of such a huge amount of refugees not only tells on the economy and life of these states, but is a danger to peaceful living in the area. It provides the inflamable material conflicts and riots need to flare up.

Unless the countries of the world get together and do something about it, it may well mean the beginning of another Vietnam. The only difference is that the impact will be more deadly and the consequences more dangerous... They

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are no longer a localised problem. They have become a world problem, because the world has allowed them to be uprooted from their homes.

Despite his age, Andre Malraux has offered to go and fight for them. Like him, writers and artists all over the world have called for a humanitarian approach to the problem of those millions dying of hunger and cold. Senator Edward Kennedy broke down in tears when visiting the camps of refugees near Calcutta. The Press in each and every country is calling for more international aid to be sent. Swiss philanthropists have gone on hunger strike to awaken the conscience of the world. And only yesterday, Caritas has appealed to the conscience of all men to live up to the dimensions of the holocaust in Bengal.

(*Editorial*, **ADVANCE**, Mauritius—September 27, 1971)

CALL FOR RETURN OF BANGLA DESH REFUGEES

The fact which we have come to realise during this visit to India was that the tragedy of the Bengali people is really horrible, and that the oppression experienced by them was beyond imagination. The crimes committed against women, children and intellectuals remind us of those committed by the Zionists in Palestine. The refugees have exceeded now eight million....

We raise our voice in demanding the cessation of these massacres, restoration of rights to these people and the return of the refugees to their homeland.

(**AL ANBAA** Weekly, Beirut—October 2, 1971)

THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER

By now, the world has a clear picture of the Pakistani army's six-month campaign to crush the Bengali independence movement in East Pakistan.

The picture is a genocidal horror: the murder of countless thousands of helpless Bengalis, the burning of their villages, the flight of the incredible number of nine million starving refugees into neighbouring India.

Not enough is known, however, of the devastating effect of the refugees on India, which, even before they came, was one of the poorest and most overpopulated countries on earth.

A recent study by the World Bank says the refugees will cost India $ 700 million in its 1971-72 fiscal year. Foreign nations have proposed $ 200 million in relief aid. Even if all is delivered—India, the innocent bystander—will be out $ 500 million this year and more in the future.

India's own population grows by 13 million a year, and the $ 500 million loss is one-fifth of its economic development programme, which is designed to provide food and work for these new people.

The $ 500 million loss is also greater than the $ 400 million net in foreign aid for development that India will receive this year. These figures show the setback to India's economic progress that Pakistan has provoked.

By the grimmest of ironies, Pakistan's military rulers have done more damage to enemy India by slaughtering part of their own people than if they had openly declared war on India, which they would lose.

Bad as it is, India's situation is only getting worse. The Pakistani army continues its depredations, and close to one million refugees—famished, disease-ridden and exhausted—continue to pour into India each month.

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The so-called civilized world is clearly unwilling to interfere with Pakistan's "sovereign right" to butcher its Bengalis. That being the shameful case, the international community should at least help India bear the burden unfairly thrust upon it.

What can be done? To start with, the United States, the United Nations, the World Bank and other aid-giving agencies should halt all assistance to Pakistan. All of the withheld aid should be re-channelled to India.

This would be a penalty for genocide and justice to those who give refuge to its victims.

(*Editorial*, THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS—October 2, 1971)

URGENT PROBLEM

...Unless internal conditions in East Pakistan are restored to normalcy, there cannot be any solution to the refugee problem. The danger of war also cannot be eliminated. The Yahya Khan Government is taking measures to restore the administration to civilian control. But confusion still reigns, and food is short. Aid-giving nations, including Japan, have stopped assistance to Pakistan until normal conditions are restored. It is hoped that steps will be taken for a political settlement in East Pakistan so that the flow of aid will be resumed as early as possible.

It is a principle in international society not to intervene in the internal affairs of another country. But no one can be indifferent to the tragic state of the refugees and the crisis which Pakistan faces. It is an urgent matter for all mankind to ponder upon. The United Nations General Assembly now in session seems to be a proper forum to take up the matter.

(*Editorial*, MAINICHI DAILY NEWS, Tokyo—October 3, 1971)

BENGAL: MONEY AND DIPLOMACY

The week has been thick with gloom about Pakistan's displaced nine million. At Brighton, Labour publishes a peremptory statement expressing grave concern over "the totally inadequate response of the world community to Bengal's vast refugee problem." Oxfam announces, with open desperation, that "tens of thousands of children face slow death." In Geneva, Prince Sadruddin Khan, Keeper of UN refugees, proclaimed an acute and appalling crisis: unless world aid to Bengal (which has dwindled to a "trickle") rapidly swells once more. India expects the death toll to make the Bihar famine seem a vicarage tea party.

Of course such prophecies never precisely come to pass. The aid offerers on the spot who predict a catastrophe tomorrow will always find their instant doom turning to a slow and complex disaster—a disaster stripped of glib dramatics, a numbing disaster which exhausts public patience because there is no single down payment to make it go away. Nevertheless, the prince and Harold Wilson and Oxfam are, in essence, right. Bengal is a crucial test of world civilisation. If the children die, we are all indicted.... Perhaps no coherent means exist to pressurise Whitehall. Nevertheless, the guilt is there and the guilt is shared.

Yet it must also be said that Sadruddin Khan, and his fellow UN committee men, cannot be allowed to escape with pure exhortation. And that no nation, or world community, can realistically be expected to succour nine million refugees indefinitely. We must pay today, but Governments and international forums must not rest content with mere cash flows. West Bengal's camps of squalor represent, starkly, a country in tatters, the rubble of a united Pakistan. These refugees are

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not the result of some unimaginable natural phenomenon, a flood to dwarf last December's. They are the direct result of political and military action—action that can be reversed. Yahya's army drove them from their pitiful paddy fields. Now Yahya must get them back. Without this hope, in the context of Calcutta and its already abject environs, the millions face gradual disintegration.

There are tardy and distinct signs from Islamabad that the enormity of the blunder and the situation are sinking in. Gradually a bloody, desperate predicament in the backlands of Bangla Desh is forcing a reappraisal. But the United States, as Senator Kennedy revealed this week, is still supplying millions of dollars worth of military hardware to Yahya's army. The United Nations has not even formally addressed itself to a world political crisis which could yet lead to a sub-continental war. Pakistan, as Oxfam believes, can be moved. But only by an unrelenting diplomatic attack. Without this attack, all the money to save the starving may merely prolong a frightful agony. Governments must find the money and keep up the diplomatic pressure.

(*Editorial*, **THE GUARDIAN**, London—October 6, 1971)

FRENCH NOBEL LAUREATE ALFRED KASTLER ON EAST BENGAL REFUGEE PROBLEM

Hiroshima was a shock. In a fraction of a second, nearly a hundred thousand human beings ceased to exist. A shock which roused our consciences, which made us aware that we live in a world where one of the greatest discoveries of human genius is diverted towards accomplishing death before having been used for achievements towards preserving life, which also taught us that men living in the antipodes, although our enemies, are human beings all the same.

But Hiroshima was not in its time a tragedy of exceptional amplitude. Lucky were the victims of Hiroshima who did not realise that they were going to die. How much more appalling at the time was the tragedy of the hundred thousand Dresden victims who lived through minutes of anguish and indescribable suffering under napalm fire. And what is to be imagined of the weeks of anguish of millions of men, women and, alas! children, who slowly made their way towards Auschwitz?

A tragedy on this scale is taking place at present beneath our eyes, and it is taking place in general indifference. A paragraph in the press, which passed almost unnoticed, informs us that the funds collected to come to the aid of the Pakistani refugees were insufficient and are now exhausted, that despatches of food and equipment have been stopped, that right from now it is certain that within a few days a hundred thousand children are going to die, and that if the despatches are not resumed on a massive scale and immediately, 300,000 to 500,000 more children will die during the next few months.

Is it possible that this tragedy can pass unobserved, in complete indifference, that we cannot feel the suffering of these children, that we remain insensible to the despair of mothers?

Can a synod which is meeting in Rome for the salvation of mankind continue its work in all serenity? Can the United Nations continue their palavers without taking into account, as an absolute priority, this tragedy which concerns each and everyone of us?

Ought we to be surprised at the angry gesture of a youth who claims to prove to us that faced with this scandal love is only derisory? Ought we to be

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amazed by the judgement of youth which considers that a society in which such a tragedy is not only possible, but is in fact taking place under our eyes, is no longer worthy of survival?

Will no shock occur to rouse consciences, to assert human solidarity on our planet?

If humanity witnesses this tragedy unmoved, is it not ripe to destroy itself?

(LE FIGARO, Paris—October 8, 1971)

PITY AND POLITICS

Journalists made a heart-rending appeal on the waves of the French National Radio and TV: one cannot, they said in substance, remain a passive observer in front of the tragedy in Bengal; one cannot estimate how many hundreds of thousands of children are going to die unmistakably in the next few days without attempting to do something. The pictures shown on the programme "24 hours", and the accounts of those who brought them back, shook the French.

It is indeed true that the Bengalis are subject to a real genocide, and that humanity is collectively responsible for their tragedy; that the most elementary charity ought to prohibit such horrors; and that finally every human being would be criminally indifferent if he does not contribute with all his might to alleviating the sufferings of this martyred people.

But the evidence must not be denied: the problem of Bengal is a political one. It is not within the bounds of individual donations. However necessary these have become necessary, alas, charity alone will not be sufficient to settle it. India herself, with her immense generosity for the suffering, and whose pity is suicidal, cannot overcome it. Other arms are necessary to return these half-dead people to their homes.

The complicity of the nations with the torturers of Bengal appears to us more serious than the crime itself. A certain balance in international relations is at the origin of the martyrdom of Bangla Desh: the Government of Pakistan resorted to this terrible represssion to solve an internal crisis. The scandalous injustice with which it rejected the result of democratic elections, permitted foreseeing the murderous madness of its retaliation. It was able to undertake this only with the complicity of other nations....

(*Editorial*, COMBAT, French Daily—October 8, 1971)

DIRECTOR OF OXFAM ON BRITISH AID TO BANGLA DESH REFUGEES

Sir,

Your Delhi correspondent's report (October 7) of the latest statement made by India's Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation surely underlines the monstrous burden that the country is having to shoulder in coping with 9 million refugees from East Pakistan. India is currently having to spend something in excess of £ 1.2 million per day providing rudimentary succour for these helpless folk.

Indeed it is an achievement of great magnitude, which has largely gone unnoticed by the world, that the Indian authorities have been able to provide basic food and shelter for an emergency population, equivalent to that of greater London, during these past few months and a triumph of logistics that they have sustained this through appalling monsoon conditions and with facilities for transportation far below the standard to which we are used.

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It seems inconceivable that more should be asked of India. Yet, incredibly, she is being required additionally to carry the greater part of the financial costs out of her impoverished purse.

What is it that makes the world community so apparently insensitive to this state of affairs—which would be laughable if it wasn't so tragic? Why has our own government offered only £ 8 million—equivalent to less than one week's help? Surely Britain, having a debt of honour and conscience arising out of past association with, and profit from, the Indian sub-continent, should be giving a lead to other governments in this matter.

The plain truth is that the concept of a "world community" is as yet no more than a figure of speech to those who govern our affairs. The attitude that we must put our house in order first is in reality no less than an excuse for putting off for ever the day when we are prepared to help 'others' in need.

When are we going to realise that we are all travelling on this spaceship, Earth, together, and act accordingly? For how long can we pretend that poverty and suffering which exists elsewhere on this earth has no effect on us? We share a common responsiblity for all mankind: and mankind is on trial now for its present pitiful response to the enormous tragedy of Bengal. Have we the will and the generosity to acquit ourselves honourably?

(Letter to Editor from MR. LESLIE KIRKLEY, Director, OXFAM)
(THE TIMES, London—October 9, 1971)

TRAGEDY OF A COUNTRY

Extract from an article by Prof. Abu Hanifah, former Indonesian Ambassador to Brazil and Italy

Along the course of world history it is proved that ambition of leaders for authority often leads their people to miserable disaster.

The West Pakistanis and the East Pakistanis are now not at all happy with their present leaders in their Central Government.

General Yahya Khan's ignorance of politics, his intrigues with Ali Bhutto in West Pakistan, and suppression launched by Punjabi Generals changed East Pakistan into a bloody land.

Although, in its Constitution, Pakistan is said to be an Islamic country, Pakistani leaders do not show the least spirit of Islam in their attitudes towards their own people, so that these leaders give us the impression that they only use Islam as mere ornamentation.

Although East Pakistan will be able to be normalized in the future, the attempt at normalizing either physical or mental devastation in the region will not be possible during these coming ten years, while on the other hand economic troubles will become much worse.

We must highly appreciate the efforts made by some big countries such as Soviet Union, USA, Great Britain, West Germany, Japan, etc., because they have voluntarily given aid to help relieve the sufferings of the millions and millions of the evacuees.

India alone, despite all her hard efforts to give help, will find it beyond her power to bear the burden of the evacuees who have run away from their own houses and country in panic, fear and suffering.

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India is willing to give her sympathy and help to the Bengalis, whom she regards as the same people as the West Bengalis.

The problem of evacuees from East Pakistan is in fact an international problem, similar to the problem of the Palestinian refugees. Therefore UNO has formed the so-called "Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees" and "UN Refugee Emergency Fund". It is reasonable accordingly to submit the problem of evacuees from East Pakistan to the UN.

The silence of the Islamic countries in the Arab regions, is indeed regrettable, for it seems that in their view the question of politics is much more important than humanitarianism even if it concerns fellow Muslims.

Indonesia has to consider expressing a more positive response soon; sympathy for humanitarian problems is naturally normal for us; the more so since the question of humanitarianism is stated as a very important principle in our "Pantjasila", and this principle is inseparable from the first principle—"Belief in God."

When the problems of the Palestinian refugees were loudly discussed by the world, Indonesian Muslim leaders also shouted loudly asking us to give help, but when the Muslims from East Pakistan, three times more than the number of the Palestinians, now suffer, our Muslim leaders only whisper to each other in connection with such problem, as though they also regard that the political problem is much more significant than the humanitarian problem....

(*Islamic periodical*, **KIBLET**, Indonesia—October, 1971)

VICTIMS OF ARBITRARINESS

...The continuing repression has deprived millions of peoples of all religions of shelter and a peaceful life. More than nine million have fled to India.

At the given moment, India is faced with the exceptionally difficult problem of feeding 9 million persons. The condition of these refugees is not easy. They are expecting India to render them shelter and hospitality. But what can India, with her own resources so limited, offer them ? The total volume of foreign aid received for refugee relief up to this date is a little more than 153 million dollars. But to feed the refugees even for 6 months, India has to spend almost four times as much. That is why the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, declared that the Government is determined to take measures for the return of East Pakistani refugees to their homeland. What is meant by return is a return in an atmosphere free from fear which would guarantee the nine million peoples the safety of their honour and dignity.

(**PRAVDA**—October 12, 1971)

MORE PEOPLE THAN IN LONDON

....The fact is, however, that the refugees are still piling into India at the rate of 40,000 a day; they now total more than 9 million. These are Indian figures, but no independent observer has yet disputed them. India is managing to care for them at a cost of Rs. 2.77 each a day. This is only 15p each a day—but it adds up to almost £ 500 million a year for 9 million people. So far the rest of the world has promised Rs. 1,150m. (£ 62m.), but has handed over only Rs. 189m. (£ 10.5m.) of this.

To get the refugee figures into perspective: there are more refugees from Pakistan than there are people in London. They are as many as the inhabitants of the 25 largest English country boroughs put together. So many prosperous

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people in such a confined space as the Indian border area would be a problem, but these people are not prosperous; they are homeless, mostly possessionless, jobless....

(KELVIN RAFFERTY in **THE FINANCIAL TIMES**, London—October 12, 1971)

FIRE IN THE NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE

...What happens in the world in connection with the problem of Pakistani refugees can serve as an almost clinical example. It has been told and written that it is the worst avalanche of misfortunes since the termination of the second world war. One year ago, a cyclone afflicted Bengal. Grain was swamped by salt and slime, and hundreds of thousands of people were drowned in the water. Those who were able to endure this, had small chances of surviving without fresh water and food. It is not known, even up to now, whether the warning from the satellites about the coming floods was locked in the desk of a government bureaucrat through ordinary stupidity, or because of hatred of the poor brothers from East Pakistan.

Then came a period of euphoria and hopes of getting equal rights and participation in ruling the country. The enthusiasm, sometimes violent but indomitable, was drowned in blood. For many weeks, houses, hovels and stands were burnt. People were shot, violated. They were robbed of faith in tomorrow, but not in the future. They were forced to leave all and were expelled from their homeland. And when the infernal glow of epidemic started to consume heads and intestines, the massive exodus started from East to West Bengal, from Pakistan to India.

In the beginning, hundreds of thousands, then millions... Today, the number of refugees amounts to 10 million. I would like to see a country, even the richest and best organised one, which would be in a position to bear such a burden. And India is neither rich nor modern and efficient in our European sense of this word....

(KAROL SZYNDZIOLORZ in **ZYCIE WARSZAWY**, Warsaw—October 14, 1971)

EAST BENGAL: FAILURE OF A MILITARY SOLUTION

...The trend of events, with the possibilities of war between the two countries, makes it imperative that the flow of refugees from East Pakistan should be stopped and a political solution of the problem should be found, especially as a military solution has proved futile and resulted in inhuman consequences.

Also, it is necessary to make serious efforts to find a way to save millions of refugees and to extend aid and relief to them.

(**AL THAWRA**, Damascus—October 22, 1971)

BENGAL REFUGEES FLOW IN

As refugees continue to come across the border into India from East Pakistan at a rate of 22,000 a day, camp authorities here are beginning to face a serious shortage of milk powder, vitamins and medicines. An urgent appeal has been sent to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to send these supplies as soon as possible.

Officials here have also appealed to the UN for at least a million blankets which will be needed by the refugees when the colder weather comes soon.

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The latest figure for the daily flow of refugees shows a reduction on last month's average of 40,000 a day. But the majority of new arrivals are reported to be Muslims who have complained of a stepping up of Army activity against people suspected of harbouring guerillas. The total influx of refugees is officially estimated at 9.5m.

(THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London—October 22, 1971)

PAKISTANI REFUGEES STILL POUR INTO INDIA

The line begins at Bongaon and stretches intermittently back 25 miles to the East Pakistan border. A human torrent continues to rush down India's narrow country roads seven months after the Pakistani army unleashed its brutal strike in the Bengal area.

Clutching naked children in their arms, the women are often clad in rough burlap cloth, the sheer and colorful saris they usually wore left behind in the suddenness of their flight or destroyed on the 10 to 20-day march that many of them have made. The women also carry the vaccination certificates they have received at the border crossing in Bongaon, a district headquarter. They will receive a food rations card and be assigned to one of the still swelling 877 refugee camps along the Indian-Pakistan border.

Many of the men carry their families' belongings in cardboard suitcases, small trunks, or just bundled in a cloth. But others carry nothing. East Pakistani refugees are still pouring into India at a rate of 15,000 to 20,000 persons a day, according to official Indian estimates.

The continuing flow not only adds to India's already staggering burden in feeding and sheltering 9.3 million Pakistani refugees, but also seems to push back the chances for repatriating those already living in the squalor and desolation of the camps.

Atrocities Recounted

For, despite official Pakistani assurances to the outside world that it is now safe for the refugees to begin returning and resume normal life, many of the new arrivals bring out with them the same kind of atrocity stories that were chronicled in detail in the world press when the crisis began on March 25.

"The army and local sympathizers looted and burned my shop last week", Radhasham Banik, a 40-year old grocer from Faridpur district said in Bagda, an Indian village three miles from the border. Mohammed Azul Rahman, a school teacher in Kushtia, broke down in tears as he tried to tell a missionary, at another border crossing point, about the beating that soldiers had inflicted upon him two weeks earlier. "It is too terrible to remember," he sobbed....

(JIM HOAGLAND in THE WASHINGTON POST—October 26, 1971)

A CLOSE LOOK AT BANGLA DESH

I saw with my own eyes how tragic it is for people to be driven away from their homes and live as refugees in a foreign country. In Calcutta alone there are about 500,000 refugees from East Pakistan living in camps or huts for temporary shelter. Hundreds of thousands of children, babies and pregnant women are sheltered in special camps, where they are cared for and receive medical treatment. And all this is done by volunteer doctors, nurses or social workers, while girls

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who used to be teachers back home, are given the task to teach in barracks used as schools.

Imagine what these people, who are so thin that their bones can be seen, have gone through. They have been pursued by the Pakistani army, or have seen their relatives being shot to death, and afterwards had to walk hundreds of kilometres for two or three weeks to save their lives. This is the work of a totalitarian regime run by the military junta of Yahya Khan. A regime so cruel, it could not tolerate the emergence of nationalism under the leadership of Mujibur Rahman, who managed to obtain the majority vote of the people in East Bengal.

The general election has revived nationalism or patriotism among the people, youth, students, workers and peasants. All these people are demanding justice and security to obtain a humane standard of living. They are asking the government in Karachi to think more in the interests of the people far from West Pakistan, because the government has been discriminative in its actions. Why are the people of East Pakistan not given positions in government, military, economic and social institutions?

Their demands were met with terror and, in turn, it was countered with terror by the people. Armed forces, formerly loyal to the government, have defected and are now fighting in the interest of nationalism against the terror inflicted upon the people by Karachi....

(H. K. MASHOED in **ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA,** Indonesia—November 16, 1971)

SITUATION IN INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

....India has become involved in this problem only to the extent of the influx of millions of refugees and the economic, social and communal consequences which are threatened by it.

If some of the propaganda talk were to be believed, it would appear as if the refugees are caged in concentration camps by India and are not being allowed to return to their homes by force.

These camps are free and open. Any inmate who wants to quit is free to do so. There is no obstacle or hindrance.

One has been surfeited by the ploy which has been made over the number of such refugees.

After being told that a census had revealed that only about two-and-a-half million people had left East Pakistan, President Yahya Khan admitted to a correspondent that the number could be three or four million.

Or eight or nine millon!

An illuminating commentary from the BBC revealed that the incoming refugees are checked thrice to ensure that they are genuinely displaced persons and not imposters.

This commentary also said that the camps did not contain all the refugees, but only the poorest and the most helpless. Very many East Pakistanis had found shelter with hospitable friends and relatives in and around Calcutta.

Their number has never been recorded. But they all want to go back.

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But for the colossal tragedy which has evolved before the eyes of the world, one would have been amused by the statement that even nine million refugees could not pose any burden on a country whose population increases by 12 million annually....

These nine million are a direct charge on the state.

Children who are born are the responsibility of their parents and guardians.

(**SUNDAY POST**, Nairobi—November 22, 1971)

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CHAPTER VI

PAKISTANI PROVOCATIONS

I. PAKISTAN'S REFUSAL TO TALK TO SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN AND OTHER ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF BANGLA DESH FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION

A. PAKISTANI OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

Statement by President Yahya Khan at a Television interview on Pakistan Television Corporation
August 3, 1971

The President, who was asked what would be the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said that the leader of the defunct Awami League had deviated from his electoral campaign in which he demanded autonomy for East Pakistan.

President Yahya said that after Sheikh Mujib got the mandate, he and a coterie of his people deviated from that aim and wanted secession. In other words, he said, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had committed "acts of treason, acts of open rebellion", and incited armed rebellion against the State.

In reply to a question, the President said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was not his opponent at all. The President said that he was only a caretaker and had nothing to oppose Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a politician.

The President made it clear that he had no political ambitions. He said as a soldier he was in his temporary duty of restoring the authority of the people.

The President said he was sorry for what Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had done for which he would suffer like any other person committing crimes on the nation would suffer. "How would you treat your criminal", he posed a question to the foreign news media representatives present at the interview.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 5, 1971)

Pakistan's Protest Note to the U.N. Secretary-General
August 10, 1971

The Government of Pakistan appreciates the widespread humanitarian concern evoked by the tragic developments in East Pakistan since March. It warmly responds to any expression of such concern which is not motivated by power politics and which appreciates Pakistan's difficulties. It is publicly known that Government of Pakistan has promptly accepted several suggestions made by the Secretary-General to help the return of people who have been uprooted from their homes in East Pakistan.

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This understanding cannot, however, be extended to any attempt to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs or to dictate to Pakistan the kind of political accommodation it should reach in its Eastern region. The Pakistan Delegation regrets that in the statement made on August 10 by a U.N. spokesman on his behalf, the Secretary-General should have chosen to make a comment on the impending trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which exceeds both the bounds of humanitarian concern and the competence of the U.N., as defined in the U.N. Charter.

Our regret is sharpened by the awareness that in numerous cases of trials, even imprisonment without trial and sentences after summary trials of political leaders in various countries, no expression of feelings about their repercussions was ever made on behalf of the U.N.

The Government of Pakistan cannot accept the proposition that any judicial decision on the individual case of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will have any repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan.

No such repercussions are inevitable unless Pakistan's hostile neighbour, India, is encouraged to make them so.

President Yahya Khan's statement in an interview with "Le Monde", Paris October 17, 1971

Asked if there was any truth in rumours of talks between himself and Sheikh Mujib aimed at safeguarding the unity of Pakistan, the President replied: "Once again, I cannot speak with a rebel unless the court martial charged with judging him finds him not gulity. But above all, it is up to him to convince that he has not acted against national interests."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 20, 1971)

Extract from interview given by President Yahya Khan to the Senior Editor of the Newsweek Magazine, Mr. Arnaud De Borchgrave, published on November 8, 1971

Many people might not believe me, but I think if he (Mujib, the Bengali leader currently on trial for treason) went back (to East Pakistan) he would be killed by his own people who hold him responsible for all the suffering. In any case, it is an academic question. He had been discussing internal autonomy with me for two years and went back on his word. He organised and led an armed rebellion against the state... There was no alternative but to suppress the rebellion. Any other government would have done the same thing. How can I now call that man back and negotiate with him? He is charged with waging war against the state and subverting the loyalty of the army. He is being defended by A. K. Brohi, who is the best and most respected lawyer in the country; Brohi would not have taken the case if he thought there was going to be any hanky-panky in the military court. I did not shoot Mujib first and try him later as some governments are prone to do. What we do after sentence has been passed is the prerogative of the head of state. I cannot release him on a whim. It's one hell of a responsibility. But if the nation demands his release, I will do it.

B. WORLD PRESS

A political solution for East Bengal

....The only hope, and the only grounds of hope to bring a decent life to these millions of suffering people, must be negotiations with the Awami League.

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That party has been shown by Pakistan's own election to be the national spokesman for the people. It would enter fresh negotiations in a very different mood from that of last March. At the same time Sheikh Mujib must be associated in freedom with such negotiations. Of course, an acknowledgement of these necessities would reopen the question of the future relations of East and West Pakistan. That cannot be evaded. Sooner or later, the realists in Islamabad will have to face the only possible path to peace or, by rejecting it, see the tension with India growing, and further disasters in Bengal become more certain.

(*Editorial*, **THE TIMES**, London—September 30, 1971)

Pakistan should address itself to leaders of East Bengal

....Pakistan would rise in the estimation of the world, and save itself and others much trouble, if it addressed itself to the leaders of East Bengal.

After all, the British released Gandhi and the Viceroy parleyed with him on equal terms because Gandhi represented the teeming millions.

Instead of this 'Crush India' campaign, which has erupted in West Pakistan, conditions should be created to enable the miserable refugees to go back to their homes.

The military confrontation would cease automatically.

(*Editorial*, **SUNDAY POST**, Kenya—October 25, 1971)

Take steps towards political settlement

....The Pakistani President has also said that he will release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman if the nation so desires. Well and good. But how is one to ascertain the national Will if a general election itself is thought to be far from adequate to do so? The fact remains that the Sheikh's Awami League secured an overwhelming majority in the last National Assembly elections. What more evidence is necessary to show that people want him and his party? But, unfortunately, this electoral victory only ignited a crisis involving unprecedented bloodshed in East Bengal—because Islamabad would have nothing to do with it. Not a few of the Awami League MNA's of a never-convened National Assembly have been 'disqualified'. Some elections have taken place to fill up these vacant seats, most of the candidates having been declared elected 'unopposed'. But all this is far from convincing, and certainly it cannot be considered to have changed the situation.

Instead of all these things, it will be constructive if Islamabad starts taking steps in the direction of coming to a political settlement on East Bengal problems. Much too much blood has already been wasted, and much more will be if a solution is sought to be imposed through the clash of arms, it does not matter with whom.

(*Editorial*, **THE COMMONER**, Kathmandu—November 4, 1971)

Taking a chance

....India cannot support the East Pakistani refugees indefinitely; there are too many of them. Unless the Yahya Khan Government makes its peace with the Bangla Desh faction, the chance of war between the two parts of the Indian continent are considerable.

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This danger must be avoided at all costs. There could hardly be a sillier development of martial activity. At least the Security Council has been warned; at least Mrs. Gandhi has made a valid and humane point. What has to be done now is to ensure that the two sides are kept apart....

(*Editorial*, THE IRISH TIMES—November 6, 1971)

Dialogue with the people of East Bengal

As for the problem itself, it is becoming clearer and clearer every day that if Rawalpindi does not want to further deepen the crisis, it must get into some dialogue with the people of East Bengal without any further delay. It is useless to think of building national unity on the force of arms and by bloodshed. And it is madness to suppose that one can infinitely suppress the aspirations of the people by means of guns. And additionally, as the East Bengal tragedy drags on, it is becoming more and more evident that even in the battle-field, Pakistan is meeting with ever-increasing resistance. This only suggests that, as the days pass, this resistance may further increase instead of subsiding. To break the chain of this ever-lengthening crisis, Pakistan needs to act boldly, and think boldly, in the direction of a settlement through mutual consultations.

(*Editorial*, THE COMMONER, Kathmandu—November 15, 1971)

Band-aids for the sub-continent

The United Nations is drifting toward a disastrous failure on the Indian sub-continent because it is attempting to treat a potentially mortal wound with band-aids.

While India and Pakistan move closer to all-out war, the world organisation has been wrangling over relief measures for an estimated nine million refugees who have fled to India from East Bengal, and for the sixty-six odd million Bengalis left behind in that rebellious Pakistani province.

There is no question that the humanitarian needs of East Bengalis, both those who have fled and those who have remained behind despite brutal military repression, have a heavy claim on the conscience of mankind.

But it is clear from the testimony of U.N. officials that relief assistance cannot alone solve the acute humanitarian crisis created by the upheaval in East Pakistan. Assistant Secretary-General Paul Marc Henry warned the other day that humanitarian efforts in East Pakistan, already gravely threatened by stepped-up military activities there, may have to cease altogether. Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, the U.N.'s High Commissiner for Refugees, stated that the repatriation of refugees who have fled to India offers the only "viable and lasting solution" to the present crisis.

In order to deal effectively with the humanitarian needs of the Bengalis, it will be necessary to attack the root of the problem—the political crisis in Pakistan. It is essential to press for a political solution in East Pakistan that will put an end to the fighting there and permit the refugees to return to safety.

The United Nations so far has avoided this central issue, although Secretary-General U Thant warned months ago that the situation on the sub-continent posed a threat to international peace—a prophecy that is now being borne out by a dangerously rising spiral of incidents along the Indian Pakistani borders. Thant's efforts to mediate the conflict have been spurned so far by India on grounds that they tended to equate India and Pakistan and to divert attention

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from the source of the trouble—the repression in Pakistan. But Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has indicated that India would welcome United Nations' intervention if it focused on this basic problem.

If the United Nations is to play an effective role for peace and rehabilitation on the sub-continent, the world organisation must throw its weight behind mounting international pressures on Pakistan's President Yahya Khan, to reach an accommodation with the elected leaders of East Pakistan, especially, the imprisoned Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Only in the context of a determined effort to promote a political settlement in Pakistan will the U.N. be able to move effectively to achieve a withdrawal of forces from the explosive Indo-Pak borders and to bring succour to the stricken Bengalis.

(*Editorial*, **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—November 22, 1971)

Under-currents of war

Ever since nine million refugees poured across the border into India from East Pakistan to escape from President Yahya Khan's butchering troops, there has been the danger of drift towards war on the Indian sub-continent. There are now dangerous under-currents that appear to be driving India and Pakistan into open armed conflict....

There appears to be a greater likelihood of war stemming from President Yahya Khan's realization that he cannot hold down the Bengalis indefinitely.

He may be trying to invent or provoke an Indian attack to avoid humilitation.

Bengali resistance has proved to be much tougher than anyone imagined.

Bengalis, like many a pacific race, have shown that they can turn themselves into redoubtable fighters when their cause is freedom. Eventually, President Yahya Khan will have to come to terms with the unvarnished truth that he has lost all hope or right to govern East Pakistan from Islamabad. Only when he owns up to the fact that the bloody repression carried out by his troops created Bangla Desh and takes a definite step towards recognising Bengal autonomy, has he any chance of talking about peace and being believed by the world.

(*Editorial*, **BUENOS AIRES HERALD**—November 23, 1971)

Starting point should be negotiations between Yahya and Mujib

It is now apparent that the Pakistani regime of President Yahya Khan bit off more than it could chew when it imposed military rule over East Bengal last March. Though taking a terrific toll in lives and displacing refugees by millions, Pakistani forces have not been able to secure full control over East Bengal. Nor has arresting the chief Bengali leader, Mujibur Rahman, enabled the Pakistani military men to throttle the Bengali independence movement....

Mrs. Gandhi personally, however, has committed herself about as powerfully as is possible to the cause of peace. She has argued the humanitarian case at all times and in all places. She has claimed that all adjustments that have to be made for a political solution can be achieved through diplomatic pressure on Pakistan. It was in that spirit that she visited Washington and saw President Nixon early this month....

The U.S. President has been searching for some small concessions, that President Yahya could swallow early. Mr. Nixon has suggested stationing of

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United Nations forces on either side of the border. Mr. Nixon has hinted at political negotiations with Bengali leaders of lower stature and of more dubious honesty than Mujibur Rahman. Mr. Nixon has avoided the central issue—of the future status of East Bengal....

Anybody serious about averting war will have to take as a starting point negotiations between Yahya and Mujibur Rahman for a new understanding to govern relations between Pakistan and East Bengal.

(JOSEPH KRAFT in THE WASHINGTON POST—November 25, 1971)

December general elections only basis for solution

....In order to find a solution for the issue we have to trace the cause of the problem in East Pakistan which has led to the present crisis between India and Pakistan. In the General Election held towards the end of last year, the Awami League with its demand for a large measure of autonomy for East Pakistan had emerged as the dominant majority party. Failing to reach agreement with the Awami League, Yahya Khan's regime resorted to armed suppression of the people's movement for autonomy towards the end of March this year. Since then, the Bangla Desh movement has gathered strength and has developed into a movement demanding independence. Guerrilla activities of the Mukti Bahini forces have made a picture similar to the early stage of the Vietnam war.

Therefore, unless Yahya Khan's regime tries for a political settlement of the civil war in East Pakistan, there can be no real solution of the crisis. In our view, a solution of the East Pakistan problem can only be worked out on the basis of the Will of the people as expressed in the last general elections.

(*Editorial*, MAINICHI SHIMBUN, Japan—November 26, 1971)

II. WAR PSYCHOSIS BUILD UP

A. PAKISTANI OFFICIAL STATEMENTS (EXTRACTS)

Press report on President Yahya Khan's interview with BBC

"If fighting continues along the border between East Pakistan and India, it may lead to war."

"I cannot just tell my army to stop it and take it. For the defence of the country, I will not turn the other cheek. I will hit back."

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—August 2, 1971)

Press report on Yahya Khan's interview with Columbia Broadcasting System (U.S.A.)

"The two countries are very close to war. Let me warn you, for the defence of my country, I will fight a war."

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—August 11, 1971)

President Yahya Khan's interview with Le Figaro, Paris

"Well, I am watching this with great patience, but I take advantage of this to warn the world that if the Indians imagine they will be able to take one

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morsel of my territory without provoking war, they are making a serious mistake. Let me warn you and warn the world that it would mean war, out and out war, which I hate. But to defend my country I will not hesitate."

(LE FIGARO, Paris—September 1, 1971)

Speech of Lt. Gen. Rakhman Gul, Governor of Sind
September 18, 1971

In a speech in Sukkur, Lt. Gen. Rakhman Gul, Governor of Sind, said: "Pakistan is ready to face any aggressive design of India, and if she tried to wage war even on a small piece of land of Pakistan she will be badly defeated and crushed".

(JANG, Karachi—September 19, 1971)

Statement by Sardar Abdul Qaiyum Khan, President of the so-called "Azad Kashmir" Government
September 18, 1971

Sardar Abdul Qaiyum Khan, President of the so-called "Azad Kashmir" Government, said (on September 18): "War with India would be the final one between two nations and shall be fought on the basis of religion".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—September 19, 1971)

Statement by Brigadier Mohammed Yusuf, Deputy Sub-Martial Law Administrator at Multan
September 29, 1971

Speaking at a function in Multan, Brigadier Mohammed Yusuf, Deputy Sub-Martial Law Administrator, said (on September 29): "Our army is fully prepared and now we do not need any notice for waging a war".

(JANG, Karachi—September 30, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Akhtaruddin Ahmad, Minister for Trade, Industry and Parliamentary Affairs of East Pakistan in Dacca
October 2, 1971

The Minister for Trade, Industry and Parliamentary Affairs of East Pakistan, Mr. Akhtaruddin Ahmad, said in Dacca (October 2): "The people of Pakistan have understood India's filthy and nefarious game. They have decided to crush her evil designs".

(JANG, Karachi—October 3, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Mahmud Ali, Leader of Pakistani Delegation at the U. N.
October 6, 1971

Addressing the U.N. General Assembly, Mr. Mahmud Ali, Pakistani Delegation's leader, said (October 6): "Hostilities on the border with East Pakistan had created a warlike situation. This might well escalate into a third world war if no attempt was made to check it".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—October 7, 1971)

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Speech of Lt. Gen. A. A. K. Niazi, Commander, Eastern Command and Martial Law Administrator at Saidpur (East Pakistan)
October 7, 1971

Lt. Gen. A. A. K. Niazi, Commander, Eastern Command, and Martial Law Administrator, Zone B, said here today, (Saidpur, East Pakistan, October 7), if India tried to force a war on Pakistan, "it will be fought on Indian territory".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—October 8, 1971)

President Yahya Khan's Broadcast to the Nation
October 12, 1971

"....As you are aware, the hostile forces which opposed the establishment of Pakistan have never accepted its existence, and have constantly been on the look out to weaken us and to ultimately destroy this country. In spite of our sincere endeavours towards amity and friendship over the past 24 years, I regret to say that India has never missed any opportunity to bring harm to Pakistan...."

(PAKISTAN TIMES—October 13, 1971)

President Yahya Khan's interview with the Newsweek Magazine (U.S.A.)

"....I have no reason to tell you war is not imminent because it is...If the Indians escalate with a view to capturing territory and installing a puppet Bangla Desh regime, that will be war....

(NEWSWEEK Magazine—November 8, 1971)

President Yahya Khan talking to Pakistani troops in Sialkot area
November 12, 1971

"....If a war, in spite of our best efforts to avoid it, is thrust on us, the valiant armed forces of Pakistan—who repose their trust in the strength of their faith and the help of Allah more than anything else—will defend every inch of their sacred soil and crush the aggressor."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi—November 13, 1971)

President Yahya Khan's statement as reported by A. P.
November 25, 1971

"In ten days, I might not be here in Rawalpindi. I will be fighting a war."

(*A.P.*—November 25, 1971)

B. PAKISTANI PARTY LEADERS AND PRESS

Statement by Mr. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of Pakistan Muslim League
August 28, 1971

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of his faction of the Pakistan Muslim League, said last night (August 28) that Pakistan was destined to defeat and destroy the expansionist ideas of Brahman imperialism.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 30, 1971)

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Speech of Maulana Mufti Mahmood, Secretary-General of Jamiat-e-Islami
August 29, 1971

Maulana Mufti Mahmood, Secretary-General of Jamiat-e-Islami, said at Lahore (August 29) that it was in Pakistan's own interest to have direct armed confrontation to teach her neighbour the lesson which she seemed to have forgotten so soon after the 1965 war.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—August 30, 1971)

Speech of Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Bakhtiar Rana
September 23, 1971

Lt. General (Retd.) Bakhtiar Rana, addressing a meeting, said (September 23): "India, in spite of her military superiority, can never defeat Pakistan. If we remain united, India will get another crushing defeat".

(IMROZE, Lahore—September 24, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan People's Party
September 23, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman PPP said (September 23): "PPP would extend whole hearted co-operation to crush the Indian aggression".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—September 24, 1971)

Statement by Amir-e-Jammat-e-Islami, Suba Sindh
September 28, 1971

The Amir-e-Jammat-e-Islami, Suba Sindh, (Chief of the Jammat-e-Islami Party in Sindh Province), has asked (September 28) the Pakistan Government to "get the nation ready for jehad against India".

(JANG, Karachi—September 29, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of Pakistan Muslim League at Dacca
October 8, 1971

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President, Pakistan Muslim League, said at Dacca (October 8): "Muslims were united to frustrate the designs of India to disintegrate Pakistan. If India persisted in its designs, it would 'cease to exist'".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—October 9, 1971)

Speech of Major-General (Retd.) Mohd. Akbar Khan, Pakistan People's Party
October 10, 1971

Major General (Retd.) Mohd. Akbar Khan, Secretary, People's Guard of Pakistan People's Party said (October 10): "If there is a war between India and Pakistan, we will crush her and Pakistan will be victorious".

(IMROZE, Lahore—October 11, 1971)

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Speech of Maulana Syed Arif-ull-ah Shah, Chief of Jamiatul-Ulemia-Islam, Rawalpindi
October 12, 1971

Maulana Syed Arif-ull-ah Shah, the Chief of Jamiatul-Ulemia-Islam, Rawalpindi branch, said (October 12): "This time the war between India and Pakistan will be a decisive one. Pakistani youth are fully prepared to back Pakistan's brave soldiers and they are anxiously waiting for the declaration of 'jehad'".

(JANG, Karachi—October 13, 1971)

Statement by Pakistan People's Party Leader Mr. Mukhtar Rana
October 16, 1971

The PPP's leader and MNA-elect, Mr. Mukhtar Rana, said (October 16): "The brave Pakistani army, with the help of the nation, will crush India".

(JANG, Karachi—October 17, 1971)

Resolution passed by General Council of Jamiutul-Ulema-e-Pakistan
October 18, 1971

The General Council of Jamiutul-Ulema-e-Pakistan passed a resolution (October 18) appealing to the Government of Pakistan to declare 'jehad' against India. The resolution further said that if India attacked Pakistan, "we will not only defend every inch of our holy land, but give a crushing defeat to India and this time our advanced forces will not retreat".

(JANG, Karachi—October 19, 1971)

Speech of Maulana Haq Thanvi, Chief of Markazi Jamiatul-Ulema-e-Islam and Nizam-e-Islam Party
October 20, 1971

The Chief of Markazi Jamiatul-Ulema-e-Islam and Nizam-e-Islam Party, Maulana Haq Thanvi, said (October 20): "The twelve crore Muslims of Pakistan will fight for every inch of land and they will give a crushing defeat to India".

(NAI ROSHNI, Karachi—October 21, 1971)

Statement by Dr. Nazeer Ahmed, Ameer, Jamaat-e-Islami, Dera Ghazi Khan
October 25, 1971

The MNA-elect and Ameer (Chief), Jamaat-e-Islami, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dr. Nazeer Ahmad, said (October 25): "If India does not remove her forces from borders, stop sending infiltrators, she should be ready to fight a decisive war, and this time we will fight on her soil".

(NAWA-E-WAQT, Lahore—October 26, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Nurul Amin, President of Pakistan Democratic Party
November 6, 1971

Mr. Nural Amin, President of the Pakistan Democratic Party, today (November 6) said he had been assured by President Yahya Khan that the number of

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razakars in East Pakistan would be increased and they would be supplied more arms to fight against the "activities of saboteurs and infiltrators".

Mr. Amin, who had a 90-minute meeting with the President, told newsman that he had drawn the President's attention to the sabotage activities which, according to him, had been intensified following the announcement of the by-election schedule. He said the President had agreed with him that the razakars were doing good work and deserved encouragement.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—November 7, 1971)

Report on proposals made by Professor Ghulam Azam, Amir, Jamaat-e-Islami East Pakistan

November 27, 1971

Professor Ghulam Azam, Amir, Jamaat-e-Islami, East Pakistan, has made three proposals (November 27) to meet the present situation in the country—striking India from West Pakistan, proper arming of patriotic elements in East Pakistan and full trust in genuine elements of that Wing.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—November 28, 1971)

III PAKISTAN DECLARES EMERGENCY

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY, BY THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

November 23, 1971

Whereas the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists in which Pakistan is threatened by external aggression.

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the proclamation of the 25th day of March, 1969, read with the Provisional Constitution Order, and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President is pleased hereby to issue this proclamation of emergency.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI IN PARLIAMENT ON DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY IN PAKISTAN

November 24, 1971

The House is aware of the announcement made by President Yahya Khan yesterday declaring a State of Emergency throughout Pakistan. This declaration is the climax of his efforts to divert the attention of the world from Bangla Desh and to put the blame on us for a situation which he himself has created. Such a declaration by a military regime, which has been waging war on the people of Bangla Desh for the last eight months and has been threatening us with total war for the last three to four months, has no meaning except to deceive his own people and the world at large.

President Yahya Khan's Id message had created the impression that he was at last heeding the advice of a number of world leaders to abandon the military approach and to seek a political solution. We hope that the declaration of Emergency is not a device to get out of the compulsion of seeking a political solution.

Since the recession of the monsoons, the successes of the Mukti Bahini have apparently upset the plans of the military regime. The Liberation forces of

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Bangla Desh, with the full support of their entire people, have taken a heavy toll of Pakistan's armed forces and have freed large parts of their homeland.

At great cost to ourselves, we have been shouldering an intolerable burden of looking after nearly 10 million terror-stricken men, women and children, who have fled from Pakistani oppression. The refugees want to return to their homes under credible guarantees of safety and human dignity. We are determined to ensure that they are enabled to do so as soon as possible.

Pakistan's armed forces have been shelling our border areas, inflicting damage on life and property. Their air force has wantonly violated our air space several times and once came right up to Srinagar. Spies and saboteurs have been blowing up trains and bridges. Since March 1971, we have lodged 66 protests for border violations covering 890 incidents. For air violations, we have lodged 17 protests covering 50 incidents. However, these protests have had no effect and to cover up their incessant violations, Pakistani propaganda media have been putting out the story that we are engaged in an undeclared war and have mounted massive attacks with tanks and troops. This is wholly untrue. In fact, it was Pakistan which threatened total war and moved its entire armed strength into operational positions on our borders, and launched a massive hate-India campaign with the slogans 'Crush India', 'Conquer India'. We had, therefore, to take appropriate measures and move our forces to defensive positions in order to protect the integrity of our country and the lives and properties of our citizens. It has never been our intention to escalate the situation or to start a conflict. To this end, we have instructed our troops not to cross the borders except in self defence. We cannot ignore our experiences of 1947–48, January 1965 and of August-September 1965.

On November 21, Pakistani infantry, supported by tanks and artillery, launched an offensive on the Mukti Bahini who were holding the liberated areas around Boyra, five miles from our eastern border. Pakistani armour, under heavy artillery cover, advanced to our border threatening our defensive positions. Their shells fell in our territory, wounding a number of our men. The local Indian Military Commander took appropriate action to repulse the Pakistani attack. In this action, 13 Pakistani Chafee tanks were destroyed.

On November 22, the Pakistani forces called up an air strike of four Sabre-jets on our positions. These were intercepted within Indian territory by our Gnats who destroyed three Sabre-jets. Two of the Pakistani pilots, who baled out, were captured on our territory. We regard this as a purely local action.

Even though Pakistan has declared an Emergency, we shall refrain from taking a similar step, unless further aggressive action by Pakistan compels us to do so in the interest of national security. In the meantime, the country should remain unruffled. Our brave armed forces and our people will ensure that any adventurism on the part of the military regime of Pakistan meets with adequate rebuff. The rulers of Pakistan must realise that the path of peace—of peaceful negotiation and reconciliation—is more rewarding than that of war and the suppression of liberty and democracy.

IV. INCIDENTS ON INDIA'S EASTERN BORDER

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT FROM OCTOBER 14 TO DECEMBER 2, 1971

October 14 Pakistani forces building up along the Indian border opposite Krishnagar. Pakistani troops took up positions in educational

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institutions in Rajshahi, Buchita and Jessore within a depth of 15 miles from the Indian border. Karimganj town in Assam was heavily shelled.

On the night between October 14 and 15, some Pakistani intruders set fire to the houses in a village 32 miles north-east of Agartala and kidnapped a civilian.

October 15 — Pakistani troops, supported by heavy equipment, had been massed along the international border. Indian villages in Hilli and Radhikapur areas of West Dinajpur were intermittently shelled by Pakistani troops.

October 16 — Mines planted by Pakistani saboteurs recovered near Agartala and between Barigram and Kaniai Bazar stations of the North-Eastern Frontier Railway. One Sub-Inspector was killed and two Border Security Force men injured as a result of the explosion of the mines, 8 miles south-west of Agartala.

October 17 — Pakistani troops opened unprovoked firing on Indian territory near Shikarpur in Nadia district. Pakistani armed personnel intruded into Indian territory at Barman-Para border village near Mahendra Ganj in Garo Hill District of Meghalaya and opened fire.

October 18 — Pakistani troops opened artillery fire across the international border in Belonia area, 42 miles south-east of Agartala.

October 19 — Pakistani army fired on Belonia town.

October 20 — Four persons were killed when Kamalpur was heavily shelled by the Pakistani army. A higher secondary school building and telephone lines in the town were damaged.

October 21 — Pakistani troops started unprovoked shelling on the Indian border village of Hilli. The Border Security Force returned the fire.

Two bogies attached to a goods train running between Karimganj and Dharmanagar were derailed as a result of the explosion of a mine, two miles South of Karimganj. On the same day, a culvert and a wooden bridge were damaged by Pakistani saboteurs south-east of Belonia.

October 23 — Pakistani saboteurs destroyed a bridge near Mohanpur on the Agartala-Simla road, which is a vital link with the northern part of the State. Pakistani troops also shelled Kamalpur town and Hilli area.

October 24 — Five persons including one child were killed and 25 injured in an unprovoked heavy Pakistani shelling on Agartala and Kamalpur and some villages in Karimganj.

Two Sabre-jets of the Pakistani Air Force violated Indian air-space over Agartala.

October 25 — Pakistani troops fired several rounds of light machine gun at Tilai Bazaar on the Karimganj border.

October 26 — One person was killed and six injured when Pakistani army shelled the Indian border village of Hakimpur.

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October 27 Pakistani army shelled Dharamanagar town and had also continued shelling of Kamalpur town.

Pakistani troops also fired with MMG across the border at Belonia. On the night between October 27 and 28, a company plus of Pakistani troops attacked a Border Security Force post near Jalpaiguri. The civilian airport was hit by bullets fired across the border.

October 28 This was the seventh day of heavy shelling of Kamalpur town. Pakistani troops had also fired indiscriminately on Fakirpara and Toundipara.

October 29 Pakistani troops continued heavy shelling of Kamalpur town. It caused heavy damage to villages adjacent to Kamalpur. One hundred razakars raided the border village of Dalgaon and looted several houses.

Four refugees were burnt to death and three badly injured as a result of firing by Pakistani saboteurs in a Refugee Camp near Shillong.

Activities of Pakistani saboteurs in Tripura, Meghalaya and Cachar caused damage to bridges. At one place, the Border Security Force recovered six kilograms of explosives in Srinagar, near Agartala.

October 30 Provocative activities of Pakistani army were stepped up all along the borders. Indian troops tried to silence Pakistani guns by firing from inside Indian territory. It was explained by the Government Spokesman that Indian troops had "scrupulously avoided any 'hot chase' of the Pakistani army into their territory." He added, Indian action had so far been limited to warding off Pakistani attacks on their positions within Indian territory.

Shelling of Indian territory at scattered points in Tripura, Assam and West Bengal was reported.

November 1 Further Pakistani shelling of Kamalpur had caused a number of civilian casualities and destroyed several buildings. The Border Security Force had taken preventive action to stop the shelling.

November 2 Pakistani troops kept up tension all along the Nadia border and resorting to unprovoked shelling of Indian borders.

November 3 An Official Spokesman said in a Press briefing that the Indian Border Forces which had silenced the Pakistani guns shelling Kamalpur did not cross the international border. "Indian artillery based in defensive emplacements within the Indian territory knocked out Pakistani guns. Our Army has strict orders not to cross the border".

November 8 An Official Spokesman reiterated that Pakistani guns had been silenced without Indian troops crossing the border.

November 12 Ten 60 mm mortar bombs were fired by Pakistani troops on Indian territory near Agartala. Shelling of other Indian areas was also reported.

November 13 A massive thrust in battalion strength by Pakistan forces into Shikarpur village of Nadia District was mounted. Pakistani troops attempted to overrun our border outpost. The Border Security

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Force assisted by Indian troops hurled back the Pakistani force after a heavy exchange of fire.

November 15 An official spokesman said that Indian troops did not pursue the attackers into East Bengal because they had orders not to cross the border.

November 16 Many reports of provocative acts by Pakistani troops in Tripura, Meghalaya, Assam and West Bengal were received. 75 refugees had been killed or wounded when Pakistani artillery indiscriminately shelled the village of Bakshinagar in Tripura.

November 19 Intrusion of Pakistani troops into West Bengal and Meghalaya.

November 21 Eight Indian nationals were killed and 7 injured when Pakistani troops resorted to unprovoked shelling of Karimganj.

November 23 Four Pakistani Sabre-Jets which intruded into Indian air-space on November 22 were shot down by Indian Air Force Gnats in an engagement north-east of Calcutta over the Boyra Area.

November 23 24 Pakistan mounted a heavy attack with artillery and tanks on liberated pocket in Boyra area. The Pakistani column advanced to the Indian border with all guns firing. Indian troops crossed and succeeded in throwing back Pakistani attack destroying 13 Pakistani Chaffee tanks.

November 25 26 Indian troops crossed in self-defence into East Bengal to repulse a Pakistani column which was advancing with tanks towards Indian Border posts in Hilli Area.

November 28 Indian troops which had crossed into East Bengal near Hilli had returned to their post.

November 29 Indian army had made a new defensive thrust in the Hilli area on November 27.

November 30 The battle in Hilli area where Indian forces had made a thrust to blunt incipient advances was continuing.

December 2 Pakistani Sabres strafe Agartala and shell the town. Indian forces take appropriate action to safeguard Agartala.

V. PAKISTAN'S AGGRESSIVE POSTURES AS SEEN BY FOREIGN OBSERVERS

CONCENTRATION OF PAKISTANI TROOPS ON INDO-PAKISTAN BORDER

According to the reports coming from the region of the Indo-Pakistan border, concentration of big military formations of the Pakistani Army are taking place there. PTI reports that two Pakistani army divisions are deployed in Kashmir, 8 infantry divisions and 2 armoured divisions in the border regions.

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Three divisions and small units of a fourth division are deployed in East Pakistan, Regular Pakistani army personnel are replacing the border security forces on the border with the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In its report, PTI underlines that simultaneously with military preparations along the whole cease-fire line in Kashmir and along the border with India, Pakistani authorities are evacuating civilian population from the border cities and villages. As pointed out by the Indian newspaper *National Herald*, evacuation of population from the border zone along the 800 kilometre boundary with India is taking place in West Pakistan. Different Pakistani leaders are coming out with bellicose statements against India.

Such actions on the part of the Pakistani authorities will further aggravate the already dangerous situation in this region.

(PRAVDA—October 14, 1971)

WAR FEVER IN PAKISTAN

With war fever mounting along the West Pakistan border with India, businessmen of Lahore are sending away their families or making plans to do so.

Bank officials say many people are withdrawing their money or transferring their accounts to other cities.

Peasant families are leaving their homes near the border.

Motorists are decorating their cars with signs saying "crush India".

(ARNOLD ZEITLING, A. P. CORRESPONDENT, reporting from Lahore—October 15, 1971)

INDIAN AND PAKISTANI ARMIES CONFRONT EACH OTHER ALONG BORDERS

The armies of India and Pakistan are now confronting each other along their borders.

Most Western diplomats here in New Delhi are inclined to believe that at least in West Pakistan, Pakistani troops moved up first and that the Indians moved in response.

According to high Indian sources, the build-up in West Pakistan began last month, and by last Thursday virtually all Infantry and Armoured Divisions in West Pakistan were at or within striking distance of the border.

Some border area canals have been flooded as barriers, and Pakistani civilians have evacuated several border areas—some on orders from the army and others on their own—out of panic, sources say.

Some of the heaviest troop concentrations are reported to be at points where the Pakistanis crossed the Indian border in the three-week war over Kashmir in 1965.

The border areas in East Pakistan, where it is believed there are four or five Divisions, have also reportedly been strengthened....

The Indians are also said to have four or five Divisions along their side of the border. President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan of Pakistan has charged that the Indians have eight Divisions there.

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At a heavily attended news conference this morning, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was asked about urgings of the Great Powers for restraint.

"It seems very simple and plausible to say Pakistani troops will withdraw", she said. "But Pakistan has been escalating the situation—by putting troops all along the border, by their hate-India campaign, and by their call for a war of jihad (holy war). This is not a one-sided matter. You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist".

"As you know", she said, "everybody admires our restraint. We get verbal praise, and others–who are not restrained—get arms support."

This was an apparent reference to the continuation of some arms shipment to Pakistan by the United States.

(SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG, **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—October 20, 1971)

POSSIBILITY OF WAR BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

By rejecting the verdict of the people, President Yahya Khan has given proof of his political short-sightedness which will ultimately lead to the disintegration of Pakistan. He is prepared even to face this situation in order to foster his egoism and interests. The civil war continues in Pakistan. More people have been killed there than in Biafra. Pakistan's economy is tottering. Even the military leadership is divided.

Pakistani troops are being concentrated in the border areas with India. A "Crush India" campaign has been launched in Karachi. It appears that President Yahya Khan is seeking to divert the attention of his people from the internal crisis by launching a war with India. India is naturally interested in Pakistan's crisis because the influx of more than nine million refugees constitutes a tremendous burden on its economy. But the rulers of Pakistan are interpreting this interest as interference in their country's internal affairs and preparing for a war with India.

A dangerous situation will be created for the whole of Asia if there is another war between India and Pakistan. In that event, not only East Bengal but Pakistan's other provinces too will separate from it. The rulers of Pakistan should not commit further mistakes in order to conceal one.

(*Editorial*, **NAYA SANDESH**, Kathmandu—October 22, 1971)

INDIA FORCED TO TAKE PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES

A renewal of tension and the concentration of troops on the Indo-Pakistani frontiers has been reported since the end of the last week. In fact, it was learned on the 16th October that five Pakistani divisions, on a war footing, had been massed along the western frontier of India, while defensive measures had been taken on the Indian side....

The problem created by the influx of East Pakistani refugees into Indian territory is far from reaching a solution. It can only be found in the return of the refugees to their territory of origin, which is impossible so long as the repression exercised by the central power continues to be pursued. Faced with this intractable situation, a diversion may eventually be sought by West Pakistan....

The situation remained tense at the beginning of the week and concentrations of Pakistani troops continued to be reported in the proximity of the western

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frontiers of India which necessitated precautionary measures on the Indian side in response to the "offensive measures" of Pakistan.

(REALITES CAMBODGIENNES, Phnom Penh—October 22, 1971)

THREAT TO PEACE

It was an appeal rendered grotesque by the twin facts that one side, Pakistan is almost entirely responsible for the threat to the peace, and the United States is a partisan of that side with arms supplies, political support, relief and so on. The danger to peace on the sub-continent does not lie in the traditional differences between India and Pakistan, but in Pakistan's policy of exporting an internal political problem—in the form of refugees—into India.

(*Editorial*, THE WASHINGTON POST—October 22, 1971)

PAKISTAN ARMY 'ITCHING TO GO' AGAINST INDIA

Units of the Pakistan Army, deployed in strength and depth along the frontiers with India opposite Lahore, are keyed up and 'itching to go', according to senior Pakistani officers.

Let's get on with it, is the dominant mood. Neutral observes in Islamabad, Pakistan's capital, describe the attitude of the country's leaders as "like that of Samson, ready to bring their own temple crashing round them rather than show weakness".

There is little sign that the military regime is willing to help bring the situation back to normal.

The frontiers in the Punjab, where Indian forces can be expected to make their main thrust if war comes, and farther north in the Sialkot sector, on the approaches to Kashmir, are tense, expectant and ominously quiet.

Unlike the frontiers in East Pakistan, where there have been clashes for several months, the Punjab borders have been almost without incident. This silence belies the concerted military build-up which Pakistan has undertaken in the past month.

Tanks lie in wait

In an area of seemingly peaceful fields and villages, stretching for more than 100 miles from north-east to south-west, and back from the frontier for up to 20 miles, tanks, artillery and support vehicles in their hundreds lie in wait under heavy camouflage.

New roads have been laid to facilitate swift movement. In the most vulnerable sector, near Lahore, Pioneer units have cleared out disused canals as tank traps.

Heavily fortified positions have been built to house heavy guns, which could shell Amritsar, holy city of the Sikhs, the nearest large Indian town. An extensive field communications network is in operation.

Farther back from the frontier, Chinese MIG and American Starfighter aircrafts have been brought to peak airworthiness. There are ample spares, ammunition dumps and fuel supplies.

Many village people in the border districts have been panicked by the elaborate war preparations and have fled. At night, the roads have been alive with

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carts heaped with family possessions. Some men have stayed behind to tend the crops.

The most dangerous aspect of the situation is the difficulty of 'unwinding' from the present state of tension. One round fired in error could spark a major war. There are many alarmingly over-enthusiastic unit commanders.

Informed sources say that President Yahya Khan and his inner circle of generals have blinded themselves by their own propaganda into believing that India is solely responsible for the crisis.

(DAVID LOSHAK in a despatch from Lahore, **DAILY TELEGRAPH**, London—October 25, 1971)

'CRUSH INDIA' CAMPAIGN IN PAKISTAN

Instead of this 'Crush India' campaign which has erupted in West Pakistan, conditions should be created to enable the miserable refugees to go back to their homes.

(*Editorial*, **SUNDAY POST**, Kenya—October 25, 1971)

TENSION CREATED TO COVER UP SETBACK

The presence of troops on both sides of the India-Pakistan borders has created a serious danger for peace in this part of the world. It has created serious concern among the entire peace-loving people of the world. The manner in which war preparations are being made on the issue of Bangla Desh indicates that war may break out between India and Pakistan at any moment. The world knows what will be the consequences of this war. We think that tension is being created along the borders only with a view to covering up the setback received by Pakistani troops in Bangla Desh, and that there is no possibility of any war between India and Pakistan in the near future. Pakistan is fully aware of the fact that this time, war will mean its total destruction. Had Pakistan been militarily in the same position in which India is today, war would have broken out much earlier. The military dictators of Pakistan are also aware of the military preparations of India, as well as of the faith of the Indian people in their leadership. On the contrary, the patience and self-restraint being displayed by India prove that it really does not want a war. The patience and liberality with which India has been facing the refugee problem also proves its devotion to peace. As such, the problem of Bangla Desh should be solved first if a direct conflict between India and Pakistan is to be checked. A threat of war against India will instead prove suicidal for Pakistan. The entire world public opinion is in favour of India, since its stand is correct.

(**DAINIK NEPAL**—October 25, 1971)

PAKISTANI REPORTS UNFOUNDED

There are fairly frequent Pakistani government reports that the district town of Comilla has been shelled by Indian artillery across the border, but an examination of the damage indicated that the shells had usually come from two-inch mortars whose range is not sufficient for firing across the border.

(MALCOLM W. BROWNE in a despatch from Karachi, **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—October 27, 1971)

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PAKISTAN IN BELLIGERENT MOOD

To a foreign journalist crossing West Pakistan by train, the initial impression is that a full-scale war with India may break out at any moment. There appears little doubt that Pakistan is in a belligerent mood, and the signs of preparation for battle are everywhere.

At almost every railway station on the way from Quetta to Lahore, I saw trains headed for the border jammed with heavily armed troops, guns, tanks, trucks and jeeps. In Lahore itself, there were few signs of any outward disruption of everyday life, but walls were plastered with hand-painted 'Crush India' signs, all in the same writing, and obviously the work of government agents rather than 'spontaneous' public sentiment.

In general, Pakistan is a country where the military presence is far more accentuated than in India; in fact, it is something that is impossible to escape, and after a while it became positively oppressive. Aside from the constant sight of soldiers piled into trains or sitting on platforms with their gear, there is the soon familiar spectacle of barbed-wire-encircled barracks and ordnance depots.

India came as a complete and welcome contrast to Pakistan, simply because it was immediately obvious that there is no desire to start a war. Apart from one official at the border who was anxious to gather information about military activities in Pakistan, I have noticed no 'war mentality' here whatsoever. It is perfectly possible to accept, without any doubt, the Prime Minster's statements that India will only fight back if attacked.

Having seen Pakistan's belligerent mood at first hand, it would be easy to conclude that a war might indeed result at any time between the two countries—especially when one hears of the importance attached by Pakistan to the Kashmir dispute.

It seems to me that the present crisis, more than anything else, has been engineered by Yahya Khan to divert attention from Pakistan's real problem.

(British Journalist William Spencer in **THE STATESMAN**, New Delhi—November 6, 1971)

PAKISTAN IS ACTING IN PANIC

Pakistani reports of large-scale military action by India in East Pakistan seem to be inspired by panic, war-psychosis, and fear of a definite loss of the eastern province, rather than by military reports of Commanders in the field...

India cannot afford more and certainly not because of the area which is likely to free itself from the military regime. No more can India afford a long guerrilla war in East Pakistan, for the refugee problem is a heavy economic burden and the situation in unruly West Bengal is far from secure.

(H. C. Beynon in **De VOLKSKRANT**, Netherlands—November 24, 1971)

SOUTH ASIA

Of the ways proposed so far to ease the tensions of South Asia, most are of dubious value. Some, such as the suggestion that the question be put before the Security Council of the United Nations, might serve temporarily to prevent a real war but could hardly settle or ameliorate much the fundamental issues from which the danger of war has arisen.

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Similarly with the advice that India and Pakistan draw their troops back from the borders; this may sound reasonable from a distance, but considering the nature of the long and diverse frontiers, and various situations that exist along them, it is not likely to be accepted or, if accepted, to be put into effect....

India's attitude is distinctly stand-offish, perhaps because India believes events to be moving to its advantage.

Pakistan, though charging aggression by India across international borders, gives an impression of being unsure of its facts, and might not want to try to present them on an international stage where the story of the causes of the crisis would also be placed under examination.

As for the Big-Power associates of the two countries, they as well may prefer not to have a Security Council discussion or action.

The Soviet Union does support India but seems principally interested now in calm, not chaos, in South Asia.

It is a fair guess that China, though in general supporting Pakistan, would hardly wish its first major participation in the Security Council to come on an issue which could compromise Chinese plans over the longer term. For that matter, what would the United States gain by a Security Council debate, except further exposure of how ambiguous its own handling of relationships with India and Pakistan has been ?

Private diplomacy offers a better method toward a solution, if a solution is to be found; though private diplomacy cannot be called immediately promising. For example, the United States is said to be urging, or thinking of urging, upon President Yahya Khan of Pakistan the course of direct dealing with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for a political solution. This again sounds reasonable on its face—except that Mujibur Rahman is imprisoned somewhere in West Pakistan on charges of treason, and that to treat with him would amount to an admission of failure to the edge of desperation on Yahya's part.

It would be to accept the proposition that things have been driven to the point where Pakistan, as it existed before last March, is no more, and that if it is to be reconstituted at all, the reconstitution will have to come on the basis of a much greater degree of East Bengali autonomy than Yahya has heretofore been willing to contemplate. We cannot expect that Yahya is yet ready to consider that among the "political solutions" he talks of.

(*Editorial*, **THE SUN**, Baltimore—November 28, 1971)

STILL TIME TO INTERVENE

In spite of a series of sharp border clashes, during which Indian troops have crossed into the rebellious Pakistani state of East Bengal in "Self-defence", India and Pakistan have so far held back from all-out war. International diplomacy still has a chance to intervene for peace on the sub-continent.

India appears to be following a policy of gradually increasing military pressure against the Pakistanis, leaving the bulk of the fighting inside East Pakistan for the present to the Indian-supported Mukti Bahini, the "liberation forces" of "Bangla Desh". The Indians may hope these tactics will enable the East Bengalis to win independence, or at least a satisfactory measure of autonomy, that would allow the early return of nine million refugees from India, without precipitating a major Indian-Pakistani conflict.

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This is an unlikely prospect. Although Pakistan is heavily outmanned and outgunned by India, it is improbable that the military regime in Islamabad will relinquish its grip on the eastern region, without forcing at least a token showdown with India. Pakistani counter attacks against India, probably in the West, are an imminent possibility, unless there is swift intervention by the international community.

The White House is reported considering a request to the Security Council to take up the dispute. Such action is urgently needed. It would represent a welcome shift in the Administration's policy that might yet help save the subcontinent from total war.

(*Editorial*, **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—November 27, 1971)

IMPENDING WAR

President Yahya Khan declared a national emergency immediately after the Indian Air Force shot down three Sabre-jet fighters belonging to Pakistan. Though India has not yet declared a state of emergency, we cannot ignore such a possibility.

The increase of prices in the metal market in Britain, the recall of their citizens by America and other nations from Pakistan, the anxiety of the Secretary-General of the U.N., etc. reflect the impending war in the sub-continent.

The outcome of the 1965 war and the simultaneous destruction of three world-famous Sabre-jet fighters, clearly proves that Pakistan is incapable of fighting against India. In addition, more than half of its own people have risen against it.

For Pakistan to desire a war with India is beyond the limits of commonsense. But autocracy always seeks to prolong its illegal authority by sacrificing its people in a war with a foreign country.

Observers, therefore, believe that Pakistan will force India to war. It is certain that such a war will harm peace in the world, as well as in the subcontinent, and create a situation harmful to Pakistan itself.

(*Editorial*, **NAVIN KHABAR**, Kathmandu—November 26, 1971)

UNDECLARED WAR

Aerial and tank battles fought by the armies of India and Pakistan have confirmed widespread fears that war is now imminent in the Indian sub-continent. The world now realizes how close the two countries are to war. The military rulers of Pakistan have even declared that an "undeclared war" is going on between the two countries and accordingly proclaimed a state of emergency throughout that country.

The one-sided war waged by the rulers of Pakistan inside what was once a part of their own territory, provoked a resistance which culminated in a well-organized war within a few months. It is thus a war going on inside Bangla Desh that is now sought to be described by the Pakistani rulers as an Indo-Pakistan war. In their attempt to project the resistance war inside Bangla Desh as a war between India and Pakistan, they sent their planes and tanks to attack Indian territory. But the planes were shot down and several tanks were destroyed and much military equipment was captured by the Indian troops. Then, the Pakistani rulers, with an irresistible desire of installing a puppet regime through deceitful means, declared a state of emergency in their country. Not even the

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valuable service rendered by the villain Bhutto, by paying a pilgrimage to Peking, could fully satisfy the military rulers. His desire of being made President or Prime Minister remained unfulfilled. It remains to be seen when Bhutto will outlive his utility.

The Pakistani army has been finding it increasingly difficult to fight its own people. But it wants to be defeated at the hands of a superior power, not at those of the people's resistance movement known as the Mukti Bahini. And for Pakistan, that superior power could be none other than India. Moreover, the military rulers of Pakistan are still obsessed to some extent with their desire of taking revenge for their heavy losses in the 1965 war. The most important and pressing reason is that the military rulers want to erase the whole effect of the results of the elections conducted and organised by themselves. They sought to wipe out the results of these elections by launching tank attacks on the citizens of Dacca on the night of March 25, 1971, forcing ten million people to flee to India, and murdering, looting and raping a million people. The birth of Bangla Desh and activities of the Mukti Bahini were results of this repression. Now the military rulers are seeking to eliminate the people's representatives of West Pakistan as well. The proclamation of emergency and attempts to find a pretext for provocation against India, constitute the second phase of their campaign to suppress their own people.

A sensible answer to the question of what should be the attitude of the world towards this strange desire of the military rulers of Pakistan, fighting against its own people, can be given only the day when the world is prepared to make an objective analysis of events which have taken place in Pakistan during the past one year. The military regime of Pakistan has been conducting an undeclared war against its own people, a war of mercilessly supressing the rights, life and property of its people. The world has to direct its appeal for disengagement from this war and restraint towards Pakistan, not to any third country. The intentions of those who try to teach a lesson of restraint to India, which has displayed unparalleled fortitude of enduring an invasion which has been mounted on it by ten million refugees, are doubtful.

(*Editorial*, **NEPAL TIMES**, Kathmandu—November 30, 1971)

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CHAPTER VII

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

I. OFFICIAL

Statement by Mr. Abba Eban, Israeli Foreign Minister, in the Knesset, Tel Aviv June 23, 1971

I welcome the initiative of members of the Knesset to bring to full expression Israel's deep shock at the terrible acts perpetrated by Pakistani Army in East Bengal. It is important and necessary that we should express our sympathy for the sorrows and tribulations of the people of East Bengal and the refugees escaping, hungry and sick, across the Indian border. I welcome this initiative on this important problem. It is difficult to measure precisely the size of the catastrophe which has swept that country, but there is no doubt that this is the largest and most terrible human spectacle on earth at this time. The regime of Yahya Khan has so far prevented foreign observers and journalists from investigating the true situation freely or reporting upon it in public. News of events in East Bengal are therefore drawn largely from eye-witnesses and the stories of refugees, and while the full details of facts are not known, the general picture is as clear as it is terrible. There is a dark and cruel tale of death and destruction, persecution and torture, which has overtaken young and old, men and women.

Without elaborating of the long and sorry background to these events, I would note only that ever since Pakistan was established, inhabitants of the Eastern wing have felt discriminated against. The feelings of bitterness and frustration which this maltreatment caused over a long while found expression in the results of the recent elections. The Awami League, the national Party of East Bengal, won a majority. In defiance of generally accepted principles of democratic society, President Yahya Khan rejected the demands of the leader of the Awami League to consider the result of the elections when establishing the Government and determining the internal regime of the Province. In the face of this refusal, the Awami League declared the independence of Bangla Desh. The Pakistani Government replied immediately and harshly. Its army, well-equipped with modern weapons, took over the disputed area and the rebel fighters, inexperienced and unequipped, were unable to stand up against the regular army of West Pakistan, which did not shrink at using any means of terror in order to put down the Bengali population.

At this point I do not wish to refer to the constitutional solutions of this problem. That does not mean to say that Israel will not refer to the matter in the proper context. I support the approach of Member of Parliament Horowitz who spoke before me and who suggested that the major problem today is not the structure of the State of Pakistan but the silence of the world in the face of the terrors and fears and the immediate need that Israel too should be represented both in awakening the conscience of the world and in granting measures to alleviate this distress.

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According to all information, we are witness to a human tragedy amounting to genocide. Warriors who know no bounds have murdered defenceless civilians, have violated women, tortured old men and children and turned many millions into helpless refugees. These poor people, torn from their land by no fault of their own, are now reaching refugee camps in India, weak, having lost all, destined for hunger and disease. The cholera epidemic which has swept through the East Bengal refugees has already killed thousands. Conditions of living, sanitation and food in these camps are terrible. The monsoon adds to the severity of the situation. There is therefore a real danger that the number of casualties will grow.

The Government of India is making all possible efforts to alleviate the bitter sorrow of the refugees, to give food, to inoculate them against diseases and to improve, even marginally, their living conditions. But the resources of India are insufficient and alone she cannot withstand the mounting wave of destitute refugees seeking shelter on her territory. Only if the world will come forward to offer immediate and large-scale help, can a most terrible calamity be averted. The Jewish people, which has suffered much sorrow and misery in its history, must be specially aware of and sympathetic to human suffering wherever it may be, and the State of Israel cannot stand aside inactive, when faced with a disaster engulfing masses of humanity. The Government of Israel have already transferred through the Red Shield of David Society to the Indian Red Cross a large quantity of anti-cholera vaccine and the General Federation of Labour (Histadrut) has answered the call of help by sending a large consignment of medicine....

Indo-G.D.R. Joint Statement at the conclusion of the visit of Dr. Karan Singh, Special Envoy of the Government of India to the German Democratic Republic

June 24, 1971

From 22nd to 24th June, 1971, Dr. Karan Singh, Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, paid a visit to the German Democratic Republic as a Special Envoy of the Government of India to confer with the GDR Government on the grave threat to peace and stability arising from the tragic events in East Pakistan.

During his stay in the GDR, Minister Dr. Karan Singh was received by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Willi Stoph, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Otto Winzer.

In addition, he had a meeting with the Minister of Transport, Otto Arndt.

On behalf of India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Minister Dr. Karan Singh informed the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR on India's attitude on the serious problems resulting from the recent developments in East Pakistan.

The Indian Minister expressed sincere appreciation for the forthright political stand as well as the humanitarian assistance rendered by the German Democratic Republic, which clearly signify sympathy and solidarity with the refugees and the staggering human problem that has arisen as the result of the military action in East Bengal. The Minister recalled, in particular, Prime Minister Willi Stoph's letter of 21st May, 1971, to the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in which he reiterated that the GDR shared India's concern that the situation could lead to the emergence of a new focus of international tension, and that the problem can only be solved by peaceful political means.

The Indian Minister explained the magnitude and urgency of the problem. There has been a continuing exodus of millions of refugees from East Bengal whose number had risen to about eight million. The problem had thus assumed a very grave dimension threatening the peace and stability of the region as well as creating serious social and economic problems for India.

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The two sides, after a detailed discussion of the various aspects of the problem, expressed their firm belief that the only practical, just and enduring solution lay in urgent measures being taken in East Pakistan to stop the further influx of refugees into India and in creating conditions to ensure their safe and early return. This is possible only if a solution is found to the basic political problem in accordance with the Will of the people of East Pakistan and in consultation with their elected representatives.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR supported the standpoint of the Indian Government that the influx of refugees from East Pakistan into India had become an international problem. He confirmed the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with the stand taken by India on this issue, and declared that the GDR was ready to make available further relief supplies to the value of about 6 million Marks (about 1 crore rupees) to ease the suffering of the people who had fled from East Pakistan to India.

Both sides agreed to remain in touch with each other on this issue in the common interest of international peace and progress.

Both sides also discussed topical international problems of mutual interest and questions of the further development of the relations between the GDR and India in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

The two sides hold the view that the visit of Minister Dr. Karan Singh serves the further development of friendly relations and of fruitful co-operation between the GDR and India.

The Indian Minister welcomed the opportunity to learn at first hand of the achievements of the Government and people of the German Democratic Republic in the field of economic development and social welfare, and heard with interest the analysis of the political situation in Europe made by the GDR Foreign Minister. Minister Dr. Karan Singh, who was received as the guest of the GDR Government, thanked the hosts for the warm reception and hospitality accorded to him.

Indo-Soviet Joint Statement at the conclusion of U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister Mr. A. A. Gromyko's visit to India

August 12, 1971

On the invitation of the Government of India, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., His Excellency Mr. A. A. Gromyko, paid an official visit to India from the 8th to 12th August, 1971.

During his stay in New Delhi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. called on the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, and was received by the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He also met the Food & Agriculture Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Finance Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan and the Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram. He had several meetings and talks with Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of India.

The meetings and talks were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordiality. It was noted with deep satisfaction that the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in the political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields are developing successfully and hold great promise for further expansion. The political and legal basis for this co-operation is further strengthened by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India, which was signed in New Delhi by Mr. Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of India and Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

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Both sides consider that the conclusion of the Treaty is an outstanding historic event for their two countries. The Treaty is a logical outcome of the relations of sincere friendship, respect, mutual trust and the varied ties which have been established between the Soviet Union and India in the course of many years and have stood the test of time. It corresponds to the basic interests of the Indian and Soviet peoples and opens up wide prospects for raising the fruitful co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India to a higher level. Alongside other provisions concerning bilateral Soviet-Indian relations, the Treaty provides for the two sides maintaining regular contacts with each other on major international problems and holding mutual consultations with a view to taking appropriate effective measures to safeguard the peace and security of their countries.

The Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and India is a real act of peace, expressing the community of policy and aspirations of the U.S.S.R. and India in the struggle to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world and for safeguarding international security. All provisions of the Treaty serve these purposes. The Treaty is not directed against anyone; it is meant to be a factor in developing friendship and good-neighbourliness, in keeping with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

The Governments of India and the U.S.S.R. are confident that the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation will meet with complete approval on the part of all those who are really interested in the preservation of peace in Asia and throughout the world and on the part of the Governments of all peace-loving States.

In the course of the meetings and talks, both sides noted with satisfaction that their positions on various problems discussed were identical or very close. The Minister of External Affairs of India explained the heavy burden placed on India's resources due to over 7 million refugees who had entered India. Both sides, after a detailed discussion, reiterated their firm conviction that there can be no military solution and considered it necessary that urgent steps be taken in East Pakistan for the achievement of a political solution and for the creation of conditions of safety for the return of the refugees to their homes which alone would answer the interests of the entire people of Pakistan and the cause of the preservation of peace in the area.

The Indian side expressed its gratitude for the understanding of the problem shown by the Soviet Union as was evident from the Appeal addressed on 2nd April, 1971, to the President of Pakistan by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Mr. N. V. Podgorny.

Both sides held the view that outside interference in the affairs of Indo-China should immediately cease. They consider that it will be futile to attempt to impose any settlement not acceptable to the peoples of the area. They welcomed the recent 7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as a concrete step forward which could form the basis of a peaceful political settlement.

On West Asia, both sides were convinced of the urgent need for the implementation of the Resolution of the Security Council of November 22, 1967, so that the consequences of aggression are liquidated.

Both sides considered that all international problems, including border disputes must be settled by peaceful negotiations and that the use of force or the threat of use of force is impermissible for their settlement.

Both sides declare that they are strongly in favour of an early agreement on general and complete disarmament, including both nuclear and conventional weapons, under effective international control.

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The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. expressed his gratitude for the cordial reception given to him by the Government of India.

India-Indonesia Joint Communique at the conclusion of Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's visit to Indonesia

August 15, 1971

At the invitation of His Excellency Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, His Excellency Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of India, paid a visit to Indonesia from the 12th to 15th August, 1971. He was accompanied by Mr. P. N. Menon, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. R. D. Sathe, Joint Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs and Mr. E. Gonsalves, Joint Secretary of the South-East Asia Division of the Ministry of External Affairs.

During his visit, the Minister of External Affairs of India was received by His Excellency President Soeharto. He had talks with His Excellency General A. H. Nasution, Chairman of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, His Excellency Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and His Excellency Dr. Sjarif Thayeb, Deputy Speaker of Parliament. At these talks, the Minister of External Affairs of India was assisted by members of his delegation and by His Excellency N. B. Menon, Ambassador of India to Indonesia.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia was assisted by Mr. R. B. I. N. Djajadiningrat, Director-General for Political Affairs of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ismael Thajeb, Director-General for External Economic Affairs of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Her Tashing, Director-General for Security and Communication of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. B. Lubis, Director of the Foreign Minister's Cabinet, and Mr. Nurmathias, Director for Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Discussions between the two Foreign Ministers were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding, and covered a wide range of subjects of common interest and various recent developments in international affairs. Among the subjects, on which there was a mutual exchange of views, were the situation in South-East Asia, the Indian Ocean, co-operation among non-aligned nations, the recent Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation concluded between India and the Soviet Union, and regional economic co-operation.

In discussing the problems of the region, both sides re-affirmed their belief in the policy of non-alignment as an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security, and in the lessening of tensions in the world. This is particularly appropriate in the present conditions prevailing in Asia where the people of each country should be left to determine their destiny free from outside interference. They recognise the need for consolidating the sovereignty and independence of all non-aligned nations in this region in the spirit of the Declaration of the Lusaka Summit. They re-affirmed their belief that recent developments in Asia had made it necessary for those countries of South and South Asia following a policy of non-alignment to strengthen their ties by mutual consultation and agreement directed towards creating a climate for peace, security and stability. It was also desirable for all non-aligned countries to continue to meet frequently to further the policies laid down at the Lusaka Summit.

The two Foreign Ministers discussed the situation arising out of the flow of refugees into India from East Pakistan and expressed concern at the tragic events which had led to this situation. They agreed on the urgent need to work for the creation of such conditions as would be conducive to the return of the refugees to their homes.

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The Minister of External Affairs of India conveyed the appreciation of the Prime Minister of India for the message received from the President of Indonesia in this connection, expressing his abiding concern over the humanitarian problem involved, and conveying that the Government of Indonesia will spare no effort to assist whenever possible in the attainment of peaceful and stable conditions in this part of the world.

They affirmed the view already expressed at previous meetings that the problems of Indo-China could only be resolved through a peaceful political settlement through negotiations which will enable the people of those States to decide their future free from foreign interference.

In reviewing the bilateral relations between the two countries, both Foreign Ministers emphasised the need to make continuous efforts to promote the existing good relations between the two countries in various fields.

The two Ministers also reviewed bilateral co-operation within the framework of the Cultural and Educational Agreement of 1955. They noted with satisfaction the increased exchanges that have taken place during the past two years, and agreed to continue efforts to expand the scope of mutually beneficial co-operation in the fields of education, science, technology and culture.

The two Foreign Ministers noted with pleasure the increasing bilateral exchanges between the leaders of the two countries in a great variety of fields, and felt that this development should continue to grow so that the relations between the two countries would grow ever deeper and stronger. In this connection, they reviewed the programmes for economic and cultural co-operation between the two countries. The two Foreign Ministers discussed arrangements to identify areas of economic and technical co-operation, for the promotion of trade and development of joint industrial ventures.

The Foreign Ministers re-affirmed the need to intensify the concrete steps being taken towards achieving the goal of regional economic co-operation. In this connection, they paid tribute to the initiatives being taken by the Asian Council of Ministers of ECAFE.

The Foreign Ministers recognised the need to intensify co-operation in all fields of economic and social activity at international forums, on the basis of the principles and conclusions of the First and Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the provisions of the Charter of Algiers, and the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

The Foreign Minister of India expressed his sincere thanks and appreciation to the warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded to him and his party during his visit to Indonesia. He extended an invitation to the Foreign Minister of Indonesia to visit India.

Indo-Nepal Joint Communique at the conclusion of Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's visit to Nepal

September 5, 1971

The Foreign Minister of India, Sardar Swaran Singh, paid a goodwill visit to Nepal from 3rd September to 5th September, 1971, at the invitation of His Majesty's Government of Nepal. He was accompanied by Shri P. N. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri Thomas Abraham, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Shri S. Venkataraman, Under Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

During his visit, the Minister of External Affairs of India had an audience with His Majesty the King of Nepal. He had talks with the Rt. Honourable Shri Kirti Nidhi Bista, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, His

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Majesty's Government of Nepal, and also paid a courtesy call on the Honourable Shri Gyandendra Bahadur Karki, Minister of Education, Land Reform, Food, Agriculture and Forest.

The Ambassador of India in Kathmandu, His Excellency Shri L. P. Singh, and the Royal Nepalese Ambassador in New Delhi, His Excellency Sardar Bhim Bahadur Pande, Shri B. R. Bhandary, Foreign Secretary, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, and Shri P. N. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, assisted the Ministers during these talks.

The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister discussed in depth and perspective the relations between India and Nepal in various fields. They reiterated their mutual respect for, and interest in, each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. They emphasised the age-old close links between the two countries and peoples in various fields, and stressed the need to further strengthen them to their mutual benefit.

The Minister of External Affairs of India appreciated the all-round progress made by Nepal under the wise guidance of His Majesty the King.

His Excellency the Prime Minister of Nepal expressed appreciation of His Majesty's Government for the assistance given by the Government of India to Nepal and expressed the hope that this co-operation would continue. The Foreign Minister of India assured the Prime Minister of Nepal that the Government of India would continue their efforts to widen the areas of co-operation between the two countries.

The two Ministers expressed satisfaction over the recently concluded Treaty of Trade and Transit, and expressed the hope that this Treaty would help Nepal to implement rapidly its policy of industrialisation and diversification of her trade.

The Prime Minister of Nepal and the Minister of External Affairs of India discussed the international situation and reiterated their continued adherence to the policy of non-alignment as an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security and the lessening to tensions in the world.

The Prime Minister of Nepal noted the social and economic implications to India as a result of facing the problem of millions of refugees from East Pakistan. The two Ministers agreed on the urgent need for the creation of conditions for the return of the refugees to their homes.

The Foreign Minister of India thanked the Prime Minister of Nepal for the hospitality and courtesies extended to him and his party during their stay in Kathmandu. On behalf of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, he extended a cordial invitation to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Nepal to visit India as soon as convenient, which has been accepted.

Excerpts from President Podgorny's speech in Moscow at a dinner in honour of the King of Afghanistan

September 14, 1971

The situation in Asia is getting complicated by other unsolved problems. Lately, there has been an aggravation of the situation in the Hindustan sub-continent. The problem of refugees from East Pakistan arose in connection with the known events there.

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Tension has grown in relations between the two biggest states of the area—India and Pakistan. There are forces who would not mind using the obtaining tense situation for attaining their unseemly aims and for whipping up armed clashes in that area.

The preservation of peace in Southern Asia will depend considerably on the speediest attainment of a political settlement of the problems that appeared in East Pakistan and with due consideration for the lawful interests of its population, on the creation thereof safe conditions for the return of the refugees and on the readiness of state leaders of that region to prevent their sliding down to a military conflict. The Soviet Union will do everything possible to facilitate a normalisation of the situation in the interests of the peoples of all countries of that area. The recently concluded Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and India, that is not directed against any state, is an important factor of preserving and strengthening of peace and security in Asia and in the whole world.

Indo-Soviet Joint Statement at the conclusion of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to U.S.S.R.

September 29, 1971

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, paid a state visit to the U.S.S.R. from September 27 to 29, 1971.

The Head of the Government of friendly India and her party were accorded a warm welcome testifying to the profound feelings of sincere friendship and respect of the Soviet people towards the great Indian people and India's leaders.

During her stay in Moscow, the Prime Minister laid wreaths at the Mausoleum of V.I. Lenin and the Tomb of Unknown Soldier.

At a solemn meeting of Indo-Soviet Friendship, the Soviet public warmly greeted the Head of the Indian Government. The Lomonosov State University of Moscow conferred on Shrimati Indira Gandhi the Degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa*.

The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, had talks and discussions with the General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., N. V. Podgorny and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. N. Kosygin.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Soviet side: N. S. Patolichev, S. A. Skachkov, V. V. Kuznetzov, N. P. Firyubin, N. M. Pegov and A. A. Fomin.

On the Indian side: D. P. Dhar, T. N. Kaul, K. S. Shelvankar, R. D. Sathe, K. P. S. Menon, A. P. Venkateswaran, A. K. Damodaran, K. K. Bhargava, S. V. Purushottam and M. M. Malhoutra.

The talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, covered a wide range of subjects of Soviet-Indian bilateral relations as well as important current international problems of mutual interest.

Both sides expressed their profound satisfaction at the successful development of relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in the political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields.

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They declared their conviction that this co-operation acquires still more firm political and legal basis in the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and India, signed in New Delhi on August 9, 1971.

The two sides fully agreed that the conclusion of the Treaty is an event of outstanding and historic importance for both countries, and has further strengthened the relations of sincere friendship, respect, mutual confidence and good-neighbourly co-operation existing between the Soviet Union and India. The conclusion of the Treaty reaffirms that Soviet-Indian friendship is based not on any transient factors, but on long-term vital interests of the peoples of both countries and their desire to develop to the utmost many-sided co-operation with each other for the purpose of economic and social progress, for safeguarding peace as well as the security of both countries.

Both sides declared their firm determination to be guided by the letter and spirit of the Treaty in regard to the further development of Soviet-Indian relations.

They noted with satisfaction the successful development of mutually beneficial economic and technical co-operation between the two countries and emphasised the fact that there are favourable prospects for the further expansion and deepening of such co-operation, particularly in the fields of iron and steel industry, including special steel alloys and non-ferrous metallurgy, survey, exploration and refining of oil and natural gas and in the field of petro-chemical industry.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the recent steps taken by them to identify new forms of mutual co-operation in the economic and technical fields including such spheres as space research, utilisation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, productive co-operation between industrial enterprises of both countries, etc. They consider it necessary to identify additional new fields in which such mutual co-operation could be expanded.

In this connection, agreement was reached that experts of both countries would meet and work out specific proposals on the above-mentioned questions.

The two sides decided to set up an Inter-Governmental Commission on economic, scientific and technical co-operation.

Both sides recognised the need, in accordance with the Treaty, to develop contracts and ties at different levels, to enlarge and to make more comprehensive the exchange of views between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and India in major international problems.

They expressed their satisfaction at the fact that the Treaty has met with the full and unreserved support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India and has been widely welcomed throughout the world.

The Soviet side expressed its respect for India's policy of non-alignment aimed at lessening tensions in Asia and throughout the world and for strengthening peace and international co-operation.

The Indian side expressed its respect for the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy aimed at strengthening peace, friendship and international co-operation.

The exchange of views on current international problems revealed identity or proximity of the stands of the U.S.S.R. and India in regard to them.

The two sides paid primary attention to the development of the situation in Asia, to the hotbeds of tensions and military conflicts existing there, to the discussion of ways to stop and prevent the acts of aggression and to consolidate the foundations of peace on the Asian continent.

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The two sides expressed their concern over the grave situation which has arisen on the Indian sub-continent as a result of the recent events in East Bengal and declared their determination to continue efforts aimed at the preservation of peace in that region.

The Prime Minister of India informed the Soviet side that the presence in India of over nine million refugees from East Bengal had engendered serious social and political tensions and economic strains in India. This has caused a considerable setback to the socio-economic programmes of India.

The Soviet side highly appreciated India's humane approach to the problems created by the influx of these refugees from East Bengal and expressed its understanding of the difficulties confronting friendly India in connection with the mass inflow of refugees.

The Soviet side took into account the statement by the Prime Minister that the Government of India is fully determined to take all necessary measures to stop the inflow of refugees from East Bengal to India and to ensure that those refugees who are already in India return to their homeland without delay.

The Soviet side reaffirmed its position regarding the problem of refugees and other questions which have arisen as a result of the events in East Bengal as laid down in the appeal of the Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, N. V. Podgorny, to the President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, on the 2nd of April 1971.

Taking note of the developments in East Bengal since 25th March, 1971, both sides consider that the interests of the preservation of peace demand that urgent measures should be taken to reach a political solution of the problems which have arisen there paying regard to the wishes, the inalienable rights and lawful interests of the people of East Bengal as well as for the speediest and safe return of the refugees to their homeland in conditions safeguarding their honour and dignity.

Taking into account the seriousness of the situation which has developed in the Indian sub-continent, the two sides agreed to maintain further mutual contacts and to continue to exchange views on the questions arising in this connection.

The two sides expressed their profound concern over the situation in South-East Asia and pronounced themselves in favour of the necessity to withdraw all foreign troops from Indo-China in order to ensure peace and security for the peoples of that region, the realisation of their legitimate rights to shape their own future in accordance with their national interests and without any foreign interference.

They welcomed the recent 7-point proposal by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as an important step towards the creation of basis for a peaceful political settlement and declared their support for these proposals.

The two sides expressed their serious concern over the tense situation in the Middle East. They stressed the need for all states concerned to make efforts with a view to achieve a lasting, stable and just peace on the basis of the full implementation of the U.N. Security Council Resolution of 22nd November, 1967.

Desirious of contributing to the improvement of the international situation, the Government of India highly appreciates the proposal to convene an All-European Conference on the questions of security and co-operation as an important step aimed at the relaxation of tensions not only on the European continent but throughout the world.

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Both sides believe that the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of general and complete disarmament, covering both nuclear and conventional types of weapons, under strict and effective international control, are of primary importance for the preservation and strengthening of peace and security. In the opinion of the two sides, the covening of a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all countries for achieving practicable and generally acceptable ways for solving pressing disarmament problems could be of great importance. The two sides consider it important to achieve in the near future an agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons and toxins and on their destruction, as the first step on the way to the complete prohibition of chemical and biological methods of warfare.

The Prime Minister of India reaffirmed that the Indian Ocean area should be made a zone of peace. The Soviet side expressed its readiness to study this question and to solve it together with other powers on an equal basis.

The Soviet Union and India call for the speedy and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, and an unqualified implementation of the U.N. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and Peoples. They unequivocally condemn racism and appartheid in all forms and manifestations.

The two sides reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence among States with different social systems and pronounced themselves in favour of all questions at issue in relations between countries being solved by peaceful means.

The Soviet Union and India attach great importance to the United Nations. Both sides confirmed their determination to seek the strengthening of the U.N. and the enhancing of its effectiveness in maintaining universal peace and security in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

Both sides expressed their confidence that the visit of the Prime Minister of India to the Soviet Union and the talks and discussions which were held with Soviet leaders during the visit, will promote the further development of friendly co-operation between the two countries and the strengthening of peace and international security.

The Prime Minister of India extended a cordial invitation to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., L.I. Brezhnev, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., A. N. Kosygin, to visit India. The invitations were accepted with thanks.

Pope Paul's statement in the Vatican City
October 10, 1971

The following is a report on the statement:

To help East Bengal means to contribute to genuine peace. Pope Paul VI declared here yesterday (Vatican City, October 10) reports DPA.

He said this in a brief address on the occasion of the day of prayer, fasting and collections for refugees from East Bengal and the people in distress there.

The holy father voiced his satisfaction over the large number of people following his appeal to help Bangla Desh. The appeal was still in force, he added.

Distress in East Bengal had possibly no parallel in world history, the Pope said.

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Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in the British House of Commons

October 18, 1971

MR. CORMACK (Cannock, C) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what assistance had been and was being given by HM Government to the refugees from East Pakistan.

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME—I have repeatedly expressed the view that the responsibility for a political settlement in East Pakistan lies with the Pakistan Government and people. The humanitarian aspects are indeed a matter of international concern, and I am pleased to be able to announce that in response to U-Thant's recent appeals, and to Prince Sadruddin Khan's appeal of October 11, HM Government are making available a further £ 7.5m for relief among the refugees in India and a further £ 1m for relief in East Pakistan.

This brings our total contributions to over £ 14,750,000 for relief among the refugees, and £ 2m for relief in East Pakistan. I hope that other nations will also respond generously to U-Thant's appeals. (Cheers.)

MR. PRENTICE (East Ham. North, Lab)—Would the Foreign Secretary agree with the estimate that the cost of keeping the refugees alive is now running at something over £ 1m a day and the cost of the last six months is more than twice as much as all the aid received from the whole world.

Even larger figures than this are going to be required in the near future from Britain and other countries.

SIR A. DOUGLAS-HOME—We shall do what we can but I think other nations might match our effort.

Indo-Yugoslav Joint Communique at the conclusion of the visit of President Tito to India

October 20, 1971

At the invitation of the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, accompanied by Madame Broz, paid a friendly State visit to India from October 16 to 20, 1971. The visit provided an occasion for the manifestation of traditional Indian-Yugoslav friendship, and a powerful and fresh incentive for continued close relations and common dedication to the ideals of peace, freedom, independence and international co-operation based on equality of rights.

The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the President of India and the Prime Minister of India, held talks on important current international issues and on bilateral relations.

Participating in the talks on the Yugoslav side were:

Mr. Rato Dugonjic, Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

Mr. Ilija Rajacic, Chairman of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

Mr. Anton Vratusa, Member of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

Mr. Marko Vrhunec, Acting Chief of Cabinet of the President of the Republic;

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Mr. Milos Melovski, Counsellor for Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of the President of the Republic;

Mr. Eduard Kljun, Head of the Department for Asia in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and

Mr. Andjelko Blazevic, Charge d' Affairs of the Embassy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in New Delhi.

On the Indian side were:

Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs;

Dr. Karan Singh, Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism;

Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs;

Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary; Shri S. K. Banerji, Secretary (East); Shri P. N. Menon, Secretary (West); Shri H. Lal, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade; Shri R. Jaipal, Ambassador of India to Yugoslavia; Shri K. P. S Menon, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri R. D. Sathe, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs; Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

Both sides discussed the changing configuration of the international situation and agreed to intensify and co-ordinate their efforts further in the international area in the interests of world peace and the struggle for freedom, national liberation and independence.

Identity or closeness of views on many important questions of interest to the two countries was manifested during the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and in a spirit of mutual confidence and understanding.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that co-operation between the two countries had been further strengthened and consolidated over the years. It was acknowledged that there exist great possibilities for the further expansion and intensification of mutual co-operation in all spheres on a long-term basis. To that end, they agreed to continue the practice of regular bilateral consultations.

The two sides stressed the necessity for the appropriate economic authorities of the two countries to undertake, through the Joint Committee and other bodies, all measures designed to promote the further successful development of economic co-operation, including joint projects in either country or in third countries and the sharing of scientific and technological expertise on a mutually advantageous basis.

The grave situation created as a result of the recent events in East Bengal was discussed. The Yugoslav side shared India's deep concern over the serious social and political tensions engendered in India and the strains placed on India's economy, by the presence in India of many millions of refugees, whose number is daily increasing by many thousands. Both sides agreed that the problem could only be solved by a political solution acceptable to the representatives who had been elected by the people. This would enable the normalisation of the situation in East Bengal, put an end to the exodus, and enable the refugees to return to their homeland in safety and honour, irrespective of their race or religion.

Both sides called for urgent measures to achieve this objective in accordance with the wishes, inalienable rights and lawful interests of the people of East Bengal. It was agreed that any attempt to by-pass the so clearly expressed wishes of the people would further aggravate the problem.

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Both sides agreed that any postponement of the solution of the problem, which is in itself a source of instability and tension, is likely to lead to a serious aggravation of the situation.

The Yugoslav side expressed its concern over the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and manifold adverse consequences that the present treatment of this prominent public figure might have. President Tito expressed the conviction that a human approach to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would be in the interest of the peaceful political solution and in the interest of peace and stability in the sub-continent, as he had laid down in his appeal to the President of Pakistan, Mr. Yahya Khan, on August 14, 1971. The Prime Minister of India reiterated that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the elected leader of East Bengal, should be released unconditionally as an essential pre-requisite to a peaceful solution.

The Prime Minister of India stated that the Government of India are determined that the refugees must go back to their homeland without delay and that urgent measures need to be taken to that end. The Yugoslav side agreed with this. Pending the speedy return of the refugees, both sides agreed that the care of these millions of refugees must be the concern of the entire world community, and effective and prompt international action needed to be undertaken to that end.

The two sides noted that in Europe, although still divided and burdened by the vestiges of the last war, conditions have improved, creating an atmosphere for strengthening security and peace and for constructive co-operation among the European countries on a basis of equality.

It was felt during the talks that—in spite of certain positive trends and serious attempts to solve some major world problems by negotiation—the policy of force, aggression and interference in internal affairs continued in international relations, constituting a danger to the independence and security of countries and an obstacle to their independent development.

Both sides were firmly of the view that their policy of non-alignment was an important bond between them. Yugoslavia and India dedicated to the principles and objectives of non-alignment and considering that the present international situation calls for international activities by the non-aligned countries, agreed to take resolute steps for the implementation of the programme adopted by the Conference in Lusaka.

Both sides considered the disequiting international monetary crisis and economic situation. They noted that no progress had been achieved in reducing the gap between the developed and the developing countries and in removing the discriminatory measures negatively affecting the developing countries.

They reaffirmed that the developing countries, which are most affected by the present world economic crisis, should take more energetic steps collectively to improve the situation.

Both sides agreed that the concrete programmes for development, co-operation and integration amongst developing countries at inter-regional, regional and sub-regional levels for accelerating economic growth agreed to at the Lusaka Conference of non-aligned States should be implemented for more rapid development of the developing countries. In this context, they stressed the importance of the Conference of Asian Foreign Trade Ministers at Bangkok and the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77 which will be held in Lima later this month.

They agreed that the developing countries should ensure a consensus of opinion at Lima so that a common platform is formulated for U.N.C.T.A.D. III and the U.N. Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade is successfully implemented.

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Both sides stressed the need for urgent measures for the purpose of promoting agreement on general and complete disarmament, including—in particular—nuclear disarmament, under strict and effective international control.

The two sides discussed the activities and the role of the United Nations, and underlined the need for scrupulous respect for and observance of the provisions of the Charter by all Member-States of the United Nations. They agreed to the necessity for ensuring universality of its membership. They welcomed the admission of Bhutan, Bahrein and Qatar to the U.N. They attached particular importance to the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. They also considered that the divided and other countries outside the U.N. should be enabled to take part in the activities of the U.N. and its Agencies.

Both sides declared their support for national liberation movements and the struggle against colonial domination and demanded the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in accordance with the U.N. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They condemned racist policies and practices as a gross violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The two sides expressed their concern over the continuation of the war and foreign intervention in Indo-China. Stress was laid on the indispensability of the rapid withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo-China, in order to enable the peoples of that region to live in peace and security and to decide freely their future destiny without any interference from outside. In this connection, they noted that the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam constituted an important basis for a peaceful political solution of the question of Vietnam. They expressed the hope that a peaceful solution of the Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia questions would be found within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements.

The two sides expressed their serious concern over the tense situation in West Asia and the absence of concrete results in solving the crisis. They agreed that any further postponement of a peaceful solution in conformity with the Security Council Resolution of 22nd November, 1967, would pose a grave danger to international peace and security. They reaffirmed the need for urgent measures to achieve a lasting, stable and just peace on the basis of implementation of the above-mentioned Resolution, including the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories and respect for the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia invited the President of the Republic of India, His Excellency Shri V. V. Giri, and the Prime Minister, Madame Indira Gandhi, to visit Yugoslavia. The invitations were accepted with great pleasure.

President Tito's interview with Columbia Broadcasting System Television Network (U.S.A.) as broadcast on October 26, 1971

The following are excerpts from C.B.S. News Special Report "A Conversation with President Tito" as broadcast over the C.B.S. Television Network on October 26, 1971:

Talking to the President was C.B.S. News correspondent Mr. Walter Cronkite.

CRONKITE: Regarding one of the crisis points right now—the India-Pakistan problem—you were just there visiting Mrs. Gandhi. How imminent do you feel that hostilities might be on that border ?

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TITO: It seems that some people do not see any other way out but through an armed conflict; that is, they consider that a solution can be reached only in that way. I am—in the same way as the other Heads of States who were there—seriously concerned. I endeavoured to point out to Yahya Khan that there was an absolute need to do everything possible in order to achieve a solution by peaceful means.

CRONKITE: Do you feel that an armed conflict can be avoided?

TITO: Yes, I believe it can be avoided. I saw it. The Shah of Iran told me that he was under the impression that Yahya Khan had finally calmed down considerably. Actually, I told Yahya Khan that it was not a problem of India and Pakistan, but an internal matter of Pakistan; that is to say, political and economic question between West and East Pakistan. I emphasized that a solution granting autonomy to the Eastern part within Pakistan itself would be a very good one. Thus, a solution between the two parts of Pakistan would be achieved in a peaceful way. I also told Yahya Khan how we have solved this in Yugoslavia. There the situation is much more complicated, where there are several nationalities and six republics. And we have solved these things to the satisfaction of all the peoples. In Pakistan, it is even easier to solve these problems. I feel that Yahya Khan understood this.

CRONKITE: What about China? The last time they were in trouble, China...

TITO: China is a friend of Pakistan. I do not know what China thinks about India. When I spoke with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, she told me that India desired to improve its relations with China, namely, she wishes relations with China to be normalized. Because, she said, it was naturally not in the interest of India that the People's Republic of China should be entirely oriented towards Pakistan, as this would be dangerous in the case of a clash between Pakistan and India.

CRONKITE: Do you feel that, if China were involved with troops in Pakistan, Russia would be obligated to come in with India?

TITO: No. The treaty between the Soviet Union and India is a friendship treaty, and not a treaty of assistance in war. It has a great political significance as it warns that India has a great friend in the Soviet Union and that it's not alone. Therefore, the treaty has more a moral and political than a military importance. I have heard this from both sides, from the Soviet Union and from India. And I think that this is exact. Therefore, the Soviet Union wishes a peaceful solution there. I spoke at length about this with Podgorny at Persepolis, and I know his views.

Statement by Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Austrian Chancellor
October 27, 1971

Following is a report on the statement made in Vienna:

The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Kreisky, said today (October 27) he would write or convey to President Yahya Khan his own views on the Bangla Desh crisis

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which, he added, was extremely complicated and posed the danger of a military confrontation between India and Pakistan.

Dr. Kreisky told Indian journalists accompanying Mrs. Gandhi that it was the right of the Bangla Desh refugees now in India to return with the guarantee of their safety.

He admitted that a communication he had received from President Yahya Khan made a "controversial presentation of the problem".

Statement by Mr. William McMahon, Prime Minister of Australia, at National Press Club, Washington

November 3, 1971

I don't think that either the Government of India or the Government of Pakistan want war. The real danger arises from the fact that the people of East Pakistan are being trained in guerrilla warfare, and by accident it could so happen that armed attack might occur either from the Pakistan army or the freedom-fighters in East Pakistan itself. No one, I believe, can tell you what the prospects are likely to be. What we must all do, and I will certainly be playing my part, I will have the good fortune to talk to Mrs. Gandhi tomorrow, is to press with her and to press with the President Yahya Khan that war must not take place. It can't benefit India, it can't benefit Pakistan and, above all, it cannot benefit any of the people of these two countries. Those of us who feel we can play a part, however humble it might be, have got to bring home to everyone the lesson that war will benefit no one. The sooner we can persuade the Pakistanis to permit democracy or democratic regime to be established under the Awami League in East Pakistan as part of a total Pakistan solution, the better it will be. He has made his promise. I only hope he will be able to live up to it.

Statement by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore

November 3, 1971

Following is a Reuter Report on the statement:

The Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, said in London yesterday (November 3) he believed India did not want a war with Pakistan.

Mr. Lee, who was answering questions at a diplomatic and commonwealth writers' luncheon, said: "I think the Indian people themselves believe their Government missed a chance early in the year when they could have whacked the Pakistanis. I believe now that the Indians do not want to whack the Pakistanis as they have held back so long."

Exchange Unlikely

Mr. Lee, who had talks earlier with the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said he was due to be in India on November 21 and he hoped it would be peaceful.

Mr. Lee, who, according to informed sources, discussed the situation in the Indian sub-continent at his one-hour meeting with Sir Alec, ridiculed suggestions of an Indian "take-over" of East Bengal.

"The Indians have had so much trouble by admitting nine million refugees. Why should they want to take 70 million people?", he asked, adding: "It does not make sense".

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Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in the British House of Commons

November 4, 1971

To come to the sub-continent of India, two great countries—members of the Commonwealth, whose friendship we value—now find themselves drawn as if in some Greek tragedy into a rising spiral of tensions with a risk of war. The human misery, which exists here on a massive scale, is a terrible reminder of the failure of human beings to learn that the peoples of this world want bread more than politics, and peace more than war. My Right Hon. friend the Prime Minister and I had discussions with Mrs. Gandhi when she was in London earlier this week. I am sure that the House will understand that the matters which we discussed are confidential and that I cannot give a full account of them. We have also been kept informed by the Government of Pakistan of how they see these matters.

In this emergency situation, caused by the flood of refugees into India—we should understand the disruption of Indian life which this situation has caused in many ways—the policies of the Government have been directed towards two aims.

First is the relief of the suffering, which is pitiful and widespread. We have contributed £15 million to the refugees in India and £2 million in relief to East Pakistan. Having done this, I think that we are justified in urging other countries to join us in this humanitarian effort to a greater extent than they have done up to now.

Second is the politics of the situation. The danger of a warlike confrontation between these two countries is dire and real. In this situation, our first duty is to urge moderation on all concerned, using such influence as we can. I have repeatedly expressed my view that real progress towards a lessening of tension, and the return of refugees, can only come through a political settlement within Pakistan as a whole! But, having said that, I must add that no one else can lay down the constitutional pattern for the future except the Pakistanis themselves. Unless it is done by the Pakistanis, no solution will stick.

After the convulsion of civil war, harmony is difficult to restore. President Yahya Khan has appointed a civil governor. He has proposed by-elections in December, and announced 27th December as the date for the meeting of the new National Assembly. He has arranged an amnesty. He has accepted United Nations reception centres for refugees returning from India. I state these as facts. I cannot say whether these moves will be sufficient to result in a situation of confidence in which the refugees will wish to return to Pakistan from India. But that must be the end for which everyone of us must work. The return of the refugees is of mutual interest to both India and Pakistan. In the meantime, we will continue to urge both Pakistan and India not to take any action which could threaten the peace of the sub-continent. To compound the existing misery with war would surely be the ultimate disaster.

Certain offers have lately been made by Pakistan which could help to relieve the situation. The first is that the armies should withdraw to a specified distance from the frontier. The second is their willingness to receive United Nations personnel on the spot, first, to observe and, second, to receive returning refugees and see them back to their homes. I am not sure that this is understood in the refugee areas of India. But India feels that action of the kind, which I have mentioned, will have no effect as long as the flow of refugees continues out of Pakistan. There is conflicting evidence of how many refugees are now moving out of Pakistan into India. I have asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations whether he can discover the truth of the matter, because it is essential to know whether the flow has stopped or is continuing at this level before other countries can contrive coherent policies.

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Once again, the most promising area here is to explore the possibilities of dialogue between those in West Pakistan who hold the power now and those who can command confidence in East Pakistan, and also dialogue between India and Pakistan. If we can do anything to help the dialogue between India and Pakistan we will gladly do it.

Speech of Chancellor Willy Brandt of Federal Republic of Germany at a dinner given in honour of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

November 10, 1971

It gives my wife and me great pleasure to welcome you, Dear Mrs. Gandhi, and the members of your party to Germany.

You know our country from previous visits. In July 1956, you came here with your father, whose memory is cherished in the Federal Republic of Germany. Your last visit of any length was in 1960.

I also remember with pleasure our meeting in New Delhi in March 1959, when you had just been elected chairman of the Congress Party, and your stop-over in Frankfurt in September 1968. This time we have an opportunity to discuss in detail the problems which are of concern to both our countries.

To begin with let me say that we in Germany follow with great sympathy developments in your sub-continent. They fill us all with deep concern.

We share India's view that the conflict in East Pakistan is primarily Pakistan's affair and that any effort to find a solution must consequently be made for the most part in Pakistan.

But, of course, we also know that this internal conflict has caused millions of refugees to flow into India, thereby causing not only much human suffering but, in addition, a dangerous state of tension.

It is certain that it will not be possible for these refugees to return—and this is surely the most crucial and immediate problem for India—until they can be persuaded that they can do so without fear for their lives.

It seems to me that it is necessary in the interest of peace to establish a procedure for an objective discussion of the possibilities and conditions for their return.

We Germans know of the distress of refugees, so there has never been any question about our willingness to help. The spontaneous expression of public sympathy in this country for the suffering of the refugees is manifest not the least in the donations which enable humanitarian organisations to do their useful work.

All the same, we realize that the main burden rests on India. Whilst encouraging the Indian Government to continue their circumspect policy, it is only right that, together with others, we should also help to make the burden, which India has taken upon herself, a little easier to bear.

But above all, we address an urgent appeal to all those in positions of responsibility in your part of the world to quell the dangers of military conflict and seek ways and means of reaching understanding, both internally and externally.

Here in Europe, we are trying in our own way to remove sources of tension and to pursue a policy of reason. You yourself, and on other occasions your Foreign Minister also, have spoken with warmth and appreciation of our efforts to bring about *detente* in Europe. We value that highly, and are grateful for the understanding and support we have received from India. This policy, I feel, is also beneficial to others, not only in the general sense that we are rendering a

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contribution to the organization of peace, but also in the particular sense that we find solutions capable of avoiding burdens for India and other countries.

Political relations between India and the Federal Republic of Germany are, I am happy to say, not under the constant pressure of complex, unresolved problems. We are gratified to note an identity of views both as regards our aim and our methods of achieving them. We seek to devote our energies to the cause of peace.

India has made great progress in many fields of modern life and especially so in the time since you, Madam, became her leader in 1966. We congratulate you on your achievements.

There were many who, only a few years ago, thought it impossible that India would today have achieved her aim of producing enough food herself to feed her population. Industrial production has been increased further still. India's successful foreign trade policy is reflected in her increasing foreign exchange reserves. We share your satisfaction at these favourable results.

I feel sure that on this basis the economic partnership between Germany and India will continue to develop favourably. Mutual visits by delegations from trade and industry promise fruitful co-operation. And I hope that exchanges in the cultural, scientific and technological spheres will also continue to increase.

In the past, we have allocated a considerable proportion of our public aid to development projects in India. We shall continue, both on a bilateral basis and as partners in multilateral projects, to do all we possibly can to support your Government's development policy oriented as it is to progress and stability.

In this way, we wish to render a contribution, beyond the bounds of our continent, to the establishment of a lasting peace system. If your and our efforts meet with success then this will benefit not only our two countries but the family of nations as a whole.

The bonds of friendship between India and the Federal Republic of Germany are firmly established. Our intention is that it remains so.

I now raise my glass and drink a toast to you, Madam Prime Minister, and to India's happy future.

Speech of Chinese Delegate, Mr. Fu Hao, in the Third Committee of the U.N. Debate on Pakistani Refugees in India

November 19, 1971

The representatives of quite a few countries have spoken expressing concern on East Pakistan question. The Chinese Delegation would also like to make a few remarks on this question. The Chinese Government and people have always held that the internal affairs of any country should be settled by the people of that country itself. The position that has arisen is purely Pakistan's internal affairs which could be settled only by Pakistan, and no other country has a right to interfere under any pretext. The so-called refugee question came into being, and developed to this present stage, due to a certain country's intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs which has resulted in the present tension in the sub-continent. Recently, Pakistan Government has repeatedly proposed measures for relaxation of tension in the sub-continent and to settle the question of refugees. All these proposals have been rejected by the country concerned. They continued to exploit the question of refugees to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, and to carry out subversive activities against her, and to obstruct the return of East Pakistan refugees to their homeland, making a reasonable settlement impossible. These tactics of interference in the internal affairs are well known to the Chinese

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Government and the people. In our experience, a certain country stepped up subversive activities in Tibet with a rebellion which was smashed by the Chinese people. They encouraged Chinese inhabitants into coming into that country and created the question of Tibetan refugees. We hold that interference in Pakistan's internal affairs should be stopped. Only in this way refugees can be assisted in returning to their homeland. Chinese Government has always abided by the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and is firmly opposed to any country interfering in the internal affairs of a country under the pretext of so-called refugee question. Disputes between States should be settled through consultation between countries concerned. We believe that the broad masses of people in Pakistan are patriotic and are totally opposed to interference and they will certainly be able to solve their own problems.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT'S interview with U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. William P. Rogers

November 22, 1971

Following are excerpts from the interview:

Q.—What dangers do you see as you look around the world?

Ans.—The situation changes from month to month. I think that the most dangerous situation in the world at the moment is that which exists in the South Asian sub-continent. We do not think that either India or Pakistan wants a war, but a very explosive situation exists there. The possibilities of an accidental flare-up are great.

Q.—Do we supply arms to Pakistan or India?

Ans.—No, we do not. There has been a good deal of misunderstanding about that.

Since 1965, we've not provided arms to either India or Pakistan in the form of tanks, aircraft or artillery. We took the position then and up until recently that we should provide spare parts, because it's like selling anyone anything else—if they can't get spare parts, their equipment is useless.

Now in the case of Pakistan, we just announced an agreement with them that we would cancel all outstanding licences for the export of military spare parts, so we have no new equipment going to Pakistan and no spare parts going to Pakistan, with the exception of some 160,000 dollars worth now on the docks in New York awaiting the end of the strike.

Q.—What about India?

Ans.—We have made some deliveries to India, but, as I have said, this does not include such weapons as tanks, aircraft or artillery—only a small amount of spare parts.

So we are not really providing weapons either to Pakistan or to India.

Statement by Sir Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand

November 25, 1971

The Resolution and the Joint Statement the (U.N.) Third Committee have adopted on the East Pakistan refugee problem are a timely reiteration of the conditions that

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need to be created in the area for the early and safe return of the refugees to their homeland.....

This result, although limited only to a consideration of the humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem, has taken us some weeks of close consultation with other interested delegations. The discussions in New York revealed again, as we found earlier this year in ECOSOC, that few others are prepared to take a stand on this sensitive issue, however simple it may seem to some New Zealanders. What we and the Netherlands (later joined by Sweden) co-sponsored was what we regarded as a minimum humanitarian appeal to those directly concerned. Even in that form, it encountered opposition from various quarters. In particular, it aroused suspicion of those elements in it designed to place the refugee question, as a humanitarian issue, in its political context. There was even a concerted move made by some to prevent the adoption of any resolution at all. In the end, New Zealand and the other co-sponsors reluctantly accepted a number of modifications proposed during the debate. These had the effect of making the resolution less specific in its terms and its application. In that more general form its acceptance became possible.

The Third Committee has provided the only setting for a full discussion within the current General Assembly of the refugee problem. Out of a deep concern for the refugees themselves, the New Zealand delegation asked at the outset for adequate time to discuss their plight. We called for reports by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Secretary-General. And we sought to ensure that the Third Committee's response to the very disturbing reports they presented to the Committee should provide a useful basis for subsequent action by the Secretary-General and the Security Council. In view of the latest serious deterioration in the situation, the action taken by the Third Committee, and the part our representatives played in company with the Dutch, was both timely and well-conceived to indicate once more the urgent need for a reduction of tensions and the beginning of consultations by the Pakistan authorities towards a realistic political settlement within East Pakistan. The initiative has at very least had the virtue of bringing the membership of the United Nations at large, for the first time, to acknowledge that it has responsibilities towards this vast human tragedy.

Excerpts from Policy Statement made by Mr. Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, before the People's Chamber

November 29, 1971

The Government of the GDR will continue to devote great attention to developing and deepening friendly relations with the anti-imperialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The joint tasks and joint responsibility in the anti-imperialist struggle form the basis on which the collaboration of the GDR with these countries will develop further.

Conscious of this joint responsibility, the Government of the German Democratic Republic is following with great attention and concern the threatening situation which has arisen in East Pakistan and on the Indian sub-continent. A further aggravation of the situation would be useful only to the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism which want to hold up the consolidation of national independence and the social progress of the peoples.

The Government of the GDR holds that a peaceful political settlement of the problems which have arisen in East Pakistan should be brought about in agreement with the Will of the people of East Pakistan and their elected represen-

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tatives to ensure the speedy and safe return of the refugees to their homeland and to prevent military conflicts between Pakistan and India.

The Government of the GDR will continue to support the initiatives of all responsible forces directed at maintaining peace on the Indian sub-continent....

Statement by the Chinese Vice-Premier Mr. Li Hsien-Hien
November 29, 1971

Following is the statement made by the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Li Hsien-Hien, at a reception given by Ambassador Xhorxhi Robo of Albania in Peking in celebration of the 27th anniversary of the liberation of Albania:

In the past few days, because the Indian Government, supported and encouraged by social-imperialism, has been carrying out subversive activities and military provocations against East Pakistan, the tension on the sub-continent has been aggravated. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present Indo-Pakistan situation. We maintain that disputes between states should be settled by the two parties concerned through peaceful consultations and absolutely not by resorting to force. It is all the more impermissible for a country, under any pretext, to employ large numbers of armed troops to wilfully cross its own border and invade and occupy another country's territory. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of their State sovereignty and national independence. In order to ease the present tension, we hold that serious consideration should be given to President Yahya Khan's reasonable proposal for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw respectively from the border and disengage.

II. NON-OFFICIAL (ORGANISATIONS)

Resolution adopted by the Association of World Federalists at Honefoos, Norway
August 8, 1971

The Crisis in East Pakistan

Alarmed by the terrible suffering of the refugees from the area of East Bengal (East Pakistan) who have been driven into India, and by the terror inflicted on those who still remain;

Concerned by the heavy economic burden these refugees have put upon India which has so generously received them unmindful of the international complications and power conflicts involved, and the threat of war which is inherent in this tragedy of East Pakistan;

Convinced that any solution of the crisis in East Pakistan must be based on the free choice of the people of East Pakistan regarding the legal and political status of East Pakistan in the future;

THE COUNCIL OF AWF hails the initiative of Secretary-General U-Thant in calling the crisis to the attention of the Security Council as "a threat to international peace and security";

Calls upon the United Nations to accept on behalf of the world community the responsibility for responding fully to this human catstrophe and war danger;

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Appeals to the Security Council and other appropriate U. N. organs to act without further delay to:

Calls upon all Governments, Members and non-Members of the U. N. to halt the shipment of arms and all military aid to the Government in West Pakistan, as long as that Government continues to carry out acts of suppression and terrorism in East Pakistan,

Calls upon the authorities in West Pakistan to cease all acts of terrorism and repression and to seek immediately a negotiated political solution to the crisis,

Calls upon all Governments to come fully to the aid of India which has so generously undertaken the overwhelming and constantly increasing burden of caring for the refugees from East Pakistan and also to make available increased resources for humanitarian aid and relief to the distressed peoples in East Pakistan under strict U.N. control,

Asks the U.N. to undertake planning now for the rehabilitation of the refugees presently in India and the displaced peoples in East Pakistan, as well as for economic aid for reconstruction in the devasted areas.

Protest Note sent to the Government of Pakistan by the Ceylon Committee for Solidarity with Bangla Desh

August 17, 1971

Having murdered Pakistan and democracy and committed genocide against an entire nation, the military junta under the leadership of Yahya Khan is staging a farcical trial of the undisputed leader of the Sovereign and Independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which is a gross violation of the norms of international law and common humanity. While vehemently protesting against this barbaric action and calling upon the military junta to withdraw the occupation forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and to hand over power to the elected representatives in West Pakistan, we warn that the actions of the military junta are a continuing threat not only to the supermacy of the people's will in that country but also to peace in our region.

The people of Ceylon are deeply angered by the crimes of Yahya Khan and his military junta and demand an immediate end to them.

Declaration adopted by an International Conference held in Toronto, Canada

August 19 to 21, 1971

At an International Conference held in Toronto from August 19 to 21, 1971, and attended by over 30 distinguished scholars, editors, parliamentarians and former diplomats to discuss the situation that has arisen out of the tragic events in East Pakistan, the following declaration was adopted:—

The Toronto declaration of concern

We are horrified by the events of recents months in East Pakistan which have resulted in one of the major disasters in Man's history. Millions of refugees have fled in the wake of atrocities and military operations which continue to this day.

The spectre of famine threatenes those who remain in East Pakistan. In India, the influx of a rising tide of some 7·5 million refugees to date has created grave problems.

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The present situation is a threat to peace both in the sub-continent of South Asia and throughout world, with danger of great-power involvement in a familiar pattern of escalation. In spite of repeated warnings, including those of Secretary-General U Thant, the world remains largely indifferent. The staggering costs of the refugee operations have been left predominantly as a burden for India to carry. No effective political pressure have been brought to bear by the world community to end the mounting tragedy.

This Conference calls for an immediate end to all killings. This can be achieved only in the context of political settlement. There can be no lasting political solution without the democratic consent of the people of East Pakistan.

The secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman offends against the principles of the rule of law, outrages world opinion, and militates against the possibility of conciliation. His execution would end hopes of a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

In the longer view, there can be no solution that does not allow the refugees to return and to live in security in their villages and houses.

All evidence points to the certainty of famine in East Pakistan by October. Food must be supplied from outside and distributed directly to rural areas on a neutral basis under the supervision and administration of a greatly augmented United Nations staff with the mandate and facilities necessary for effective action. We urge the Government of Pakistan and the leaders of the Bangla Desh movement to co-operate with this emergency humanitarian programme.

We urge all Governments—

(1) To terminate immediately all military deliveries to Pakistan,

(2) To suspend all economic aid to Pakistan,

(3) To channel all possible resources into a massive emergency programme for famine relief in East Pakistan directed and administered by the U.N.,

(4) To make firm, continuing commitments to share fairly the economic burden of supporting the refugees in India, and

(5) To intervene to save the life of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

We appeal with the utmost urgency to all people in all countries to prevail upon their Governments to act while there is still time.

This declaration is made by an International Conference of people meeting in Toronto who are deeply concerned about events in East Pakistan. We have sought to be impartial and objective. We regret, the distinguished individuals from West Pakistan who had indicated their willingness to attend were unable to do so.

Among the signatories to the Declaration are the following:—

Mr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, former Director-General of U.N. Technical Assistance.

Mrs. Judith Hart, M.P., formerly Minister of Overseas Development, U.K.

Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P., U.K.

Prof. Stanley Wolpert, University of California.

Mr. Chester Ronning, former Ambassador of Canada to China.

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Mr. Homer A. Jack, Secretary, International Religions for Peace.

Mr. J. T. Thorson, International Commission of Jurists.

Prof. Robert Dorfman, Harvard University.

The Conference was attended by two representatives of Bangla Desh—Mr. M. R. Siddiqui, Representative in North America of Bangla Desh and Mr. A. M. A. Muhith, former Economic Adviser with Pakistani Embassy in Washington.

Representatives from West Pakistan who had indicated their willingness to attend were unable to do so.

Prof. Nurul Hassan, Member of Parliament, and Mr. Ajit Bhattacharjee, Resident Editor, Times of India, Bombay, attended the Conference from India.

Statement by American citizens attending the South Asia Conference in Toronto, Canada
August 21, 1971

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States in attendance at the South Asia Conference in Toronto (August 19 to 21, 1971), condemn the United States Government for its continuing delivery of military arms and related spare parts, along with economic assistance, to the Pakistan Government. This aid only contributes to further violence in South Asia. It contradicts American national interest. It violates world morality.

We urge our Government to alter its present course and to follow the recommendations of the Toronto Declaration of Concern.—

Signatories .—

Mr. Thomas A. Dine, Executive Assistant to U.S. Senator Frank Church.

Prof. Robert Dorfman, Harvard University.

Dr. John Rohde, Harvard Medical School.

Mrs. Cornelia F. Rohde, International Rescue Commission.

Dr. Hannah Papanek, Harvard University.

Prof. Stanely Wolpert, University of California.

Prof. Gustav Papanek, Harvard University.

Mr. Homer Jack, Secretary, International Religions for Peace.

Mr. Horman Dahl of Ford Foundation.

Resolution unanimously passed by the Latin American Parliament at Caracas, Venezuela
August 27, 1971

The Latin American Parliament,

Taking into account the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the International Convention on Genocide;

Conscious that human solidarity transcends barriers of race, religion, language, geography and ideology;

Condemns the brutal suppression of human rights, the massive genocide, the deliberate liquidation of politically conscious elements and of intellectuals and the imposition of a reign of terror in East Bengal by the Pakistan Army which has

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caused the exodus of more than 7½ millions of refugees to India—an exodus which continues and which has produced dangerous tensions in the area;

Calls upon the Government of Pakistan to desist from committing further violation of human rights and of law and justice, stop military repression, respect the life of the leader Mujibur Rahman, presently under military trial, and enter into immediate negotiations with the already elected representatives of the people with the object of achieving a political solution of the problem acceptable to East Bengal, in the faith that such a solution cannot be achieved by military means and that it is a minimum essential condition for the return of refugees to their motherland, with sufficient guarantees of their security;

Urges the international community to extend aid, directly as well as through international organisations, to the refugees sheltered by India in a spirit of humanitarianism and to the suffering people of East Bengal and to exercise all their influence over the Government of Pakistan with the object of achieving a rapid political solution.

Statement by the Committee on East Pakistan at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs held at Sinaia, Rumania
August 26 to 31, 1971

Following is the statement approved by the Continuing Committee on the problem of East Pakistan:

Recent events in East Pakistan have caused unprecedented human suffering and created a grave situation in the sub-continent. There has been loss of life on a mass scale and millions have been forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge in India. The resulting tensions in the region threaten international peace, and therefore demand the urgent attention of the U.N. The Continuing Committee of the Pugwash Conference appeals;

To the Government of Pakistan to promote speedily a peaceful political settlement, refrain from actions which make such settlement more difficult to achieve, create conditions for the safe return of the refugees to their homes and lands, and make possible the effective operation of international relief agencies among the affected population ;

To all governments to exert their influence on Pakistan to advance towards a peaceful political settlement;

To all governments, the United Nations and other internatonal organizations and world public opinion to recognise that the relief and welfare of the refugees in India is an international responsibility, and that they should, therefore, assume immediately the bulk of the financial burden; and

To all outside countries to avoid any steps which might further aggravate the situation and in particular to refrain from supplying arms to Pakistan.

Extracts from the Report of the Working Group II on Local Conflicts at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs held at Sinaia (Rumania)
August 26 to 31, 1971

The Group viewed with great concern the serious situation arising from the recent events in East Pakistan which have resulted in destruction of human lives on a mass scale, and in an unprecedented exodus of several millions of refugees to India. In consequence of these facts, what might have been an internal matter of

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Pakistan has become a major international problem threatening peace. Existing International Agencies, particularly the U.N., must take effective measures to relieve the burden imposed on India by the refugee problem and to promote the early restoration of conditions for the safe return of the refugees to their homes and lands, and to the exercise of their human rights.

Meanwhile, the cause of peace in the Indian sub-continent would be greatly helped if no outside power took any steps that would hinder the political solution of the problem.

Statement by the Bureau of the Socialist International in London

September 11, 1971

The Bureau of the Socialist International *expresses* its profound concern at the terrible human tragedy which has resulted from the political crisis in Pakistan. The stream of refugees from East Pakistan into India, which continues unabated, is placing a tremendous burden on the Government of India.

The Bureau of the International *declares* that there must be a political solution to this tragedy, and *condemns* this violation of human rights by the Pakistan military regime.

The Bureau of the Socialist International *calls for*—

1. An immediate end to military repression in East Pakistan;
2. The immediate and unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the other democratically-elected representatives of East Pakistan.

The Bureau of the Socialist International *believes* that the situation in the Indian sub-continent constitutes a threat to peace as defined by the U.N. Charter.

The Socialist International *deeply regrets* that the world community has not responded with sufficient urgency to this crisis and urges:—

1. That the U.N. should involve itself directly in working for a political solution which is in accordance with the Will of the people of East Pakistan.
2. That the U.N. should assume full responsibility for the refugee aid programme through a U.N.-administered Relief Agency, and in the meantime calls on all Governments to share the burden presently being carried by India alone; and
3. All countries, and in particular the members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium, to refuse economic and military aid to Pakistan until a satisfactory political solution has been agreed.

Resolution adopted by the 59th Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Paris

September 10, 1971

The 59th Inter-Parliamentary Conference,

Concerned at the unfortunate happenings and disastrous situation in East Pakistan which has been described by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as "a very terrible blot on the page of human history";

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Also concerned at the resultant exodus of millions of people into India, at the continuing increase in the number of refugees and at the destitution of an even greater number of people in East Pakistan;

Declares that the fate of these people, who have fled East Pakistan and have sought refuge in India, is a source of pre-occupation to the whole world, and that this sentiment should be fully shared by all countries in order to relieve the distress and suffering of these refugees;

Welcomes the international effort already undertaken, and urges Governments and other public or private agencies to contribute generously to the refugee relief effort and the East Pakistan relief programme;

Urges the Government of Pakistan kindly to continue to offer every facility to the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross for the development of the action they are undertaking in East Pakistan;

Likewise urges all National Groups and their Governments to encourage the steps required to create the political, economic and social conditions for the safe return of the refugees to their homeland, and to inform them that the necessary conditions guaranteeing them an adequate livelihood and security in freedom exist.

Statement by Mr. Arthur Bottomley (U.K.) at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Kuala Lumpur

September 13, 1971

....But I think, where things went wrong again was because of simple circumstances. When the Army came in, the first thing they did was to go to Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, and approach the Police Station. Now, the official story is when the Police Station was approached, the Police started firing the soldiers. But I heard a second story which was that one of these military leaders, arrogant, bombastic, demanded the Police lay down their arms, and the Chief of Police said, "On whose authority?". Whereupon there was again another demand, "The arms are to be returned forthwith, if not, we fire." And firing opened up. The police in the main, East Pakistanis, and the troops in the main, West Pakistanis, thought that the troops from West Pakistan were going to mow them all down. And so, we have the situation where these men lost faith in the President of the country. And there is no doubt at all they created a situation where there was a breakdown of law and order. But instead of having a civil administrator, who could tackle this difficult political, social and economic situation, a Military Commander was put in, a man, whom I am very glad to say, has since been removed, General Tikka Khan. When I met General Tikka Khan, he told me that if anybody did anything to upset his troops, then the order would be given immediately to shoot them down. I pleaded with him not to follow this policy. And it was because of this policy that the troops in the towns and the villages, knowing that there was this kind of leadership, behaving in the way went wild, and thousands and thousands of villagers terrorised, fled from the country. Moslems went first, followed by Hindus. Hindus understandably because they have been through this kind of circumstances before. And so you have a situation where millions of refugees had come across from East Pakistan to India. India through no cause of her own has probably one of the greatest problems any country has to handle. I saw the refugee camps, I saw the wonderful work being done by these Indian Administrators. They are short of food and equipment. It is true that the world is giving help, but not enough. My own country, for example, has given £8 million of aid to India and a million pounds to Pakistan, and I can confidently say we are going to give more. This problem in India is one that ought to be shared by all the Commonwealth countries, and all the Commonwealth

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countries should in turn be putting the pressure to bear upon the United Nations as a whole....

....I would say finally, Mr. President, this: that the only way in which we can bring about peace and security in that part of the world is by recognition by the President of Pakistan that the democratically elected leader of East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujib, is the one who could speak for the people. I said to the President personally and I repeat it here: one should learn by British history. We put a man in prison one day and the next day he was the leader of his nation.

Statement by Mr. Douglas Houghton (U.K.) at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Kuala Lumpur

September 13, 1971

I want to underline not only the gravity of the matter, but the urgency of the matter. This problem will not disappear merely by hoping that it will go away. India has had imposed upon her an undeserved and unwanted burden of tragic dimensions, a great strain on her economy, absorbing resources and manpower which otherwise would have been set aside for works of social improvements. Now, it is quite natural that India is anxious for this army of refugees to go back home as soon as possible. That is where they should go. Some people think that possibly India, with her vast territory and population, may be able to absorb these refugees on this scale. Another possibility is that they may be held in refugee camps—far bigger, but modelled on Arab refugee camps in the Middle-East. That, again, would be a permanent source of political instability, and undoubtedly would create difficulty between India and Pakistan for a long time to come.

Pakistan must find a solution to this problem. They must provide the conditions which will enable this vast army of refugees to go back home, and therefore I would suggest that in addition to the reference that my friend Mr. Bottomley made by invoking the aid of the United Nations, all of us should convey to our respective governments the concern of this Conference that they should lend a hand and try and persuade Pakistan to provide a political solution which is urgently necessary; otherwise, what will happen to these refugees? Are they be sent back home? Are we to have the biggest cattle-drive of humanity in the history of the world? How can millions of people be sent back home or go back home if there are not the conditions of security and the absence of fear which people wish to have before returning to their homes? Therefore, I do urge the Conference to carry the message back to their respective governments. I believe it is one of the gravest issues in the Commonwealth today. It has potentialities of the utmost gravity and I think we should regard it as a problem of utmost urgency.

Statement by Mr. H. C. Templeton (New Zealand), at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Kuala Lumpur

September 13, 1971

We ourselves, as a country, have emphasised that we believe that the Commonwealth and the United Nations must assist the Indian and Pakistani people in solving this problem. We have raised this directly with the Pakistan Government. The Prime Minister of New Zealand has written to the President to emphasise the rights of the people of East Pakistan. We believe that he and his government must come to terms with the elected representatives of East Pakistan, and that they must call off the mockery of a trial of the elected leader of East Pakistan: they must recognise his rights. We must all call for this shift in policy.

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Statement by Mr. Bissember (Guyana), at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Kuala Lumpur

September 13, 1971

I do not believe, I do not disbelieve rather, the international norm that we must not interfere in the internal affairs of another independent territory, but what I do submit, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished Delegates, is that where there is human suffering, where there is human degradation, and where there is a renunciation of all the rules of public morality, and of all the rules of international justice, it is the right and duty of every Commonwealth parliamentarian to air their views at a conference of this nature. I submit that the happenings in India and Pakistan are of tremendous importance not only to us in the Commonwealth but to all those who believe in international justice and the rule of law in the world....

....I thought that Mr. Zafar (Pakistan's Minister of Law some years earlier), and those who live in that great country of Pakistan, believe in parliamentary democracy, that is why they were trying to host the conference there. Mr. Chairman, with the greatest respect for those who live there, how could we think of having a conference in Pakistan when they themselves called elections—and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won those elections, they won the elections but they were not allowed to form a government in Pakistan.

Mr. Chairman, I mentioned that because a certain colleague of mine said that the elections were not conducted properly, but Mr. Chairman, the fact of the matter is just as Red China exists and must be seated in the United Nations, the same fact exists that East Pakistan entered into the elections, they won by a majority and they got majority seats, therefore they should run the country, the same way Red China must be seated in the United Nations. We cannot sit in Kuala Lumpur and tell the man in Colombo how to put his furniture in his house, it is none of our business, but what we can say is this; that if we find that things have been taking place which are against the international norms, international policies of the rule of law, etc., it is our right as parliamentarians to say and to condemn here and ask our respective Governments to speak at the United Nations, for there is no greater tragedy in the world today than what is happening in India and Pakistan....

....I, therefore, feel, Mr. Chairman, that we assembled here in this August body, a body which represents over 30 independent nations I am told, should spare no means whatsoever in condemning atrocities, in condemning violation of the democratic principles and in condemning all those who try to wreck constitutions and who try to bring disaster to the people of this world, as the disaster and atrocities are being brought on the people of India.

Resolution adopted by the International Conference on Bangla Desh held in New Delhi

September 18 to 20, 1971

The International Conference on Bangla Desh, consisting of more than one hundred and fifty delegates from all continents and 24 countries, met in New Delhi on September 18-20, 1971, to consider the recent events in Bangla Desh which have resulted in one of the major disasters in human history, and to suggest effective action for a satisfactory solution.

2. The International Conference wholeheartedly *supports* the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh against West Pakistani dominance. The Conference *feels* deeply shocked at the ruthless military campaign of wanton destruction,

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amounting to genocide, directed against the people of Bangla Desh, especially against the Awami League which won an overwhelming popular mandate in the December 1970 General Elections to the Pakistan National Assembly, the intellectuals and the minorities. This has resulted in the death of millions and in the exodus of over eight million refugees into India—an exodus which still continues and has placed tremendous economic and social burdens on India.

3. The Conference *expresses* appreciation of the commendable work done by the Government and people of India in giving relief to the refugees from Bangla Desh and of the assistance offered by the international community for this deeply humanitarian work.

4. The Conference *declares* that the political struggle of the people of Bangla Desh should be viewed by the international community as a national struggle for freedom.

5. The Conference especially *condemns* the gross violation of human rights in Pakistan which continues to this day and *urges* upon the members of the United Nations to place this problem before all organs of the United Nations as a violation of human rights and as a threat to the peace of the world.

6. The Conference *affirms* that a political settlement acceptable to the people and Government of Bangla Desh as now constituted under the presidentship of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is an urgent necessity. The Conference *further affirms* that the return of the refugees to their homeland in safety and confidence depends on such a settlement and is an essential pre-condition for a solution of the present crisis.

7. The Conference *recommends* that the Government of Bangla Desh be recognized by the Governments of the world, as Bangla Desh has all the geographic, historical, ethnic and linguistic characteristics of a sovereign nation.

8. The Conference *recognizes* that there is moral support for the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh in many parts of the world. However, in order that this moral support may be translated into effective action, the Conference *appeals* to the Governments of the world to stop forthwith the supply of arms, ammunition, spare parts, and all military facilities to the Government of Pakistan. The Conference also *appeals* to the governments of the world, international finance institutions and aid agencies to stop forthwith all kinds of economic aid to the Government of Pakistan.

9. The Conference *further appeals* to the Governments and peoples of the world to offer immediate and effective assistance to the Government of Bangla Desh: for some, this may include military assistance; for others, it may mean economic and other kinds of assistance including non-violent action.

10. The Conference *appeals* to the United Nations and to all international organizations to channel aid meant for relieving suffering in Bangla Desh through the Government of Bangla Desh under international supervision in order to ensure that such aid reaches those for whom it is meant.

11. The Conference *requests* the International Committee of the Red Cross to take an immediate initiative, under Article III of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is fully binding in the present circumstances, to take direct responsibility for the organization and distribution of relief supplies in Bangla Desh. The participation of the Government of Bangla Desh is essential and consistent with the terms of this Convention. In no circumstances should this task be entrusted to the Pakistani Martial Law Authorities.

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12. The Conference *urges* that all governments, inter-governmental agencies, and non-governmental organizations waive all restrictions as far as the life and health of the children of Bangla Desh is concerned, and, where difficult choices must be made between national liberation and human survival, to protect in every way the lives of children as the most precious legacy for the future of Bangla Desh and the world. In this regard, the Conference *suggests* the possible creation of internationally-controlled emergency sanctuaries for children inside Bangla Desh.

13. The Conference *recommends* the establishment of an International Committee of Friends of Bangla Desh to disseminate information based on authoritative sources to peoples, governments and non-governmental agencies and to take other effective measures with a view to fostering public support to the liberation movement in Bangla Desh.

Resolution, on possible joint actions by individuals and non-governmental organisations, adopted by the International Conference on Bangla Desh held in New Delhi

September 18 to 20, 1971

The International Conference on Bangla Desh suggests the following possible joint actions which individuals and non-governmental organisations can take to relieve the suffering of the people of Bangla Desh and to help them achieve their independence:

(*a*) The inhabitants of specific cities can "twin" either with a camp for Bangla Desh refugees in India and, subsequently, with areas in Bangla Desh. The principal objective would be the *rehabilitation* of the people of Bangla Desh, with the final decisions resting with the people themselves.

(*b*) Reports of qualified public health officials suggest the imminent threat of famine in Bangla Desh. The present United Nations measures to supervise food distribution seem to be inadequate. The Conference, therefore, recommends that substantial funds and goods in kind should be placed urgently at the disposal of (*i*) the Bangla Desh Red Cross Society, or (*ii*) the Bangla Desh High Commission in Calcutta, for their use and distribution inside Bangla Desh.

(*c*) Since many persons desire to express solidarity with the people of Bangla Desh, and some would like to do so through direct action, a *freedom march* should be organised with participants from different countries crossing non-violently into Bangla Desh.

(*d*) The oppression of the people of Bangla Desh by the Government of Pakistan may not reflect the views of the majority of people in West Pakistan. Additional efforts should, therefore, be made to convey to them the truth about the Bangla Desh issue. For this purpose, an *International March to Islamabad*, starting in a neighbouring country, should be planned. Supporting actions in other countries should also be undertaken.

Statement issued by the Soviet Women's Committee

The Soviet Women's Committee has made a statement expressing deep concern and alarm over the developments in Pakistan:

Reprisals, suppression of human rights and violation of elementary principles of democracy forced nine million people in East Pakistan to leave their country. Huge masses of refugees, homeless and having no means of subsistence, are driven to despair in face of the danger of dying from starvation and epidemics. Reprisals are taken against many progressives in East Pakistan.

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Soviet women appeal to the Pakistani authorities to hearken to the voice of millions of people in different countries and end reprisals against the Chairman of the All Pakistan People's League, M. Rahman, and other progressives in Pakistan, and take urgent steps to achieve a political settlement of the problems that have arisen, with due account taken of the will, rights and legitimate interests of the people of East Pakistan, as well as to create conditions for the earliest return of the refugees to their homeland.

(PRAVDA, Moscow—October 4, 1971)

Manifesto issued by the French Committee of Solidarity with Bangla Desh October, 1971

Before the immense distress of East Bengal and the tragic situation which will only get worse in the coming months, particularly on account of the ruin of agriculture, the French Committee of Solidarity with Bangla Desh appeals to French public opinion to take note of the following facts:

The Bengali people, maintained in a situation of colonial type by West Pakistan since the creation in 1947 of Pakistan, almost unanimously pronounced itself, during the first free elections based on universal suffrage organized in the country, for a very wide regional autonomy. This autonomy had been provided for as early as 1940 by the founders of Pakistan (Resolution of Lahore).

In its electoral programme, the Awami League resumed this claim for autonomy. On the basis of this legally defended platform, it won 167 seats out of 169 in East Bengal and ensured itself an absolute majority within the new Constituent Assembly for the whole of Pakistan, with 167 seats out of 313. In front of the transformation of the demographic majority of 75 million Bengalis—as against 55 million West Pakistanis—into a democratic and parliamentary majority, the military Government of Islamabad reacted by trying to drown in blood this majority's determination for autonomy. In fact, it only succeeded in transforming it into a determination for Bengali national independence which expressed itself by a refusal to co-operate, by the constitution of the Provisional Government of Bangla Desh, and by the guerrilla which has been a proof for the last six months of the implacable determination of the Bengali people.

The savage repression being continued by the Pakistan Army since 25th March, 1971, has already caused several hundreds of thousands of deaths. It provokes misery and famine entailing an exodus of 9 million Bengalis to India. The flow of refugees still amounts even now to several tens of thousands per day.

These facts constitute a deliberate and continued violation of exceptional gravity and scope by the Pakistani Government, and in particular of:

1. The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, Article 21;
2. The Charter of the United Nations, Articles 1 and 25 of the International Pact concerning political and civil rights;
3. The Convention for the Prevention and Repression of the Crime of Genocide (ratified by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9th December, 1948, and coming into vigour on 1st December, 1951).

In fact all the accounts prove that there is a systematic elimination of the elite and leaders of the Bengali people and decimation of the population throughout the whole country.

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The fate of tens of millions of men is at stake, just as essential principles and values are involved. A nation is deprived by force and repression of its right to dispose of itself. It is no longer possible to take refuge behind the alibi of an internal affair of a single State. The very dimensions of this tragedy makes of it an international matter. The official silence of most of the Governments makes it our duty to speak out and act. Our action must particularly be exerted in the following directions:

1. *The despatch of help.* The sums allotted so far by our Government are out of proportion with the needs and only supply a trifling part of international aid, which itself only represents 10 per cent of what has been spent by India for the survival of the refugees. Our country is in a position to do more and to do it quickly. As regards the assistance to be sent to the population of East Bengal, it would be advisable to guarantee that it will not be diverted and used as a means of political pressure by the Pakistani authorities.

2. *The pursuit of a political solution.* This will necessarily be through a negotiation with the authentic and admitted representatives of the Bengali people. It implies the liberation of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The freely consented return of the refugees will have to prove that a satisfying settlement has been reached.

3. *Suspension of deliveries of arms.* Our country is one of the principal suppliers to the Pakistani army. The last agreement concluded involved several dozens of "Mirages". We learn from foreign sources that our Government would have undertaken not to deliver these arms and not to conclude these contracts. The stake would certainly merit an official declaration from our Government on this subject. We consider that the embargo ought to be decreed on all deliveries of arms, munitions and spare parts to Pakistan as long as the military operations in East Bengal are carried out.

4. *The suppression of economic aid.* France, member of the International Aid Consortium to Pakistan, should propose maintaining the suspension effected in the Consortium's aid as well as the discontinuance of the bilateral aid allocated to Islamabad as long as the Pakistani Government continues to want to impose itself by force on the Bengali people.

The French Committee of Solidarity with Bangla Desh intends to encourage the adoption of the measures advocated above, to inform French public opinion on the situation in East Bengal and ensure a liaison between all those who refuse to succumb too easily to a feeling of powerlessness.

Statement by the President of the Hungarian Peace Council
November 11, 1971

The following is a statement issued by Lenin Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Endre Sik, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary and President of the Hungarian Peace Council, on the problems and consequences of the exodus of East Bengal refugees to India:

We are deeply concerned by the fact that the situation on the Indo-Pakistani border is growing worse and worse. In the present circumstances, there is no single spot in the world, however far it may be, where if a warlike conflict breaks out, we could afford to be indifferent. The peoples of the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent are especially near to us. The traditional cultural relations, marked by names such as Sandor Korosi Csoma, Aurel Stein and Ervin Baktai, have still

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further been strengthened in recent years by a multitude of political and trade relations, not only with India but also with Pakistan. India and also Pakistan are good friends of the Hungarian people and in the trenches on both sides of the border there now lie people whose lives are dear to us.

We are also aware of the fact that in today's world there are no guarantees that wars will remain local. Dangerous, narrow-minded interests can easily escalate into continental, and even more dangerous dimensions, conflicts which appear to be of a local nature. We can follow closely the development of the tension. *We are aware of what happened in Pakistan last year and especially in the spring of this year when the legally elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan were arrested, carried off and murdered. We are informed of the horrible massacre unleashed in Dacca at the end of March after which hundreds of thousands of people fled to India.* We are deeply moved by this human suffering—the spread of epidemics in the refugee camps and the hunger and the misery of the millions of people leaving behind their country and their homes. The great concern of our people manifested itself in the fact that, through the representative of the Hungarian Peace Council, we sent 85,000 doses of cholera-vaccines to the refugee camps. Already a Hungarian peace delegation is in India and it has brought with it blood plasma, medicines and blankets for the refugees. The entire population of our country is not more than the number of refugees staying in India. We are aware of what an immense burden this means for India and that is why, according to our modest abilities, we make every effort to help.

The peoples of both India and Pakistan are our friends. Their efforts for national independence, economic self-reliance and for full self-determination are evoking sympathy in us and we are standing side by side with them. But we cannot hide our conviction that the source of the present tension is in Pakistan. Pakistan has to find a solution: *not for their relations with India—this in our judgment is only a secondary question—but first of all for overcoming its own internal crisis. Pakistan cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of the millions of people who have fled to India.* There will be no tranquillity in the sub-continent as long as they do not find a possibility to settle the matter in dispute, on the basis of respect for the rights of the peoples, with the legally elected leaders of East Pakistan—first of all Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If the Government of Pakistan takes the bold step—reconsidering its policy followed since March—if it opens the road towards settlement, if it releases the representatives of the people of Pakistan and start negotiations with them, the whole world would look at them with respect and honour. The question of East Pakistan has to be solved, the refugees have to receive the guarantees to dare to return home—that is the only possibility to avoid war.

We are conscious that being a small country and a small nation, our words cannot solve such a grave conflict between nations. But in the present critical situation it is not only the right but also the duty of each man to take up a position. The word, the standpoint of the Hungarian Peace Council, represents the opinion of ten million Hungarians.

This opinion is absolutely unequivocal: it desires a political settlement of the issue, for without it the relaxation, the dissolving of the tension in the sub-continent cannot be imagined. We are in the eleventh hour, but the outbreak of war can still be prevented through soberness, through high statesmanship.

American academic community's appeal to President Nixon to withdraw U.S. support from Pakistan

November 12, 1971

Following is the appeal from hundreds of members of the American academic community in more than twenty Universities across the country.

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Signers included Nobel Prize winners Paul Samuelson and Salvador Luria of M.I.T. and Simon Kuznetz of Harvard; major academic specialists Gabriel Almond (Stanford), James Tobin (Yale), Talcott Parsons, Wassily Leontief, Daniel Bell, Seymour Lipset (Harvard), George Rathjens, Franco Modigliani and Robert Solow (M.I.T.); prominent Asian specialists Henry Rosovsky, Jahn Montgomery, Benjamin Schwartz (Harvard), Lucian Pye, Myron Weiner, Harold Isaacs, Paul Rosenstein-Rodan (M.I.T.), Alex Inkeles, John W. Lewis, Robert C. North (Stanford), Richard L. Park (Michigan), David Mandelbaum, Leo Rose, Gerald Berreman, Ralph Retzlaff (Berkeley), and others.

To President Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and Members of the Congress of the United States:

The civil war in Pakistan and the threat of war between India and Pakistan impose a heavy responsibility on the United States. Last March, the Pakistani army began a massive attack on the population of East Bengal which only a few months earlier had overwhelmingly supported a political party favouring regional autonomy within Pakistan. Some 300,000 Bengalis have been killed. Some nine million East Bengali refugees have been forced to flee across the borders into India. The refugee flow continues at the rate of about 30,000 a day. It lays an impossible burden on India which cannot afford to feed, clothe, and keep such a huge influx of helpless people. The Indian government has shown the utmost restraint in its effort to deal with this crisis thrust upon it by West Pakistan's attack on East Pakistan. It is West Pakistan which now threatens the peace of South Asia and war in South Asia threatens to involve not only India and Pakistan, but China, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The United States is a military ally of Pakistan and the United States has followed a policy of supporting the military-led government of Pakistan. We continue to provide economic assistance to Pakistan. Despite an announced embargo, we continue to supply military aid. This policy has been justified by the argument that only in this way could we influence Pakistan and restore peace. But this policy has served only to alienate India and the people of Bangla Desh and it has not succeeded in inducing the Pakistan Government to cease its campaign of terror and to seek a political settlement. This policy places the United States on the side of a government which is deliberately flouting the results of a national election, denying East Bengal the most elementary rights of self-determination, and committing wanton massacres against an unarmed people. Nor can U.S. policy be justified on the grounds of hard national interests. It is utter folly to support an authoritarian military regime in a brutal and bitter struggle against the majority of its own people, a struggle it cannot win. Every consideration of justice, humanity, and national interest plainly calls in this case for another application of the demonstrated capacity of the United States Government to be flexible in the making of radical shifts in policy.

We propose that the United States Government:

1. Inform the Pakistan Government that the United States will not provide military or economic assistance, will not continue aid currently in the pipeline, nor postpone debt repayment, until there is a political settlement with the elected Awami League leadership of East Bengal.

2. Transfer such aid as would have been given to Pakistan to East Bengal refugees now in India until such time as the refugees are able to return to East Bengal and significantly increase aid to India to provide for the cost of refugee relief.

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3. Provide economic assistance to the people of East Bengal under the auspices of the United Nations.

4. Inform Pakistan that in the event of a war with India, Pakistan should not assume that the United States would necessarily suspend assistance to India as we did in the 1965 war.

5. Indicate to concerned Muslim-majority states, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, Iran and Turkey, that we would welcome any effort on their part to encourage the Pakistan Government to negotiate a political settlement with Awami League leadership of East Bengal.

Both our political self-interest and our moral concern should lead us to deny support to the military-led Government of Pakistan, demonstrate our appreciation of the Bengali claim, and assist India on a far larger scale than we have thus far to handle the refugee burden. The United States is now engaged in an historic process of re-arranging our relations with China. Conditions also demand that we re-examine and revise our current policies in South Asia where an immediate threat to peace now confronts us.

III. NON-OFFICIAL (INDIVIDUALS)

Statement by the leader of the GDR Parliamentary Delegation
August 21, 1971

Following is the statement by Prof. Dr. R. Sieber, Leader of the three-member delegation of the Volkskammer (Parliament) of the German Democratic Republic, which visited India from August 14 to 22, 1971, at a Press Conference:

It is a pleasure and a privilege for me and the other members of the delegation to meet you and have a chance to put before you our views, our impressions of the prevailing situation.

A week ago, on 14th August, we arrived in New Delhi. The object of our visit was to make an on-the-spot study of the events related to the situation in East Bengal and the resulting refugee problem. We came to visit refugee camps and relief institutions and to have talks with leaders of your country to get first-hand information about the existing situation.

Thanks to the Government of India, whose hospitality we enjoyed, our programme was a full and rich one. We had meetings with Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, Shri G. S. Pathak, Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri R. K. Khadilkar, Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation, Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Raj Bahadur, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. We met also Dr. Karan Singh, Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, who had visited the German Democratic Republic as a Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of India to confer with the Government of the GDR on the grave threat to peace and stability arising from the tragic events in East Pakistan, and Shri S. K. Banerji, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, has been our constant and efficient companion. In conclusion of our mission we shall call on Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, tomorrow evening.

All those meetings took place in a very friendly atmosphere and proved highly instructive. We were provided a clear background of recent developments which led to the crisis in East Bengal, and we were given deep insight into the present problems with all its political, economic, financial and last, but not least, humanitarian implications and aspects.

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The day before yesterday we returned from Calcutta where we had gone to visit refugee camps. Mrs. Windisch took special interest in the plight of women and children and Dr. Wiedemann, who is a physician, made himself acquainted with the refugee situation from the medical point of view.

I must tell you that what we have seen around Calcutta and in the border area, and what we have heard in discussions, is too much for me to express in mere words. The refugees' plight is so shocking, what was inflicted on them so abominable and the human misery and tragedy we have witnessed so great that we were stunned. It really needed efforts to take in what there was to see and to hear. But for this very purpose we had come there after all. And it is clear to us now that we could not have assessed the situation, as it is in reality, had we not gone to the places where the refugees from East Bengal are settled temporarily and where an apparently never-ending stream of those unfortunate people is pouring into India day after day.

Our visit to the refugee camps more than convinced us that India makes tremendous efforts to accommodate for the time being those men, women and children who had to flee their homes in East Bengal. It is also clear to us that this is a heavy burden on India's resources. The very fact that India could sustain the refugees so far and in such huge dimensions, strengthens our faith in your nation's capabilities. We appreciate highly the great sacrifice made by your people to ease the plight of the refugees.

At the same time, our visit to the refugee camps made it very clear to us that this problem is a genuine international problem. India cannot consider herself the only country concerned. I can state that the Government of the German Democratic Republic shares the Government of India's opinion that this situation increases international tension and that the problem can only be solved by peaceful political means. A permanent settlement on the basis of the principles and the Declaration of Human Rights anchored in the U. N. Charter, which the GDR underwrites, must be reached.

The further influx of refugees into India must be stemmed and conditions must be created to make their early return in safety possible. This requires a permanent settlement of the basic political problem which can only be brought about in accordance with the Will of the people of East Bengal and in consultation with their elected representatives. We declare our sympathy and solidarity with the refugees and the staggering human problem that has arisen as the result of the military action in East Bengal.

Our standpoint is very clear and unequivocal and is based on the principles of the foreign policy of the GDR. We are in favour of a political settlement which with serve peace and security in Asia and the World. We have never supplied and shall never supply arms to Pakistan. We demand the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and we hail the Treaty of Peace, Co-operation and Friendship concluded between India and the Soviet Union. To demonstrate her attitude, the German Democratic Republic was ready to help also materially and sent relief consignments to India.

We can assure you that immediately after returning to our country we shall inform our Volkskammer in full and in detail of what we experienced. We shall give the same information in our respective parliamentary groups, and we shall—in anticipation of our Volkskammer elections—give a clear picture of what we have seen and heard to our people, our electorate in our constituencies. Furthermore, it will be our immediate obligation to report extensively to the Government of the German Democratic Republic. Our mission will contribute to make the people

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of the GDR still more vividly aware of what happened to the people of East Bengal and of the tremendous problem India was inflicted with.

The world press has done a commendable job in rousing public sympathy for the people of East Bengal. Exceptions are but few. And also the mass media of the German Democratic Republic have expressed solidarity for the refugees and appreciated India's sane attitude and clear-cut policy in an ample way.

Let me make use of this opportunity to thank you as representatives of the Indian press for what you have done to let the rest of the world know of what is happening so close to your eastern borders and within your own country. The way it was done bore evidence of the great responsibility a journalist has and must be appreciated. At the same time I—on behalf of my Delegation—want to thank you for the interest you showed in our mission, for the overwhelming good-will and sympathy we enjoyed from your side wherever we went and for the coverage our mission had in Indian mass media so far. And this is as it should be: both your and my delegation's mission is to give our respective countries a clear picture of what is happening, to help move our two countries and peoples closer together for mutual benefit.

That we could successfully go through our mission we owe our sincere thanks to the Government of India and its representatives.

Thank you all.

Statement by Mr. Bernard Braine, British M.P., on East Pakistan

As sure as night follows day, there will be an appalling famine in East Pakistan by October unless the international community intervenes now. That was the sombre conclusion reached by a non-governmental conference of South Asia experts which met in Toronto last week under arrangements made by Oxfam of Canada.

Last month, a World Bank mission which had visited East Pakistan reported that they saw no signs of return to normal conditions. The people remained frightened and untrusting. Many workers and civil servants were failing to report for duty. Communications were completely disrupted.

As the weeks have slipped by, the situation has continued to deteriorate. There are now over 7.5 million refugees in India and their numbers increase daily. Their appalling physical condition is proof enough of the plight of those left behind. Insurgency continues. Far from any return to civil administration, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the elected leader of the province, now faces trial before a secret military tribunal.

What is the basis for believing that the still greater disaster of famine now looms ahead for East Pakistan?

First, it should be recognized that in spite of the abundant rainfall and rich soil of the province, hunger and malnutrition are endemic. The basic diet consists of rice supplemented by vegetables, fish and lentils. Meat and dairy products are rare luxuries. According to a World Bank report, the average per capita per day cereal consumption last year was 16.1 ounces. This provided only 1,700 calories compared with the North American and West European average of 2,700 calories. Indeed, a Pakistan Government nutrition survey conducted in 1964 showed that even then the average protein intake of people in the East wing was inadequate in 85 per cent of the rural population and over half the children were on the

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borderline of malnutrition. The death-rate among all liveborn children was 26 per cent before their fifth birthday, compared with a European average of 2.4 per cent.

The implications of all this were spelt out at the Toronto conference by Dr. Jon Rohde of the Harvard Medical School who has recently returned from East Pakistan. His key point was that a people, whose diet and wellbeing are highly marginal in "normal" times, become dangerously vulnerable even if there is only a marginal shortfall in traditional food supplies. If, however, there is a major shortfall, then massive famine is inevitable and millions are condemned to die.

What are the facts about the shortfall? From 1966 to 1970, East Pakistan produced an average of 10.8 million tons of grain a year, but still had to import 1.2 million tons a year to offset continuing deficits. The Fourth Five-Year Plan envisaged a substantial increase in domestic production by 1975, but, even if this could have been achieved, imports would still have been necessary because of rapid population growth.

Unfortunately, far from increasing, production has fallen catastrophically. According to figures quoted by Dr. Rohde, based on recent estimates made by the United States Administration for International Development, domestic production in the coming year is likely to be 2.28 million tons below what was estimated before the present troubles. In short, East Pakistan faces its largest food deficit since the Bengal famine of 1943. Some idea of what is involved may be grasped by recalling that three million people are believed to have perished in that famine.

It is not difficult to enumerate the causes of this alarming situation. Hundreds of thousands of farmers have fled to India and are still fleeing. The agricultural credit system has totally collapsed. Public works programmes and private business activities have virtually ceased, and throughout the province there is an acute shortage of cash. Hoarding is taking place and the price of rice has risen sharply.

Dr. Rohde quoted United States AID estimates that some 2.9 million tons of grain imports will be needed to supplement domestic production merely to ensure an average daily consumption of 15 ounces (1,600 calories) a head. That is an absolute minimum, since even a sedentary adult requires 1,600 to 1,900 calories to maintain reasonable health. But, since the maximum import of foodgrains in any normal year up till now was 1.5 million tons in 1970, the prospect of importing and distributing nearly twice this amount in present circumstances is poor.

Even if the requisite quantities of food could be shipped and off-loaded, the ability to move them to deficit areas is severely limited. Chittagong and other ports are operating well below capacity, because so many port workers have fled. Military operations by the army and sabotage by the insurgents have severely disrupted road and rail communications.

About 90 per cent of the population live in the rural areas, and the proportion is now probably higher because half of the urban population has fled. But it is here, where the need is greatest, that the Pakistan Army's hold is most tenuous. Thus, there is real fear that if food distribution is left solely to the military they will give first priority to the restoration of order and will not hesitate to use food as a political weapon. If this happens, the insurgents can be expected to disrupt the process.

Dr. Rohde told the Toronto Conference that against this background, there were three urgent requirements. First, that international opinion should demand that the opposing parties in East Pakistan permit sufficient food to reach the affected areas regardless of whether these are under the control of the army or the insurgents. Second, the only way of ensuring that the food reaches the people

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in direst need was to persuade the Pakistan Government to accept that distribution should be under the supervision and administration of a greatly augmented U.N. staff. Third, that an international team of experts should be permitted to enter East Pakistan without delay. Its tasks would be to determine where are the areas of greatest need, to assess current food stocks and to decide on the quantities and type of relief supplies needed, to evaluate the extent of damage and to supervise the repair of communication and transportation facilities for non-military purposes only, to establish food distribution centres accessible to air and water transport and to formulate equitable procedures of rationing and distribution.

Given these requirements, and given them quickly, there is a reasonable chance that an effective relief operation can be mounted. To cover immediate needs, emergency food supplies should be flown in. To avoid congestion in the ports, and to overcome the breakdown in road and rail communications, ships should be used to stand off the coast and transfer supplies to an armada of small craft which can use the extensive waterways system to reach regional centres.

But time is desperately short. The world community must act now or be prepared to witness a human disaster of unimaginable proportions.

(THE TIMES, London—September 1, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Peter Shore, British M.P.
September 2, 1971

Following is a report on the statement:

The British Government should not resume consortia aid or economic aid to West Pakistan in the view of Mr. Peter Shore, Labour MP for Stepney.

Mr. Shore, who has just returned from a week's visit to Delhi and West Pakistan with the Right Rev. Trevor Huddleston, Bishop of Stepney, has put this proposal to Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Foreign Secretary, in order to persuade the West Pakistan Government to recognize that its bonds with East Pakistan are shattered and to start to disengage from power there.

Mr. Shore said yesterday (September 2), "The British Government has taken a satisfactory line so far, but a decision is coming up in October about whether consortia aid should be resumed.

"The West Pakistan Government is going through an elaborate window-dressing operation in East Bengal to try to make a case for the resumption of aid. We have to make sure that nobody is taken in by it.

"We must work closely with the American Government which has a considerable influence with the West Pakistan Government. The American Government's policy is uncertain, though they are under pressure from their own Congress.

"This has grown since the visit of Senator Kennedy to India, and I hope that American opinion will be moving in the same way that opinion is moving in Britain."

The stark truth, said Mr. Shore, is that Pakistan has broken up. "From the start they were separated by 1,000 miles geographically", he said. "Now they are separated by an equal distance in terms of their political goals and their sense of common purpose. The bonds have been broken and shattered.

"Against the background of the extraordinary outpouring of people from East Bengal, still going on at a rate of over a million every month, I do not see

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that it is possible under any conceivable degree of pressure, indeed tyranny, from the West Pakistan Government to bring these two disparate parts of Pakistan together into a single political community.

Mr. Shore, who had a talk with Tajuddin Ahmed, the "Prime Minister of Bangla Desh", during his visit, said that if the West Pakistan Government did not now start a disengagement from power in East Bengal "another bitter and uncontrolled civil war would ensure in which other nations could be involved".

(THE TIMES, London—September 3, 1971)

Letter of Mr. H. L. Kirkley, Director, Oxfam, in THE TIMES, London September 3, 1971

Sir, I feel compelled to reinforce Bernard Braine's plea (article, September 1) that "the international community intervenes now" to avert total famine in East Pakistan.

This situation is clearly beyond the control of individuals and private agencies, but there is a role for lesser groups to continue pressure for governmental and international action which could stave off famine now.

People must care sufficiently to supply their governments with the will to spend the people's money in the common cause of fighting famine, no matter in what land that ugly spectre launches its bitterest attack.

The food situation in East Pakistan is already precarious. One family, visited by an Oxfam representative, was sheltering 81 displaced persons—within East Pakistan itself, let it be clear.

The danger is further aggravated by floods, high tides, and also by the fact that the British Parliament is not in session, for this is a most important forum in maintaining public awareness and goading action at highest levels.

Indeed, the greatest problem is not the material shortage, which this technological generation could adequately combat, but the twin problems of starting up the lumbering machine of international compassion and then maintaining public and government interest. Refugees who are hungry today are likely to be hungry every day for a long time. Public response is inclined to be in the form of one instinctive donation and then forgetfulness.

Since July 26, tractors of the consortium of British charities—Christian Aid. Oxfam, and War on Want—have been ploughing land in East Pakistan to help boost the flagging harvest. Is it too much to expect that now at this late hour the "international community" might be expected to step in with aid not tailored to the dictum "how much can we afford?" but related to the positive "How much is needed?"

In today's narrowing world, none of us can wash his hands of the hunger pangs of the starving children and old people in East Pakistan, whatever our views of the political situation there. And the world has only a week or two left in which to act.

Yours, etc.,
H. L. KIRKLEY, Director, Oxfam,
274, Banbury Road, Oxford,
September 2.

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EXCERPTS FROM TWO LETTERS TO THE EDITOR, KOREA TIMES, SEOUL

A. From Mr. Kim Mu-Chang, published on September 5, 1971

What happened in East Pakistan is very unfortunate. However, I don't believe "the activities of the West Pakistan Army are being conducted in the name of Islamization". The majority of the population in East Pakistan are also Muslims (about 88 per cent, *Pakistan Year Book*, 1971). The conflict between the West and East can be traced back to the time of making of the first constitution, which was brought into existence only in 1956, nine years after independence. The cause of the conflict has been rather political and economic than religious....

B. From Mr. Hong Sook-Ja, Secretary-General, Bangla Desh Relief Committee of Korea, published on September 9, 1971

I have read with interest the recent letters in your paper concerning the tragic happenings in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) and the Korean response thereto. It has become incumbent on me to remove some of the misunderstandings, as the Secretary-General of the Bangla Desh Relief Committee of Korea.

I agree with Mr. Kim Mu-Chang (*Letter* September 5) that the root cause of the brutal repression let loose in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) is political and economic in nature. Ever since Pakistan came into existence in 1947, the East Pakistan region (Bangla Desh)—which is separated from West Pakistan by a stretch of about 1,200 miles—has been treated as a colony by West Pakistan.

This has been despite the fact that the Eastern region has more population than the Western part of the country. As a specific example, 60 to 70 per cent of foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan have always come from products of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) in terms of items of jute and tea, etc., but they have been continuously spent on setting up industries in West Pakistan.

The same has been the case in the field of aid received from abroad, with most of it being spent unjustly in West Pakistan and only crumbs being left for the East region. It has been stated that no more than 20 families in West Pakistan controlled the whole economy of over 75 million people of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh)!

Thus it is indeed a truism that East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) has been suffering from economic exploitation for about a quarter of a century now and the fact that they can bear this no longer is quite understandable.

In the political field, it is a fact that no democratic elections on the basis of adult franchise were held in Pakistan till December last year. In December 1970, for the first time, democratic elections on the basis of adult suffrage were held in which the Awami League Party of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, belonging to East Pakistan (Bangla Desh), obtained an overwhelming majority and won no less than 167 out of 169 seats provided for the Eastern region. With 167 members of the National Assembly behind him Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, according to accepted democratic principles, had the right to be the Prime Minister of the whole of Pakistan and not only of the Eastern region.

The six-point program of the Awami League demanding autonomy for their region was an open document well known to the military rulers of West Pakistan and millions of copies of their election manifesto must have been distributed during the election campaign.

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Thus, the demand for autonomy of the Awami League after the recent elections was neither a sudden development nor any secret move. What happened was that the military rulers of Pakistan under-estimated the popularity of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League in the Eastern region, and with his overwhelming victory got so panicky that they could not think of anything but repression of the popular forces.

This was not a statesman-like response and after having started the insane massacre from the night of March 25, 1971, onwards, the military rulers of West Pakistan now find themselves on a suicidal path resulting in the break-up of the country.

These developments in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) have resulted in an unprecedented flow of refugees into neighbouring India with about 8 million refugees having already crossed over. Come to think of it, the number of these refugees is more than the total population of Switzerland and New Zealand put together!

The arrival of such a vast number of refugees in India threatens the social, political and economic fabric of that country. This is a terrible thing. Also, India cannot be expected to provide food, shelter and medical facilities for such a vast number of refugees for an indefinite period.

Some international help (including some from the United States) has been extended but so far the amount of assistance received in this gigantic task is a pittance as compared to the expense and efforts required.

It is bearing the above facts in mind that we in Korea decided to organize a Bangla Desh Relief Committee, with the hope that a poor man's penny is worth more than a rich man's pound. We are conscious of our limitations but we must help even if we happen to be comparatively poor....

A few months back, it was the 167 elected members of Eastern region of Pakistan who declared that henceforth their area would be known as "Bangla Desh". Therefore, it is only proper for us to respect the wishes of the democratically elected representatives of that area.

It is relevant to recall that during the Japanese occupation of our country, Koreans were referred to as "Japanese from the peninsula" and in the same way people of Taiwan were referred to as "Japanese from the island". I remember how happy we used to feel when outsiders would refer to us as Koreans and not as "Japanese from the peninsula, etc." We have not forgotten those days.

The least that we can do for the freedom-fighters of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) is to call them by the name that they want to be known by.

PROFESSOR JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI

September 14, 1971

Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith said today (September 14) that a political solution to the Bangla Desh problem can come when the refugees can go back in safety with their leaders including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and feel that they are in charge of their destiny and politics.

The former United States Ambassador in India said he was for not any U.S. arms supplies to the sub-continent and also against any economic aid which would be used to finance repression in East Bengal.

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Prof. Galbraith, who was addressing a Press conference after his visit to the refugee camps in West Bengal, agreed with a questioner that if an early solution was not found to the Bangla Desh problem, the leadership might pass on to the extremists. "Continued frustration is certainly not good for democracy", the distinguished American thinker said.

When a reporter pressed him to say whether a political solution can be found within the present frame-work of Pakistan, Prof. Galbraith said there was a time when a section of Indian public opinion thought that there was no chance of any association of independent India with Britain, but this became possible later.

Prof. Galbraith said there was great sympathy and support in the United States for the vast number of people who had been driven into India. There was also great admiration for the courage, restraint and energy with which India was handling the problem. In finding a political solution, there can be no doubt that the refugees, when they go back, will have to be in full charge of their politics.

He hoped the Bangla Desh problem does not result in a tragedy of the scale of Vietnam. He expressed himself categorically against a military solution. A questioner spoke of the impression that it will be less expensive for India to go in for a "speedier solution".

Mr. Galbraith said he did not want to minimise the great sacrifice India has to make because of the Bangla Desh problem. But he hoped that India's reputation for patience will not be sacrificed in the process.

He said the two wings of Pakistan had one of the most viable economies in the region. Because of the blunder of repression in East Bengal, there could be an economic disaster for West Pakistan. One of the causes of the present situation, he said, was the differential rates of growth between the eastern and the western wings of Pakistan. Added to it was the unhappy experience of the long military rule Pakistan has had....

(**THE INDIAN EXPRESS**, New Delhi—September 15, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Peter B. Frelinghuysen, U.S. Republican Congressman, in Calcutta October 3, 1971

Mr. Peter B. Frelinghuysen, a Republican Congressman from New Jersey, who is also a member of the U.S. Foreign Affairs Committee, said at Calcutta airport today (October 3) that there was not a single person present at a reception centre set up by the Pakistan Government at Comilla which he had visited before coming to India.

Mr. Frelinghuysen had been touring Pakistan, especially East Bengal, and India, to make an on-the-spot study of the developments, particularly problems connected with the refugees in India and Pakistan, to prepare a report to be submitted to his committee and also to apprise the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, about the situation.

Mr. Frelinghuysen told reporters that the reception centre was, of course, well prepared. Arrangements for the supply of food and medical aid were very good there. But, unfortunately, there was no one to avail himself of those opportunities, he said....

He told another questioner that the solution to the problem involving India and Pakistan was to work towards some political settlement. "It is not easy to achieve it, but we at least can try to reduce the tension."

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Later, Mr. Frelinghuysen and the U.S. Consul-General, Mr. Herbert Gordon, visited the refugee camps at Salt Lake (near Calcutta). The refugees told the visiting Congressman that they were prepared to return to their homes only when East Bengal would be independent. They said they preferred death in India to return to Pakistan.

Later, the Congressman and the Consul-General visited hospitals and other offices set up in the camps for the refugees.

Giving his impression of the camps, Mr. Frelinghuysen said amazing things had been done by the Government of India for the refugees in a very short time. He was pleased to see the way attempts were being made to offer relief to such a large number of refugees.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—October 4, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Williams A. Boe, Secretary-General of the Norwegian Refugee Council
October 10, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement:

Norway with a population of three and half million has contributed $ 4 million to the relief of evacuees from Bangla Desh, according to the Secretary-General of the Norwegian Refugee Council, Mr. Williams A. Boe.

Mr. Boe, who flew in here (Calcutta) from Delhi, told newsmen at Dum Dum airport last night (October 10, 1971) the influx of over nine million evacuees into India could be said to be "the biggest tragedy since World War II."

He said the people of Norway had come to realise the enormity of this problem in India. A joint action committee consisting of four relief organisations had been formed about two weeks ago to raise more funds for relief of the Bangla Desh evacuees in India.

Mr. Boe will visit evacuee camps around the city and in 24-Parganas during his two-day stay in the city.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy's 7-Point Plan for East Bengal
November 1, 1971

Following is a report from Washington, published in the Times of India, New Delhi, dated November 3, 1971, *about Senator Edward M. Kennedy's 7-Point Plan for East Bengal:*

Senator Edward Kennedy, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on Refugees, has called upon the Nixon Administration to ask Pakistan to permit representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Pakistan to visit Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Mr. Kennedy said the Sheikh's "symbolic leadership of the political forces opposing the present Government in Islamabad makes his just treatment and personal safety a matter of greatest importance for any political settlement of the crisis".

The Senator's recommendation is one of seven he has made in a detailed report on the crisis in East Bengal and India which he submitted to the Congress yesterday (November 1).

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The other recommendations are—

(1) the U.S. must come to grips with the root cause of the crisis in South Asia;

(2) the President should appoint a special high-level representative to South Asia;

(3) the U.S. must increase humanitarian aid to South Asia;

(4) the President should establish a Bureau of Humanitarian and Social Services within the Department of State;

(5) the U.S. should strongly support the establishment of a U.N. emergency service; and

(6) the tragedy of East Bengal should be brought before the U.N. and the U.S. should encourage the current initiatives to include it in the debate of the Third Committee of the U.N. General Assembly.

Mr. Kennedy said the massive flow of refugees into India and the threat of war in South Asia are symptoms of a policy of violence and repression that Pakistan has been following against the people and the political leadership of East Bengal which the U.S. leadership has "deliberately minimised—apparently out of deference to the sensitivities of the military regime in Islamabad".

The Senator said: "It is time—it is past time—for Americans to understand what has produced this massive human tragedy and to recognise the bankrupt response of our Government. But, incredibly, neither the President nor the Secretary of State, nor any high official, has made a single public statement condemning the Pakistan Government's policy of violence and repression".

"The U.S.", he added, "must do an about-face in our supportive relations" with the nations of South Asia, because "if South Asia today is on the brink of war and even greater tragedy, our Government's policy bears a special responsibility."

An estimated 4,300 children are dying every day and another 200,000 could die of starvation in East Bengal refugee camps in India by the end of this year, Kennedy told newsmen yesterday (November 1) reports Reuter.

The Massachusetts Democrat told newsmen that he would introduce a Bill providing $250 million for refugee relief if Congress does not provide the money in new foreign aid legislation.

Refugee relief totalling $250 million was contained in the Foreign Aid Bill which the Senate rejected on Friday.

Senator Kennedy praised India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for showing remarkable restraint in avoiding a conflict with Pakistan.

Appeal by the U.K. (Refugee) Committee for the Prime Minister of India's National Relief Fund
November 30, 1971

The following is a letter to the Editor published in The Guardian, London, November 30, 1971:

Sir,—The newspapers are now full of the war danger resulting from the nightmare situation in East Bengal, but we mustn't forget that the refugees—nearly ten million of them—are still in India, or that the burden of keeping them fed and sheltered is still very largely being borne by the Indian Government.

This would be a big enough humanitarian task even if India were one of the world's richest nations, but for a nation struggling to conquer mass poverty, it is really a stupendous effort. And the Indian people share the credit with their Government, because India is a free country whose rulers are chosen by, and responsive

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to the people. Without popular support Mrs. Gandhi would have been unable to admit the refugees in the first place, let alone keep them for so long and at such vast expense on Indian soil.

The British Committee of the Prime Minister of India's Relief Fund has been raising money here for direct transmission to Mrs. Gandhi. Under her auspices it is then used for the benefit of the refugees for buying medicines and medical equipment, clothing—both winter and summer—blankets and bedding, tents and lanterns, baby food, hand tools, shovels, etc.

Cheques can be made out simply to INR and sent either to me or to the Fund Account No. 1561146, Llyods Bank Ltd., 6 Pall Mall, London, SW 1. I urge everyone to give as much as they can afford for this supremely deserving and urgent cause.

Yours very sincerely,
SYBIL THORNDIKE CASSON.

The U.K. (Refugee) Committee for the Prime Minister of India's National Relief Fund.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy's statement in U.S. Senate presenting a Preliminary Report on his field trip to Bangla Desh

February 25, 1972

Just a week ago, I returned from a visit to Bangla Desh. I travelled to this newest nation at the invitation of the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. As Chairman of the Judiciary Sub-Committee on Refugees, the main purpose of my visit was to assess first hand the immediate relief and rehabilitation needs of the Bengali people—especially the 10 million refugees returning from India to Bangla Desh, and the millions of others displaced within the boundaries of their homeland.

To travel in Bangla Desh today is to better understand the immensity of past tragedy, and to better comprehend the challenges which now face the Bengali people and those around the world who will help the people of Bangla Desh to help themselves.

Tragedy and triumph are everywhere present. You see tragedy in the massive devastation of the countryside, in the broken lives of destroyed families, in the eyes of maimed children, in the whitened skeletons of mass graves, and in the faces of millions who must start life anew in the aftermath of a repression which created the most appaling tide of human misery in modern times.

You see triumph in the joy of a people relieved that a nightmare of fear and violence has come to an end, and in the hope of a people who have courageously won a victory for self-determination and democratic principle. Dacca University—a primary target in the early days of the repression—re-opened its doors just three weeks ago. More than 10,000 students are registered. The Vice-Chancellor and many of the students were among the refugees I visited in Eastern India last August.

In devastated Kushtia town—some 90 miles north-west of Dacca near the Indian border—the rubble is being cleared. And even though the local resources are meagre and the food and stocks very low, returning refugees have started to rebuild their shops and homes and lives. What is happening in Kushtia is fairly typical of what is happening all over Bangla Desh. And if one doubts the remarkably fast and smooth return of the refugees, you need only visit the Salt Lake Refugee Camp outside Calcutta, which I did on the day following my visit to Bangla Desh. Last August, this largest camp in India was filled with a teeming mass of humanity—some 300,000 Bengali refugees. Last week, Salt Lake was a ghost town, with little more than 10,000 people remaining—and they were preparing to leave.

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I spoke with an Indian priest who succeeded reasonably well in running a medical centre during the refugee influx. But he spoke of how only a few months ago he thought that the refugees would never return. He spoke of the despair that he and the other voluntary agency personnel felt in trying to battle an unending tide of refugees, disease and squalor. Last week, he was also preparing to leave, his work done. He was returning to his regular assignment with village health centres in rural India.

Because I shall soon file a definitive report on the findings and recommendations of my field investigation, I shall not burden the record with more lengthy comment at this time. But the urgency of immediate humanitarian needs in Bangla Desh, and the policy of unconscionable silence which still governs the Administration attitude towards this new nation and all of South Asia, prompts me today to speak out in behalf of the Bengali people and the vast humanitarian needs which are so readily apparent in Dacca and the countryside of Bangla Desh.

I am distressed that our national leadership persists in rationalizing the past policy of support for a shabby and shameful enterprise by a military regime—and all but ignores the appeals of Sheikh Mujib for international assistance in helping to feed and rehabilitate the refugees in Bangla Desh. I am even more distressed that on February 2, representatives from the Administration could appear before the Sub-Committee on Refugees and put a cloak of normality on conditions in Bangla Desh, and bluntly tell the Sub-Committee that "nothing"—including America's failure to recognize Bangla Desh—" is standing in the way of the movement of relief supplies ".

Well, they should go to Bangla Desh. For I can say, Mr. President, their testimony runs counter to the facts in the field. Congress and the American people have been misled again.

After speaking with the Prime Minister and officials in his government—after speaking with countless representatives of the voluntary agencies, the Red Cross and the United Nations—and after speaking with the head of the American Mission in Dacca and members of his staff—there can be little doubt that our Government's failure to recognize Bangla Desh is standing in the way of America's leadership in contributing to the emergency humanitarian needs of the Bengali people.

Lack of recognition is the main stumbling block, paralyzing the new allocation or shipment of U.S. relief supplies and funds to Bangla Desh. It has made our Consul-General an official leper, unable to represent the American people in humanitarian programs of the Bangla Desh Government, the United Nations and other international bodies. It has crippled the ability of American voluntary agencies in organizing relief projects, especially those involving the needed distribution of food commodities under the P. L. 480 Program. And it has endangered the continued functioning of many valuable long-term U.S. humanitarian projects in Bangla Desh such as the Cholera Research Laboratory—one of the world's finest Cholera control organizations—due to the absence of bilateral programs. Moreover, the United States has traditionally supplied the largest share of food imports into Bangla Desh under bilateral P.L. 480 Programs, generating local funds that have been used for a variety of essential humanitarian and developmental projects. Today, that program is suspended, waiting the day of recognition.

Three weeks ago, during the Sub-Committee hearing on February 2, Administration witnesses said our Government was poised to help Bangla Desh, but that our commitment was waiting an appeal from the United Nations. On February 16, that appeal was made by the Secretary-General on behalf of the United Nations

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Relief Organization, Dacca. Today, one week later, there is nothing on the record to suggest we are responding.

On January 31, a similar appeal for relief aid—mainly for the Bihari and other minority communities—was made by the International Committee of Red Cross in Geneva. Today, some three weeks later, there has been no response.

On January 21, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees issued an appeal for additional assistance in repatriating the refugees in India. Today, more than a month later, there has been no response.

Why the delay, Mr. President? What does our country have to gain by waiting even one more day before responding to the international humanitarian appeals to help the refugees and the people of Bangla Desh? What can the world think of an America, known for its humanitarian leadership, but standing immobilized before a massive problem that grows worse each day with the approaching monsoon?

And what, Mr. President, does our nation have to gain by delaying its recognition of the existence, as well as the humanitarian needs, of Bangla Desh? For, even if we respond today or tomorrow or next month to the international relief appeals for Bangla Desh, the United States cannot resume its even more important tradition of bilateral assistance to the Bengali people if we do not recognize Bangla Desh.

The time is long over-due for this Administration to turn its priorities around in South Asia. Already we have heard, and the Congress has been informed, that the Administration has given considerable thought and planning to resume bilateral assistance to Pakistan. But what of the other nations of South Asia? What of Bangla Desh, whose needs are equally as great and even more pressing? What of India, which carried nearly single-handedly a massive refugee burden created by the Pakistan military repression of last year? Why cannot this Administration give the same sense of priority to the needs of *all* the peoples of South Asia? Are we to learn that our great nation, with its long tradition of humanitarian service, will actually resume bilateral military assistance to Pakistan before it resumes bilateral food assistance to Bangla Desh?

American policy in South Asia is in shambles. Recent actions and pronouncements from the Administration suggest, however, that little is being done to change this. But it must change, Mr. President, if the Administration is to remain true to America's traditions and ideals.

So let us begin anew in South Asia—let us start with Bangla Desh. Let us recognize this new nation and the urgent humanitarian needs of its people.

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CHAPTER VIII

PAKISTAN DECLARES WAR

I. DIARY OF EVENTS—DECEMBER 3 TO 16, 1971

December 3

Pakistani Air Force launches a pre-meditated pre-emptive air strike at 5. 45 p.m. on December 3 on a number of Indian airfields—Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. Simultaneously, Pakistan launches ground attacks at a number of points in the western sector. Pakistan Army shells Indian positions in Sulaimanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors.

The Pakistani attack comes on the 9th day of President Yahya Khan's 'war-in-ten-day' statement of November 25. He had said: "In ten days I might not be here in Rawalpindi. I will be off fighting a war".

The Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and the Finance Minister returned to Delhi from tour on hearing of Pakistani aggression.

An emergency meeting of the Cabinet is held at night immediately on Prime Minister's return from Calcutta.

The President, Shri V. V. Giri, proclaims a state of emergency.

At 11–50 p.m., the Indian Air Force goes into action with retaliatory attacks on Pakistani airfields. I.A.F. attacks Chandori, Sialkot, Sargodha, Murid, Mianwali, Masroor (near Karachi), Risalwala (near Rawalpindi) and Changa Manga (near Lahore), hitting a number of Pakistani aircraft on the ground and setting on fire petrol tanks. Sargodha airfield is damaged.

December 4

In a momentous broadcast to the nation in the early hours of December 4, the Prime Minister, Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, says: "I speak to you at a moment of great peril to our country and our people. Some hours ago, soon after 5–30 p.m. on the 3rd December, Pakistan launched full-scale war against us... Today, war in Bangla Desh has become a war on India.... I have no doubt that by the united will of the people, the wanton and unprovoked aggression of Pakistan should be decisively and finally repelled... Aggression must be met, the people of India will meet it with fortitude, determination, discipline and utmost unity".

Pakistan makes a declaration of war with India.

Pakistani troops in great strength, supported by armour and artillery, launch an attack in the Chhamb sector. India inflicts heavy casualties on the enemy.

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In the Ferozepur sector, one enemy brigade, supported by air, armour and artillery, attacks Indian territory near Hussainiwala. The attack is repulsed with heavy casualties to the enemy.

In the eastern sector, Indian troops move into Bangla Desh at several points, and in concert with the Mukti Bahini, liberate many areas.

Western and eastern fleets of the Indian Navy go on their mission to sea and destroy enemy warships and cut the maritime line of communication between West Pakistan and Bangla Desh.

December 5 The Soviet Union vetoes resolution in the Security Council for immediate cease-fire on the ground that it places India and Pakistan on the same footing.

In concert with the Mukti Bahini, Indian troops liberate more areas in Bangla Desh.

Pakistan launches a major infantry attack, supported by armour, at Longanewala. The attack is repulsed with close air support.

Pakistan attacks Ranian in Amritsar sector with two battalions. The attack is repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy.

In a daring attack, a western naval task force of the Indian Navy sends to the bottom of the sea two Pakistani destroyers, Khaibar and Shahjahan. The task force also bombards Karachi harbour installations.

In another operation in the Bay of Bengal, Indian Navy knocks out an enemy submarine and launches round-the-clock air attacks on Chittagong and Cox's Bazar.

December 6 On the night of December 5/6, approximately two brigades of Pakistani troops, supported by an armour regiment, attack Indian positions twice in the Chhamb sector. Both attacks are repulsed.

In Bangla Desh, Indian troops, acting in concert with the Mukti Bahini, liberate more area.

Indian naval craft pound military targets at Khulna, Chalna and Mangla ports, attack Chittagong airfield and military installations in surrounding areas.

Mukti Bahini enters Lalmonirhat.....Indian forces fight shoulder to shoulder with Mukti Bahini.

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, announces India's recognition of the "Gana Prajatantri Bangla Desh" in Parliament. She says: "Our thoughts at this moment are with the father of this State".

December 7 Jessore airfield is captured. Indian troops and the Mukti Bahini enter Jessore cantonment. Jessore city is liberated. Indian troops are landed in Sylhet by helicopter. Sylhet and Maulavi Bazar are liberated.

December 8 General S. H. F. J. Manekshaw, Chief of the Army Staff of India, calls on officers and men of the Pakistani occupation forces in Bangla Desh to surrender immediately to the Indian Army in view of the hopeless position in which they are situated.

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In the Chhamb sector, Pakistani troops mount a fierce attack with an additional brigade supported by additional armour and air cover. Indian troops hold the ground and inflict massive casualties.

Indian troops, acting in concert with Mukti Bahini, liberated Comilla and Brahmanbaria.

U.N. General Assembly votes a resolution calling upon India and Pakistan to cease-fire immediately and withdraw their armed forces to their own territories.

December 9 In a statement in Parliament, the Defence Minister announces that Pakistan's largest submarine, U.S.-built "Ghazi", was sunk off Visakhapatnam on the night of December 3/4.

In Bangla Desh, Indian troops, acting in concert with the Mukti Bahini, liberate Chandpur and Daudkandi.

A two-pronged attack is made on Naya Chor. Indian troops establish contact with the defences of Naya Chor.

In a second daring operation, a task force of the Western Naval Fleet successfully bombard the entire Makran coastline from Gwador to Karachi and set ablaze the vital fuel installations in Karachi harbour.

December 10 Laksham is liberated. The Commanding Officer surrenders with his officers and men numbering four hundred and sixteen.

In the Chhamb sector, the enemy makes a determined attack to gain enlargement east of Munnawar Tawi river where he has at least two armoured regiments in support of the division. Severe fighting rages in this sector.

In the Kutch sector, Virawah, ten miles north of Nagarparkar and Vingoor is captured.

India guarantees safe conduct for planes from several countries to evacuate foreign nationals from Karachi, Islamabad and Dacca.

December 11 Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali asks U Thant, Secretary-General, United Nations, for help in repatriating troops and West Pakistani civilians and seeking assurance for their safety until evacuation is arranged.

General Yahya Khan countermands the message of Maj.-General Rao Farman Ali.

In a message to Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali, Gen. Manekshaw speaks of the futility of resistance and calls for surrender.

In another message, the Army Chief of India asks Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali to desist from carrying out his plan of escape.

In Bangla Desh, the Mukti Bahini, in concert with Indian troops, liberates Hilli, Mymensingh, Kushtia and Noakhali.

After intense fighting in the Chhamb sector, Indian troops repulse the enemy back to the west of Mannawar Tawi.

December 12 Indian para-troopers are dropped in sizable strength to mount an assault on Dacca.

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December 13 Dacca is surrounded by our troops. General Manekshaw, Chief of the Army Staff of India, in this third successive message to Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali, re-emphasises the necessity to prevent "shedding of innocent blood" and repeats his offer of just treatment for the troops.

December 14 The Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, announces in Parliament casualty figures in ten days of war:

Killed—1,978 Wounded—5,025 Missing—1,662

Pakistan casualties are much higher. In addition, 4,102 officers and men from Pakistani Regular Forces and 4,066 officers and men from para-military forces are our prisoners.

Nine pilots and three navigators of I.A.F. are known to have lost their lives and 36 pilots and three navigators are missing.

Eighteen officers and 173 soldiers of the Indian Navy are missing from INS Khukri, which was sunk.

The Defence Minister also lists losses of tanks, aircraft and warships suffered by the countries.

Highest officials of the Pakistani administration in Bangla Desh resign their posts and seek protection in the Red Cross Neutral Zone in the Intercontinental Hotel, Dacca.

Bogra is liberated. Brig. Khader, Commander, 93 Pak Infantry Brigade, along with two Lt. Cols. and one Major surrender near Dacca.

Haripur petroleum and gas refinery in Bangla Desh is captured in tact.

The Soviet Union uses its veto for the third time to block U.S. resolution calling for an immediate Indo-Pakistani cease-fire and troop withdrawal.

December 15 Lt. Gen. A. A. K. Niazi, Commander of the West Pakistani occupation forces in Dacca, asks the Indian Army Chief for a cease-fire. In reply, Gen. Manekshaw directs him to surrender with the men under his command by 0900 a.m. on December 16, 1971.

As a token of good faith, air action over Dacca is suspended from 5 p.m.

December 16 The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, announces in Parliament that West Pakistan forces in Bangla Desh have surrendered unconditionally in Dacca at 1631 hours today. Lt. Gen. Niazi signs the instrument of surrender on behalf of the Pakistan Eastern Command. Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, GOC-in-C of the Indian and Bangla Desh forces in the eastern theatre, accepts the surrender.

Dacca becomes the free capital of a free country.

The Prime Minister announces unilateral cease-fire on the western front with effect from 2400 hours on December 17, 1971.

(AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, Calcutta—January 26, 1972)

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II. OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's broadcast to the Nation soon after midnight December 3, 1971

I speak to you at a moment of grave peril to our country and to our people. Some hours ago, soon after 5-30 p.m. on December 3, Pakistan launched a full-scale war against us. The Pakistani Air Force suddenly struck at our airfields in Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. Their ground forces are shelling our defence positions in Sulaimanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors.

Since last March, we have borne the heaviest burden and withstood the greatest pressure, in a tremendous effort to urge the world to help in bringing about a peaceful solution and preventing the annihilation of an entire people, whose only crime was to vote for democracy. But the world ignored the basic causes and concerned itself only with certain repercussions. The situation was bound to deteriorate and the courageous band of freedom-fighters have been staking their all in defence of the values for which we also have struggled, and which are basic to our way of life.

Today, the war in Bangla Desh has become a war on India. This has imposed upon me, my Government and the people of India a great responsibility. We have no other option but to put our country on a war footing. Our brave officers and jawans are at their post mobilised for the defence of the country. An emergency has been declared for the whole of India. Every necessary step is being taken, and we are prepared for all eventualities.

I have no doubt that it is the united will of our people that this wanton and unprovoked aggression should be decisively and finally repelled. In this resolve, the Government is assured of the full and unflinching support of all political parties and every Indian citizen. We must be prepared for a long period of hardship and sacrifice.

We are a peace loving people. But we know that peace cannot last if we do not guard our democracy and our way of life. So today, we fight not merely for territorial integrity but for the basic ideals which have given strength to this country and on which alone we can progress to a better future.

Aggression must be met, and the people of India will meet it with fortitude and determination and with discipline and utmost unity.

Jai Hind !

Report on statement made by U.S. State Department Spokesman, Mr. Charles. W. Bray, in Washington D.C. December 3, 1971

The United States has cancelled all outstanding licenses for arms equipment to India as a result of "Indian incursions" into Pakistan.

State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray said yesterday (December 3), that the decision to revoke the licenses for approximately $11.5 million worth of military supplies destined for India was taken on Thursday because of the "further deterioration" of the situation in South Asia.

The move followed a decision by the Nixon administration to halt the issuance of new licenses for arms shipments after December 1. That decision had not covered the $11.5 million in licenses that had been granted prior to that date.

(THE WASHINGTON POST—December 4, 1971)

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Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's statement in the Lok Sabha
December 4, 1971

This morning, the Government of West Pakistan has declared war upon us. We meet as a fighting Parliament. A war has been forced upon us, a war we did not seek and did our utmost to prevent. The avoidable has happened. West Pakistan has struck with reckless perfidy.

Last evening, the West Pakistan Air Force violated our air space wantonly and attacked a large number of our airfields. Simultaneously, their ground forces shelled our positions along the Western border. Their propaganda media have made totally baseless allegations that India had launched an assault.

The news reached me just as I was leaving Calcutta. Immediately on my return, I took counsel with my colleagues and with the leaders of the Opposition parties. We were all of one mind—united in our resolve that the nation's freedom should be defended and unanimous that the aggressor should be beaten back. I am sure that the same sense of solidarity will mark our work in the difficult days ahead. A state of emergency has been proclaimed. We are approaching the House to adopt the Defence of India Bill.

Our feeling is one of regret that Pakistan did not desist from the ultimate folly, and sorrow that at a time when the greatest need of this sub-continent is development, the peoples of India and Pakistan have been pushed into war. We could have lived as good neighbours, but the people of West Pakistan have never had a say in their destiny. In this grave hour, our own dominant emotion is one of confidence and faith.

For over nine months, the military regime of West Pakistan has barbarously trampled upon freedom and basic human rights in Bangla Desh. The army of occupation has committed heinous crimes, unmatched for their vindicative ferocity. Many millions have been uprooted; ten millions have been pushed into our country.

We repeatedly drew the attention of the world to this annihilation of a whole people, to this menace to our security. Everywhere, the people showed sympathy and understanding for the economic and other burdens and the danger to India. But, Governments seemed morally and politically paralysed. Belated efforts to persuade the Islamabad regime to take some step which could lead to a lasting solution fell on deaf ears.

The wrath of the West Pakistan army has been aroused because the people of Bangla Desh have stood and struggled for values which the army is unable to comprehend, and which it has suppressed in every province of Pakistan. As the Mukti Bahini's effectiveness increased, the West Pakistan army became more desperate. Our tradition is to stand not with tyrants but with the oppressed. And so the anger has been turned upon us.

West Pakistan has escalated and enlarged the aggression against Bangla Desh into full war against India. War needs as much patience and self-restraint as does peace. The military regime of West Pakistan will go all out to sow suspicion and rumour in the hope of fomenting communal tension and internal trouble. Let us not be taken in by their designs. We must maintain unity and a sense of high purpose.

We should be prepared for a long struggle. High production, agricultural and industrial, is the foundation upon which defence rests. The courage and fighting capability of the jawans have to be backed by the dedication of the farmer, the worker, the technician and the trader.

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The business community has a special responsibility to resist the temptation to hoard or to charge higher profit. Artistes and writers, teachers and students, the nation looks to them to defend our ideals, to keep high our morale. To the women of our country, I make special appeal to save every possible grain and rupee to avoid waste. The sacrifice of each of us will build the nation's strength and enduring power.

We have stood for peace, but peace itself has to be defended. Today, we are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity and national honour. Above all, we are fighting for the ideals we cherish and the cause of freedom.

President Yahya Khan's Broadcast to the Nation
December 4, 1971

Our enemy has once again challenged us. The Indian armed forces have launched a full-scale attack on several fronts of Pakistan. India's enmity and hatred for Pakistan is known all the world over. It has always been her endeavour to weaken and destroy Pakistan. India's latest and serious aggression against us is her biggest and final onslaught on us. We have displayed enough restraint. The time has now come for us to inflict crushing blow on the enemy. O! twelve crore Mujahids of Pakistan, you enjoy the support and help of Allah. Your hearts glow with the love of the Holy Prophet. The enemy has once again challenged our self-respect. Rise like one man for your survival and honour and stand like an iron-wall against the enemy. You are on the side of righteousness and justice. Strike the forces of falsehood like Godly curse, inspired by the spirit of faith and firm determination.

Tell the enemy that every Pakistani is prepared to die for defence of his motherland. Displaying unprecedented courage and bravery, our gallant and daring jawans have halted the advance of the enemy. Undaunted by the numerical superiority of the enemy, our jawans are fighting resolutely, like the exemplary Ghazis of Islam, on every front. They know that victory depends not only on material and number, but on the power of faith, with ideals and the will of God.

Our troops are determined not only to beat the enemy off, but to pursue and annihilate them in the enemy territory. God willing, our lion-hearted jawans have torn the enemy to pieces by attacking it in the 1965 war. This time, God willing, we shall strike the enemy harder than before.

We are at war with a cunning and cruel enemy. We will defend our country at any price and at every sacrifice. We are confident that in this war for the integrity of our country, we will have the sympathy and help of all our friends and nations who are on the side of justice and peace. They will undoubtedly severely condemn Indian aggression and support our right to defend the country.

My dear countrymen, my dear Mujahids of the Army, Navy and Air Force, in such moments of trial, nations shine like the holy stars of their destiny and with the power of faith and the strength of character surmount all difficulties to attain their goal.

You should remain completely calm, every one of you will have to work for the defence of the country. Maintain national unity and remember Allah's promise that He will bestow shining victory upon you if you persevere.

March Forward. Give the hardest blow of Allah Ho Akbar to the enemy. God is with us. Pakistan Paindabad.

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Statement by a high U.S. State Department Official regarding Indo-Pakistan hostilities
December 4, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement :

The State Department blamed India yesterday (December 4) for the flare-up of fighting between India and Pakistan.

In so doing, a high department official also said the massive U.S. economic aid program for India is under review. The State Department earlier this week announced a cut-off of small-scale U.S. arms shipments to India.

Speaking to newsmen after the United States had called for an urgent U.N. Security Council meeting in an effort to quell the India-Pakistani hostilities, the high official authorized this statement:

"We believe since the beginning of the crisis that Indian policy in a systematic way has led to perpetuation of the crisis, a deepening of the crisis and that India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities which have ensued."

(THE SUN, Baltimore—December 5, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Nigel H. Bowen, Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs
December 5, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement :

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bowen, announced Australia's neutrality in the conflict between India and Pakistan last night (December 5), and will make a report to Federal Cabinet in Sydney today (....December 6)

Mr. Bowen said in a statement issued in Canberra last night that the Australian Government was "gravely concerned" at the outbreak of full-scale war between India and Pakistan.

He said that although it appeared that neither Government had made a formal declaration of war on the other, both parties had now made clear that a state of war existed between them.

Mr. Bowen said that in recent weeks, as at earlier stages of the crisis over East Pakistan, Australia had been in close touch with both parties and with other interested governments, in efforts to reduce tension and promote a political settlement.

The Government deeply regretted the turn that events had now taken but would continue to do whatever it could to help end the fighting.

Mr. Bowen noted that the Security Council was at present meeting in emergency session to consider the situation.

The statement was issued before the Soviet veto in the Security Council.

Australia would not supply arms or warlike stores to either party but would maintain its humanitarian and economic aid within the physical limits set by the fighting and subject to necessary security precautions.

Australia had good relations with both India and Pakistan, which were fellow members of the Commonwealth, and we were engaged in programs of economic and technical assistance to both countries.

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Mr. Bowen said the Government was in close and constant communication with the Australian High Commissions in Islamabad and New Delhi about the development of the situation and the safety of Australian citizens.

(THE CANBERRA TIMES, Sydney—December 6, 1971)

Report based on Government sources published in the Tehran Journal
December 5, 1971

Iran has pledged whatever support it can "within its means" to assist Pakistan in the current fighting on the sub-continent, government sources said yesterday (December 4). The sources gave no indication the support would be military. They stressed that Iran deplored the state of hostilities and said they hoped India and Pakistan would resolve their differences through statesmanship. Iran has offered to mediate talks between the two countries and has sent messages to both Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan calling for moderation. Iran and Pakistan are members with Britain and Turkey in the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The two countries who share a common border on Iran's eastern frontier are also economic partners.

Appeal issued by the Foreign Ministry of Sudan
December 5, 1971

The Foreign Ministry has issued a statement about the war between India and Pakistan. The statement conveyed that the Democratic Republic of the Sudan made a warm and brotherly appeal to India and Pakistan to do their utmost for cease-fire and for withdrawal of their forces to inside borders, and to adhere to the solid fundamentals agreed by the world community, i.e., respect for the sovereignty of states and unity of their land and people, and to keep the way of peaceful solutions of any conflict.

The statement confirmed that the Democratic Republic of the Sudan respects the unity of Pakistan and the sovereignty of its people over its land, and decides that whatever happens inside the territory of Pakistan and amongst the people of Pakistan, is their internal matter concerned to the Pakistani peoples only.

The statement stipulates that the Government of the Republic of the Sudan has asked her Permanent Representative in the United Nations to invest his utmost efforts and associate with the friendly States in the Society for creation of the best ways for halting those armed conflicts.

(AL-AYYAM, Khartoum—December 6, 1971)

Statement by Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the Canadian House of Commons
December 6, 1971

I know that I speak for all Members of the House when I express the Government's profound regret that open war has broken out in the sub-continent of India.

General hostilities erupted between India and Pakistan last Friday. Each government has accused the other of having started this latest stage in their tense confrontation which began some eight months ago. Reports of the fighting are contradictory. It seems fairly clear that neither side has yet heavily committed its forces on the western front: in and around East Pakistan, however, Indian forces are exerting considerable efforts to gain territory. India has recognised the Provisional Government of Bangla Desh.

An emergency session of the United Nations Security Council was called Saturday evening on the initiative of nine of its members to consider the deteriorating

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situation. It met again on Sunday and will meet also this afternoon. A number of resolutions have been presented but no consensus is yet in sight. Our Ambassador at the United Nations is in close touch with events there and is keeping us informed. It is our hope that the Security Council will find enough common ground to be able to act decisively. In the absence of such action, it will be necessary to consider what the General Assembly could achieve.

The safety of Canadian citizens on the sub-contient has been very much in our minds this weekend. In India, there are some 1,100 Canadians registered with the High Commission in Delhi. More than a month ago, those living near the border with Pakistan were advised to consider moving to a safer location. In East Pakistan, there are forty. In the early hours of this morning, at the request of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, a Canadian Armed Forces C-130 aircraft was diverted to Dacca to help in the evacuation of United Nations personnel. It was intended that it should also be available to any Canadians who might not have left earlier, Commonwealth citizens and other nationals. Although a local cease-fire had been arranged by the United Nations with the Pakistani, Indian and Mukti Bahini forces which would permit the aircraft to land at Dacca, that airport was attacked at precisely the hour our aircraft was to begin its approach to the area. The aircraft returned to Bangkok safely. We trust that with renewed assurances of another local cease-fire, we shall have better success tomorrow.

In West Pakistan, where 270 Canadians are registered at the High Commission in Islamabad, those responsible on the spot have not yet concluded that action is necessary. Some time ago, Canadians in the Lahore area were advised to consider moving and it was suggested to those in Karachi that they should be prepared to leave at short notice. Yesterday, nine Canadians arrived in Teheran on a commercial flight from Karachi; their families have been informed. There have been reports that other commercial flights have followed.

From the beginning, Canada has been in touch with the Governments of India and Pakistan at the highest levels. To the Government of India we have urged patience and restraint in a situation of great difficulty. To the Government of Pakistan we have stressed the urgent necessity of speeding up a return to civilian and representative government, particularly in East Pakistan. We have been amongst the most concerned and engaged in the great world humanitarian effort to succor the refugees, and had latterly been directing our efforts to increased assistance to India to help relieve the burden on their budget and development programme which the pressure of so many extra people represents.

The German Democratic Republic on the development on the Indian sub-continent
December 6, 1971

On December 6, 1971, the GDR news agency ADN released the following statement on the events on the Indian sub-continent:

With great concern for the cause of peace and the peaceful development of the peoples on the Indian sub-continent, the people of the German Democratic Republic have learnt that the Pakistani armed forces, by launching air raids on Indian towns and operations of their ground forces, have triggered off fighting all along the Indian-Pakistani borders. The people of India and Pakistan suffer heavy and bloody losses.

The foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic pursues the aim of maintaining international peace, of contributing to international *detente*, and of eliminating the causes of conflicts and tension. Therefore, it was and is not indifferent to the situation on the Indian sub-continent.

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On 29 November, 1971, Willi Stoph, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in his policy statement, pointed to the necessity of preventing a military conflict between Pakistan and India. On behalf of the GDR Government, he came out for bringing about a peaceful political settlement of the problems in East Pakistan in accordance with the will of the people of East Pakistan and their elected representatives so as to permit a speedy and an absolutely safe return of the refugees to their home country.

There were enough examples of responsible governments interested in world peace which appealed to Pakistan to guarantee a political settlement in East Pakistan. The Soviet Government in this spirit again and again appealed to the Pakistani Government. The Indian Government repeatedly has made proposals for a peaceful, political settlement.

Regretably, the Pakistani military authorities have refused a political settlement of the East Pakistani problems, they intensified tension with India and actively prepared war against India.

In view of the imperialist manoeuvres to veil and to distort the real reasons for the outbreak of armed actions on the Indian sub-continent, it must be stated that the main reason for the military conflict is the policy of the Pakistani military regime *vis-a-vis* East Pakistan.

It is known that the Awami League of East Pakistan gained an overwhelming victory in the first general parliamentary elections of the country in December, 1970. This party's election program envisaged far-reaching autonomy for East Pakistan, progressive socio-economic reforms and Pakistan's withdrawal from the imperialist military pacts SEATO and CENTO. The Pakistani military authorities brutally ignored the election returns, prevented the convocation of parliament and banned the Awami League on 25th March, 1971. West Pakistani military units brutally suppressed the population of East Pakistan. The Leader of the Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was arrested.

Nearly 10 million people—about 13 per cent of the East Pakistani population—fled to India from the outrages by the West Pakistani Army. The provision of accommodation and food for them is an almost unsolvable economic and social problem for India. The creation of conditions enabling the return of the refugees to East Pakistan is one of the key problems for relaxing this situation on the Indian sub-continent.

A political settlement of the problems of East Pakistan is doubtlessly only possible on the basis of the interests and justified demands of the 75 million inhabitants of East Pakistan and by negotiations with their elected representatives.

In order to secure the Indian and Pakistani peoples a peaceful and independent development, the bloodshed on the Indian sub-continent must be halted immediately and a political settlement reached on the problems which have arisen in East Pakistan.

Statement by Mr. Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, at the Sixth Congress of the Party

December 6, 1971

In view of our feelings of deep sympathy towards both India and Pakistan, we are distressed by the new armed conflict in the Indian sub-continent. Many times we have expressed our concern over the situation which after the December, 1970, elections developed in East Pakistan forcing 10 million people to leave their homeland and to seek refuge in the territory of India, placing a great responsibility and economic burden on that country. Inevitably, this was bound

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to lead to dangerous social and political tensions in that region. We continue to be convinced that only a political settlement in East Pakistan which meets the aspirations and the will of the population of that country and brings about the return of the refugees could lead to the cessation of the present tragic bloodshed, to the end of the conflict that causes an increase in international tension.

Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, at the British House of Commons

December 6, 1971

The outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan is a matter of deep concern to H.M. Government and to all members of the House. We have watched with growing apprehension over the past months the deterioration in relations between the two countries, stemming from the situation in East Pakistan.

In spite of our efforts and those of other powers, India and Pakistan have been driven to the calamity of war. Our immediate concern must now be to try to stop the fighting and to contribute to a sane and civilized solution that takes account of the wishes of the peoples affected.

When we heard the first reports of attacks and fighting on the borders of India and West Pakistan on December 3, the Prime Minister appealed to President Yahya Khan and Mrs. Gandhi to do all within their power to prevent the spread of conflict. We are also in touch with other governments.

Confused Reports

Reports on the military situation are confused. It is clear that extensive fighting is taking place within East Pakistan and on the borders of West Pakistan and India, and that the navies and air forces of both countries are engaged.

To the extent that it is possible in modern warfare, it appears that the civilian population has not been the object of attack from the air.

The House will know that the Security Council met on December 4 and again yesterday to consider the situation. It was clear from the start that any resolution calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of forces would attract a Russian veto.

For their part, H.M. Government have taken the view that there is nothing to be gained by prematurely attempting to introduce abortive resolutions which are bound to be vetoed by one country or another. We are doing all we can to look for ways of overcoming these difficulties and of finding a solution to the desperately complicated issues which gave rise to the outbreak of war.

These efforts have not so far been successful, but we shall continue them. The United Nations must have a role to play not only in the search for ways to stop the fighting, but also in the immense task of reconstruction that will follow.

There have been no reports of injury to United Kingdom nationals or damage to United Kingdom property in either India or Pakistan although damage to tea gardens may be inevitable. On November 23, the High Commissioner at Islamabad advised United Kingdom nationals in the border districts of Pakistan to consider moving to safer areas while this was possible.

Since the outbreak of the fighting, he has taken account of the air raids, the restrictions on movements and the suspension of civil air flights and has advised United Kingdom nationals to stay where they are. No evacuation from Pakistan or India is contemplated at present. I am however keeping the situation under review and will take any action necessary.

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War can only be a tragedy for all the people of the sub-continent. I can assure the House that we shall do all within our power to persuade those concerned of this view and of the need to tackle the task of reconciliation.

(THE TIMES, London—December 7, 1971)

Mongolian Government Note to the Government of India
December 7, 1971

The Pakistani military junta's repressive measures, soon after the election, against the 'East Pakistanis' and the ensuing lawlessness and terror, drove millions of East Pakistani refugees to India, causing an armed conflict on the Indo-Pakistan border. Incontrovertible documentary evidence proves Pakistan as the aggressor, jeopardising peace and security in Asia.

Statement by Mr. Kulaga, the Polish Representative, at the U.N.
December 7, 1971

....There is not and there cannot be any difference of opinion as to the fact that the situation which we are now discussing is essentially rooted in East Pakistan. It is essentially a crisis born out of an attempt at counter-acting by military and repressive means the expression of the political will of the people. It grew into a military confrontation opposing Pakistani armed forces to the population of East Pakistan. It grew into a civil war.

It was possible to take appropriate political steps in order to overcome this dangerous development. It was possible for the Pakistani Government to heed the appeals, to take into consideration the views expressed by many Governments, motivated by their good relations with Pakistan as well as concern over the situation.

Unfortunately, the situation was allowed to go on deteriorating. Ten million refugees flooded the border region of India, creating for that country a problem which for any country in the world would be an almost unbearable economic and social strain, and which, as was recalled in the Security Council, had no precedent in history in regard to its scale, intensity and rapidity.

Simultaneously, military actions were being extended to the immediate vicinity of the Indian frontier and across the frontiers. Is that not a situation which could not but provoke in India a legitimate feeling of a threat to its security? I do not think anybody can challenge that....

Statement by President Soeharto of Indonesia, Djakarta
December 7, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement:

President Soeharto said yesterday (December 7, 1971) Indonesia is ready to act as mediator in the Indo-Pakistan conflict if the two warring parties request it.

The President made this statement in yesterday's limited cabinet meeting at the Bina Graha building in relation to the current crisis between India and Pakistan.

Indonesia, being friendly to both India and Pakistan, is always following with great concern the India-Pakistani relations.

"The concern has grown greater with the open war flaring between the two countries at present", President Soeharto stated. Indonesia, through its development

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process also faced various problems such as rebellions and separatist movements, has realized that war is not the only way to achieve the solution, the Head of State said. War obviously will bring about victims and greater misery to the people, he added.

The Indonesian Government, therefore, expects the two warring countries to realize the results of war and will seek efforts to find a peaceful settlement.

(THE DJAKARTA TIMES—December 8, 1971)

Extracts from the speech of Mr. Chi Peng-fei, Acting Foreign Minister of China December 9, 1971

The situation in the South Asian sub-continent has further deteriorated in the past few days. The Indian Government has launched all-round armed aggression against Pakistan, and hastily and flagrantly given so-called 'recognition' to the so-called Bangla Desh which was engineered by it single handedly. The doings of the Indian Government have completely laid bare its wild expansionist ambition of annexing East Pakistan. The Indian Government's aggressive arrogance has swelled to such an extent because it has the energetic support and co-ordination of social imperialism in the political, economic and military fields. Social imperialism has undisguisedly assumed the role of the protector of the Indian expansionists and acting in a truculent and irascible manner....

The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn the Indian Government for its criminal acts of expansionism and armed aggression and firmly oppose the power politics and despotism practised by social imperialism. The Indian Government must at once stop its aggression against Pakistan and withdraw immediately, unconditionally and totally, its aggressor troops from Pakistan territory. We believe that the Pakistan Government will certainly withdraw its armed forces who have entered Indian territory for the purpose of counter-attack back to their own country. Together with the peace loving countries and people of the world, the Chinese Government and people will firmly make their contribution to the defence of international peace and justice....

Mr. Leonid Brezhnev's speech to the Sixth Congress of the Polish Communist Party, Warsaw December 7, 1971

The Soviet party leader, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, today (December 7) called for a peaceful settlement of the Indo-Pakistani conflict "without any intervention of external forces," reports Reuter.

Mr. Brezhnev made the call in a prepared speech to the Sixth Congress of the Polish Communist Party.

"The Soviet Union firmly speaks in favour of ceasing the bloodshed, a peaceful settlement of the existing problems with respect for just rights of the nations without any intervention of external forces, in favour of creating conditions for a lasting and just peace in this region," he said.

Mr. Brezhnev said: "We received with deep regret, like all the supporters of peace and freedom of nations, the news of the war which broke out a few days ago between two neighbouring States in Asia" adds AP.

He said the war was a result of the 'bloody' suppression of the basic rights and clearly expressed will of the population of East Pakistan and the tragedy of millions of refugees....

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—December 8, 1971)

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Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak's appeal to India and Pakistan
December 8, 1971

Following is a report on the appeal:

Malaysia's Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, today (December 8) appealed to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and President Yahya Khan on "humanitarian grounds", for an immediate cessation of hostilities and expressed the hope that the two countries would resolve their differences by "peaceful means".

(**THE TIMES OF INDIA**, New Delhi—December 9, 1971)

Speech of President Tito of Yugoslavia at a dinner in Belgrade
December 12, 1971

President Tito has criticised the international community for its lack of activity prior to the Indo-Pakistan conflict and its failure to grasp in time the difficulties India was facing.

In a speech at a dinner here last night (Belgrade, December 11) for the visiting King Mohamed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, the Yugoslav leader said the events on the sub-continent could lead to unpredictable consequences if non-aligned and other countries did not do everything possible to prevent the war from spreading.

He regretted the failure of earlier efforts of India and Pakistan to find a solution to their problems peacefully.

"But even today, no matter how difficult the situation, everything must be done to avert further escalation and find a solution which to a great extent depends on non-aligned countries and their activity."

"And there had been possibilities for this before—if only the international community had been a little more active, if it had grasped the difficulties which India found herself in", President Tito said.

In his reply, the King also expressed deep concern at the war situation and "the danger it represents for the security of our region and for peace in the world".

(*Reuter* despatch datelined Belgrade—December 13, 1971)

Speech of Col. Muammar Gaddafi of Libya at Tripoli
December 12, 1971

The Libyan leader, Col. Muammar Gaddafi, has expressed regret that non-aligned countries had been late in taking the initiative to stop the Indo-Pakistani war.

He said this "gave the opportunity to Big Powers which have colonialist interests to implant themselves on the Indian sub-continent".

Col. Gaddafi was speaking when he received the credentials of the new Yugoslav Ambassador to Libya, Mr. Bora Rafajlovski, it was announced here yesterday (Tripoi, December 12, 1971).

(**THE HINDUSTAN TIMES**, New Delhi—December 14, 1971)

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Statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, in the British House of Commons

December 13, 1971

The hostilities between India and Pakistan continue. Indian forces have advanced deep into East Pakistan, have captured the town of Jessore and have now virtually surrounded Dacca. Fighting is also continuing on the border between India and West Pakistan, particularly in the Chhamb area where Pakistani forces have penetrated into Indian territory.

As the House is aware, seven British subjects were killed and six injured when a British ship was attacked in Karachi harbour on December 9. In a message to the Prime Minister, the Indian Prime Minister has expressed great regret for this attack and we are seeking compensation. Apart from this tragic incident, we are not so far aware that any other British lives have been lost.

Airlift

I am happy to say that the airlift of British subjects and other foreign nationals from Karachi, Islamabad and Dacca is now complete. This means that, with the exception of a small number of United Kingdom nationals in Khulna and Chittagong and elsewhere about whom urgent enquiries are being made, some of whom appear to have taken the decision to remain, all those British subjects wishing to leave Pakistan have now done so. Over 1,300 persons were airlifted out of Pakistan by the Royal Air Force in three days. This was no easy task and in the case of Dacca in particular it was carried out in circumstances of considerable difficulty and danger. I am sure the House will wish to join me in expressing congratulations and thanks to all those in the Services and in our posts in the sub-continent who were involved in this achievement. Our Deputy High Commissioner and a residual staff remain in Dacca.

Arms sales

Since the fighting broke out, we have reviewed our policy on arms sales and, as I promised the House on December 6, we have been in touch with the Governments of countries who have been main suppliers to India and Pakistan. I must report that as a result of these contacts there is no prospect of any general embargo on the sale of arms. That being so, I have considered what our own attitude should be.

There is, as the House knows, no military aid to India. As for sales, the Indian Government have a number of long-term contracts with commercial firms for the supply of military equipment. These are subject to export licence, the grant of which is being kept under constant review, in the light of the existing circumstances, including the state of hostilities in the sub-continent, the situation at the United Nations and the attitudes of the alternative suppliers. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we have not been a regular supplier of arms for Pakistan for some years. Therefore, there are no similar contracts. The same supervision would be given to any orders from Pakistan which may be placed here.

Efforts for cease-fire

The House will be aware that there have been a number of efforts to bring about a cease-fire as a prelude to a political settlement. All resolutions in the Security Council however were vetoed; and a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of the forces of both India and Pakistan to their own territories, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 7, has proved ineffective.

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For their part, Her Majesty's Government believe that it is necessary to seek practical means of bringing the fighting to an end which take account of the realities of the situation and the attitudes of the parties. We are, therefore, in touch with other members of the Security Council to see how we can best assist in bringing about the earliest possible end to the fighting and the institution of constructive discussions.

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. December 18, 1971

In connection with the current situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. is authorized to make the following statement:

In the Soviet Union, as in other peace-loving countries, the armed conflict in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has given rise to the gravest concern. The U.S.S.R. had given a clear assessment of the causes that led to the conflict. Proceeding from the main principles of its foreign policy, aimed at strengthening security and peace among peoples, the Soviet Union, from the very beginning of the complications in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent engendered by the events in East Pakistan, has consistently and vigorously advocated a peaceful political settlement in East Pakistan based on the will of its people expressed in the elections of December, 1970.

In the conditions of the conflict that broke out, the U.S.S.R. did its utmost to achieve an immediate end to the bloodshed and a return to peace based on the lawful rights of the people. In the spirit of this position of principle, it kept in constant touch with other countries and took appropriate steps in the United Nations. Despite the opposition to this peaceful initiative on the part of some countries in the Security Council, the Soviet Union consistently upheld the positions that would realistically take account of the situation that had arisen and would contribute to a speedy cessation of the conflict on a truly just and effective basis.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union did not slacken its efforts to find a solution on the basis of peace and a guarantee of the lawful interests of the people. A change can now be seen towards a relaxation of the dangerous turn of events. On 16 December this year, a cessation of military operations in East Pakistan was achieved; this ensures conditions for the normal transfer of power into the hands of the legally elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan. On the same day, the Government of India took unilateral decision to cease-fire along the entire border between India and West Pakistan and the 1965 cease-fire line in Kashmir. At the same time, as the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, stated, India has no territorial claims. This important initiative by India, confirming its peaceful intentions, is welcomed in the Soviet Union. The decision of the Government of Pakistan that followed on 17 December to respond to this constructive step taken by India and to cease-fire on the Western front also causes satisfaction.

Thus, the necessary conditions are now being created for a complete cessation of the armed conflict in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and for an effective political settlement of the problems relating to the conflict. The end of the war in that sub-continent responds to the vital interests of the people of the region, creates the necessary conditions for their advancement along the path of national development and progress, and eliminates this seat of grave tension in the world.

The U.S.S.R. appeals to all countries to do their utmost to assist in the speedy restoration of peace in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and to refrain from any steps that might hamper the return to normal conditions there.

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Statement by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, at the 17th Congress of People's Action Party, Singapore

December 19, 1971

Making the first public pronouncement on the issue, Mr. Lee said although West and East Pakistanis belonged to one religion, "they are different peoples with different cultures and the unequal treatment of one part led to the final tragedy".

Departing from his prepared text at the 17th Congress of the ruling People's Action Party, of which he is Secretary-General, Mr. Lee emphasized the need for tolerance in multi-racial societies inhabited by different peoples as in Singapore.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Rajaratnam, said the conflict in Bangla Desh was the most recent illustration of how domestic conflicts could become cold war conflicts.

He said during the voting in the U.N. General Assembly on the cease-fire resolution, it was cold war realities that determined the line-up, "not the concern for the sufferings of the people of East Bengal, nor considerations of right or wrong".

That was why Singapore abstained, he added.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—December 20, 1971)

Extracts from Sudan-Ethiopia Joint Communique, issued after the visit to Sudan by Emperor Haile Selassie

January 5, 1972

.....The two leaders also reviewed the situation in Asia and expressed their conviction that the conflict between India and Pakistan should be resolved by peaceful means and in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.....

Statement by Mr. William P. Rogers, U.S. Secretary of State, at the Foreign Policy Conference for editors and broadcasters held at the State Department, Washington

January 27, 1972

In terms of South Asia, I have read a good deal of criticism of our policy, and I can realise that when it is over and when India was successful that it can be argued that we might have done it some different way; that, may be, we should have anticipated that India would win and therefore not done anything, not taken any action. And that, it is a perfectly acceptable proposition. We took the action that we took because we believed it was the right thing to do. And without recounting the whole history of the controversy, let me merely say that we felt that the initial problems were caused by Pakistan, and obviously India was under tremendous pressure as a result of the refugees, and it was a situation that couldn't last forever because India couldn't be expected to accept that many refugees and care for them and so forth.

On the other hand, we thought in the United States that more time should be used to see if we could bring about a successful conclusion by diplomatic means and we were making every effort that we could in that regard.

It didn't work out. We felt that India moved too soon, and so expressed that view in the United Nations....

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III. WORLD PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION

THE WAR THAT THREATENS THE WORLD

The one salient truth on the Indian sub-continent today has not, it seems, reached Britain. The truth is that Pakistan, not India, has forced all of West Asia to the point of war.

This is not meant to over-simplify a confused situation, nor is it meant to condone all of India's recent actions.

But a culpably ignorant and dangerous view appears to be forming in Britain that says India is the "aggressor".

The danger in this view, which takes no account of events of the past eight months, is that it will isolate India, leaving her friendless, stripping away what options for peace she has left, and contribute to a war which will involve China, the United States and Russia.

If such a view is allowed to gather strength, the United Nations, and perhaps even the British Government, will be coerced into mediating on behalf of a Pakistani junta who have murdered, since March, perhaps 1,000,000 people.

Let us get our recent history correct. In March, Field-Marshal Yahya Khan and his Generals crushed the democratically-elected Government of East Pakistan, now Bangla Desh.

Since then, they have conducted a formulated policy of genocide against the 75,000,000 people of East Bengal.

They have worked their way through a list of thousands of elected politicians, teachers, students, doctors and businessmen.

At the same time, they have allowed their mostly Punjabi troops to operate an assembly line of atrocities.

They have drained blood from young people. They have publicly castrated. They have burned and killed and raped.

So widespread has been their terrorising that 11,000,000 people fled into India, where most of them are now suffering pain I cannot describe.

For those who cannot escape, they have provided the spectre of perhaps food and relief and turn away from recognising the enormity of this crime.

Arms shipments to West Pakistan have continued, and so has trade.

During this time, Field Marshal Yahya Khan, who would be reminiscent of a mildly amusing victorian figure in a Gilbert and Sullivan opera if he were not so powerful, has tormented India by ordering the shelling of civilians and refugees in border towns, week after week.

Eleven days ago, India, her exchequer almost drained for caring for the refugees of her neighbour, and her pleas to Western Governments for help at best cynically shelved, decided she could take no more.

She hit back at the Pakistan army in a border action designed to give the Bangla Desh guerrillas some chance against the superior Pakistani fire power.

This was not altogether successful, but still India held back. Certainly, no modern leader has shown such restraint as Indira Gandhi.

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Since then, the Pakistani shelling has intensified, and on Thursday, three Pakistani jets bombed an airfield in India's Tripura State, killing five and wounding forty-five.

At the same time, Pakistan requested a United Nations "cease-fire", knowing that U.N. intervention would shore up its attempts to maintain a sovereignty over Bangla Desh, as well as its hold over the Bengali people.

India, having moved its forces into Bangla Desh, would be cast in the role of aggressor.

Mrs. Gandhi has just said: "If any country thinks that by calling us aggressor it can press us to forget our national interest, then that country is living in its own fool's paradise....

"The times have passed when any nation sitting three or four thousand miles away could give orders to Indians on the basis of their colour superiority to do as they wished. India has changed and is no more a country of natives."

The choice of war or peace is no longer Mrs. Gandhi's. It is the choice of those Governments who now support and listen to a desperate group ot Generals in Pakistan.

If the wrong choice is made, there may be a war which will involve directly not only Indians and Pakistanis, a war for which no one bargained.

(JOHN PILGER in **THE DAILY MIRROR**, London—December 4, 1971)

ALMOST GENERAL WAR

.....If President Yahya would swallow his pride, release Sheikh Mujib and seek a political solution in East Pakistan, he would earn the support and sympathy of all countries genuinely desiring to preserve peace. Even if large-scale fighting has started, it is not too late.

(**THE DAILY TELEGRAPH**, London—December 4, 1971)

SECURITY COUNCIL MUST ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE ROOT CAUSE

The Security Council can no longer ignore the call to action that was sounded by the Secretary-General in a prescient warning months ago. In responding to this crisis, it is essential that it address itself simultaneously to the root cause of the conflict, the repression in East Pakistan which has placed intolerable strains on the economic, social and political fabric of neighbouring India....

New Delhi was moved by a deep and legitimate sense of injury and by a desperate frustration fed by the failure of the world community, especially the United States, to recognise and to attempt to repair that injury. This fundamental failure must be corrected if the world is to be saved from still another wider and more terrible war.

(**THE NEW YORK TIMES**—December 4, 1971)

PRESIDENT YAHYA MUST BE MADE TO SEE SENSE

The miracle—which would have taken the shape of a political solution to lower the explosive tension in East Pakistan—did not materialise. Pakistan has escalated hostilities by eight air strikes over the western frontier into India. The war that everyone knew was inevitable is raging.

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War will solve nothing. It would speed the setting up of an independent Bangla Desh state. But to pay the price of war, in terms of terrible human suffering in an area that has had its fill of grief, is morally wrong. If another country is born on the Indian sub-continent in a blood-bath, peace and prosperity (which have seemed to be in India's reach) would again be postponed. This war is madness. It is madness born of the irrationality of West Pakistan's attempt to crush the national aspirations of the Bengalis. President Yahya Khan must be made to see sense. He must make some gesture—like releasing the Bangla Desh leader Sheikh Mujib—which will provide an opportunity, through the United Nations, to turn the tide of war.

(BUENOS AIRES HERALD—December 4, 1971)

DEAL WITH THE BASIC PROBLEM

For months, the U.S. resorted to ineffectual secret diplomacy that bypassed and served to paralyse the world organisation. The Nixon Administration adopted a public posture of mock even-handedness which had the effect of exacerbating the India-Pakistan conflict. It ignored the fundamental threat to India posed by Yahya Khan's harsh repression in East Pakistan.

The U.S. Government is still side-stepping this central issue and is responding with flagrant injustice in attempting to pin the "major responsibility" for the present conflict on India.

If the Security Council intervention is to have any chance of restoring peace between India and Pakistan, the U.S. and the U.N. must recognise and deal with the basic problem in East Pakistan.

(THE NEW YORK TIMES—December 5, 1971)

PAKISTAN'S RECKLESSNESS

Pakistan's desperation is of its own fashioning. It arises from the utterly reckless....ultimately sure to be futile, attempts to keep East Bengal in subjugation by force and terror. That having failed, Pakistan has now fallen back into a condition of spirit displayed clearly enough in the Pakistan Radio's call for a ṣehad, a holy Muslim-war, this despite the fact that the rebellious East Bengalis are themselves largely Muslim, the Hindu minority having been killed or driven out. It is a spirit of heedlessness, and perhaps hopelessness, once expressed by an earlier leader who declared in an earlier crisis that Pakistan was ready to go to war against India "with sword in hand and shroud on shoulder".

(THE SUN, Baltimore—December 5, 1971)

TROUBLED WORLD

....The existing tension in the Indian sub-continent has obviously escalated with India being placed in a state of emergency and on a war footing following what was reported as strikes by Pakistani air force planes in twelve western Indian airports the day before yesterday. While Pakistan claims these strikes were in retaliation to artillery shelling by India of targets in West Pakistan, the root cause, of course, lies in the diametrically opposite Indian and Pakistani stands in relation to the simmering developments in East Bengal. The present escalation does not, therefore, come at all as a surprise. But a question can very well be asked whether both contending parties have much to gain by waging full scale war between themselves. What can only be hoped is that the leaders of both countries

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would rise to the occasion, before it is too late, by practising restraint and demonstrating statesmanship of the highest calibre....

(THE RISING NEPAL, Kathmandu—December 5, 1971)

LESSON FOR THE THIRD WORLD

The mild skirmishes, which characterised the start of the confrontation between India and Pakistan, were bound to escalate into open war as long as the world remained unaffected by the plight of the ten million Pakistani refugees who have fled to India.

To her credit, it must be mentioned that the Indian Prime Minister had taken the ultimate step to personally acquaint world leaders about the economic realities of the refugee problem to her country's well-being.

Her recent trips to most of the world capitals were obviously a last-ditch attempt to persuade President Yahya Khan to moderate his hostility towards India and the Bangla Desh movement and seek a more peaceful solution to the problem.

Had Yahya made even the slightest move to re-accommodate the refugees without inflicting reprisals against them, we do not believe that India would have continued on the belligerent course which has now led the Pakistan President to declare war on her.

Of course, had world leaders used their influence with Yahya Khan earlier in the game, things would not have turned out the way they have.

....The United States has gone on record as saying that it would spurn every attempt to embroil it in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Perhaps it resisted too much the attempts of Mrs. Gandhi to use its influence—which is very great indeed —with Yahya Khan to make him realise that a war with India was not the ultimate panacea to his internal problems.

It now seems certain that U.S. reluctance to get involved was based solely on selfish motives. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have made their positions known in this situation. Russia supports the Indians and the Chinese are backing the Pakistanis. Perhaps the United States, which has always secretly hoped for a Sino-Soviet conflict, decided for this reason alone to let the situation escalate into open warfare in the hope that the Communists would be at each other's throats in the end.

The United Nations, whose record of preventing clashes before they occur is not so impressive, has not lifted a finger to calm tempers in New Delhi or Islamabad. But it will probably be the United Nations which will pick up the pieces after the war has ended.

It is very hard at this stage to halt the hostilities, for most wars have a way of going on until one side gives up or is made to give up. Pakistan is heavily outnumbered militarily by India, but President Yahya must know what he is doing.

The war itself is another result of the assumed non-chalance of the big powers in a conflict that does not directly threaten their own ambitions of expansion. It is a lesson for the Third World, a lesson which must surely convince them that despite their noble mouthings of "non-alignment" in international politics, they have yet to reckon with the cynicism of the big powers.

(THE SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA—December 5, 1971)

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INDIA'S CAUSE IS OUR CAUSE

Now that full-scale war has developed on the Indian sub-continent, we must keep the vital underlying issues firmly in view....

The basic facts are not in doubt. Within the State of Pakistan, the more populous Eastern region has been exploited by the Western ever since independence. Islamic solidarity—on which Pakistan was meant to be founded—did not prevent that exploitation, nor has it prevented the emergence of a non-sectarian Bengali movement in the East.

That movement has found its most effective expression in the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. When Yahya Khan, Pakistan's military dictator, ordained free elections throughout the country, to his apparent surprise the Awami League swept the polls in East Bengal with a demand for complete regional autonomy, though not for outright secession.

....After pretending to negotiate with Mujib, while bringing in reinforcements from the West, Yahya cracked down on the national movement in East Bengal and imposed a region of terror....

Vast numbers of terrified people fled from East Bengal and took refuge in neighbouring Indian territory. The Indian Government accepted, as a humanitarian duty, the task of providing them with the means of survival, and this increasingly heavy burden has been carried by India for over eight months with only modest help from the outside world. Apart from the financial cost involved—quite staggering for a poor country—the social tensions have been almost unbearable and it is doubtful if any other country in the world would have borne them so patiently for so long.

Providentially, the Indian General Election was held just before the crisis broke in East Bengal, and Indira Gandhi was returned to power with a decisive mandate. Her leadership has kept India steady through an appalling, unprecedented ordeal.

Her aim throughout has been clear. She has insisted that the refugees must go home, but at the same time she has done everything possible to avoid a direct confrontation with Pakistan. If war is now raging on two fronts, any fair-minded person must see that it is not her fault.

She deserves our unqualified backing. For Britain to adopt a patronising mugwumpish attitude would be nothing short of an outrage. India is as much in the right in the present conflict as we were in 1939. It is hardly for us to tell the Indians that they should put themselves at the mercy of the U.N. Did we bow to the U.N. over Gibraltar? Have we agreed to U.N. intervention in Ulster?

Above all, we ought to reflect that India's cause is, in the broadest sense, our cause, for India is practically the only country in the third world which has preserved and cherished our legacy of freedom.

Indira Gandhi is too far-sighted a statesman to have any expansionist aims. Her sole desire is to say goodbye to the refugees. But it is also true that, if she wins the war, it is not only India that will benefit. For one result of India's victory would be the collapse of military rule and the triumph of democracy in both parts of Pakistan. It is no paradox, therefore, to say that India is fighting to bring freedom to all the people of the sub-continent who are, in the eyes of God, one people.

(JOHN GRIGG in **THE SUNDAY TIMES**, London—December 6, 1971)

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INDIA—A CITADEL OF DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

Did Washington seriously believe India would remain indefinitely inert amid the domestic crisis created by the influx of nearly ten million East Pakistan refugees from the terrorist persecution waged by Pakistan against the Bengali independence movement? Could Mr. Nixon has been unaware that his long refusal to halt arms shipments to Yahya Khan's oppressive Pakistan regime and the pro-Pakistan bias crudely exhibited by U.S. emissaries would embolden Yahya and finally exhaust New Delhi's patience?

But the spectacle affords neither time nor occasion for satire—nor for pious lectures to India on the virtues of Gandhist non-violence. We bear a heavy responsibility for the sombre turn of events—both because of our acquiescence in Yahya's merciless operations in East Pakistan and our sluggish response to the appalling burden imposed on India by the exodus from East Pakistan. The U.S. folly was compounded by statements once again exhibiting Washington's pro-Pakistan 'neutrality'.

Clearly, the real provocation was not any massive Pakistan external adventure but the intolerable deadened dilemma produced by Yahya's crackdown in East Pakistan and the ensuing refugee flood that most of the world chose to ignore.

Whatever India's failure, it remains a historical citadel of the democratic idea in Asia. It is tragic that the United States—in the current harmony with Peking—is subjecting New Delhi to so heavy a propaganda bombardment in such fateful hours.

(THE NEW YORK POST—December 6, 1971)

MERITS OF Mrs. GANDHI'S CASE

We have argued with the United States about the merits of Mrs. Gandhi's case, but Mr. Nixon appears impatient with India and more concerned to dole out sterile blame than peace initiatives.... We are well committed to Bengal democracy without being a prime target for Yahya's spleen. We should at least be ready—sparing no effort to make sure that Washington, Moscow and Peking are ready, too.

(THE GUARDIAN, London—December 6, 1971)

YAHYA'S DESPERATE COURSE

.....Those who blame India, or say that India and West Pakistan are equally to blame, are either concealing the truth or victims of Yahya Khan propaganda.

For, the present conflict is a continuation and extension of the war of aggression which Yahya Khan treacherously launched in March against the people of Bangla Desh.

For months, it has been clear that the West Pakistan junta was planning to spread the war to India, to try to make it appear that its struggle was not against the 75 million people in Bangla Desh, but against India.

The junta planned this course also because the Bangla Desh liberation forces were growing in strength, military capacity and organisation. Yahya Khan could read defeat in the writing on the wall and needed to spread the war to provide pretexts to bring the U.S. in on his side.

It is a desperate course. But Yahya Khan's junta has put itself in a desperate corner.

Its brutal repression and massacres have not only roused the people of Bangla Desh in an unconquerable struggle for national liberation, but has earned the West Pakistan regime the contempt of progressive people throughout the world.

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Everyone can understand why the U.S. Government, whose hands are red with the blood of the people of Vietnam, should come out in support of the West Pakistan butchers of freedom.

But friends of the Chinese revolution and of liberation struggles the world over, cannot understand how it comes about that the Chinese leaders and their representatives at the U.N. should back Yahya Khan and side with the U.S. on this issue, and deeply deplore this.

The Soviet appeal for a political solution respecting the lawful rights and interests of the people, and for other countries to avoid steps leading to a further aggravation of the conflict, is to be welcomed.

The way to stop the war is to bring pressure to bear on Yahya Khan to withdraw his forces from Bangla Desh and India.

He should release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bangla Desh leader, and recognise the independence of that country so that talks with its elected representatives can take place.

Britain should give aid to India, cut all forms of aid and trade with West Pakistan, recognise the Government of Bangla Desh, and support this policy at the U.N.

(THE MORNING STAR, U.K.—December 6, 1971)

PAKISTAN'S PROVOCATION

....At very least, this was the most extreme provocation of the Pakistan Government, and it was sustained and intensified over months. More accurately, it amounted to a deliberate courting of war, a blatant challenge to Yahya which the Pakistani leader seems to have tried to evade until the moment of his last desperate bid on Friday at a pre-emptive strike in the West....

(THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London—December 6, 1971)

INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT

Islamabad is, of course, largely responsible for the present serious situation on the Indian sub-continent. Admittedly, President Yahya Khan invited Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the conference table to discuss and reconcile their differences and also proposed mutual withdrawal of armed forces from the border areas.

But he took no concrete steps or initiated any move to eliminate the root cause of the developments in East Pakistan which led to the mass flight of ruthlessly oppressed East Pakistanis to seek sanctuary in India.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi had tried for months to persuade President Yahya Khan and the world to help restore conditions that would encourage the more than nine million East Pakistani refugees to return to their homes.

India's own stability is gravely threatened by the continuing influx of these refugees requiring food, shelter and medical care among other necessities.

The world, however, looked away and President Yahya Khan continued to disregard appeals to resolve the East Pakistan crisis through a political solution—allowing the people of East Pakistan to determine their own future, a right which they won at last year's general election.

With the prospects of easing the extremely heavy burden of caring for nearly 10 million refugees growing dimmer and dimmer, India found herself in a position

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where she had to act to help the Bangla Desh movement bring about a situation conducive to a voluntary return of the millions of refugees to their homes.

The issue has now belatedly been raised in the Security Council, but if intervention by the Council is to be effective in restoring peace on the Indian sub-continent, the world organisation must recognise and deal realistically with the basic problem of East Pakistan.

Islamabad must be made to recognise the legality of last year's general election, and at the same time, guarantee the safety and rehabilitation of refugees returning from India.

These are the conditions that President Yahya Khan must accept in the interest of peace in the Indian sub-continent and the world, for further escalation of the war could draw the big powers into the conflict.

(SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, Hong Kong—December 6, 1971)

THE WAR NOBODY STOPPED

Mrs. Gandhi got it right when she blamed the world for the war which has now started between India and Pakistan. For nine months, we have all stood by as if impotent as, day after day, the confrontation escalated to its inevitable explosion. What have any of us done to help India meet the burden of nine million Bengali refugees suddenly thrust upon its fragile economy? Not much. What have any of us, beyond the odd couple of prime ministerial letters, done to get Pakistan's President Yahya Khan to come to his senses and restore some semblance of democracy in East Pakistan? Not much. The rich industrial countries have sent their money to help the refugees. They always do. And Australia, thanks to a public outcry, has done as well, if not better, than most in this endeavour....

(THE AUSTRALIAN, Sydney—December 6, 1971)

A POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE

Indian concern for the seventy-five million people of East Pakistan must be recognised. The failure of the major powers to persuade West Pakistan's President to carry out his election promise, and above all the brutal repression of the popular feeling which followed the arrest of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and outlawing of the Awami League, have been vital ingredients in Indian policy and action. Yet, in the end, impatience has triumphed and Indian national interests are discernible in this dismemberment of Pakistan.

Until yesterday, it was still possible that a compromise could be evolved, amounting to undisputed home rule for East Pakistan. Instead, there is a 'political solution' and inevitability of unrestrained war, not peace.

(THE STRAITS TIMES, Kuala Lumpur—December 7, 1971)

INDIA'S MOTIVES

Whatever may have been India's motives in this passage at arms, by her recognition of Bangla Desh she has given the Bengalis what Pakistan had denied them. In an age in which, when even tiny islands are becoming independent states, a people of nearly eighty million cannot for long be denied their right of self-determination.

(ARBEITER ZEITUNG, Austria—December 7, 1971)

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PAKISTAN TO BLAME

Reason failed and guns spoke. Pakistan is now sending a special envoy to Indonesia, but the whole world has seen Pakistan's bad treatment of its own people in East Pakistan, crushing the victorious Awami League, imprisoning Mujibur Rahman and killing or arresting his followers. No single country on earth can bear the burden of millions of refugees as poured into India from Bangla Desh following the action of President Yahya Khan's Government. It is Pakistan which must respect the will of the Bangla Desh people and make amends for its mistakes.

(**INDONESIA RAYA,** Djakarta—December 7, 1971)

MISFIRED

When President Yahya Khan proclaimed a state of war with India last Saturday, he must have expected the Security Council to call for a cease-fire in a day or two and to decide to station teams of observers along the borders. In this way, he would get what he had proposed but, India had rejected.

(**THE DJAKARTA TIMES**—December 8, 1971)

SIMPLY AMAZING

Significant as it certainly is, India's recognition of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh has also confirmed the suspicion held by many that India actually wanted "Bangla Desh" to be a child of the Indo-Pakistan War.

In that, India has by and large achieved her initial political goals, but does the new development have the capacity to clinch the long-drawn controversy for all times to come, is a question the answer to which is neither ,readily available nor can anybody, Bangla Desh leaders and Prime Minister Gandhi not excluding, honesty claim to be in the know.

Having been assured of the Soviet veto in the U.N. Security Council, India, as events show, found an opportunity to penetrate into areas of Bangla Desh rather too irresistibly, and thought, probably rightly, that the time was opportune for according diplomatic recognition to the rebel Government which, as the world knows, commands the approval and loyalty of more than 75 million people.

India has done what all the major powers knew she would do if the drain on her economy, forced by the massive influx of refugees, remained unmitigated.

Of all the big powers, the United States appears to be disturbed the most.

Pakistan's snapping of diplomatic relations with India is but a natural phenomenon, but what is more intriguing is the U.S. decision to suspend credits to India on the ground that India has indulged in delinquent activity.

The American reaction is quite understandable. In fact, one does not have to go farther than the frontiers of Vietnam to get a true picture of the negative aspect of American foreign policy. Its disrespect for the cause of freedom and liberty is simply amazing.

(**THE MOTHERLAND,** Kathmandu—December 8, 1971)

RESPECT THE WILL OF THE BANGLA DESH PEOPLE

The war on the Indian sub-continent, by which millions of people are affected, is continuing in all its acuteness. The world public is alarmed about the bloodshed

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and also the people of the German Democratic Republic watch the conflict with great concern. Now, as before, progressive forces the world over demand a political settlement of the Bangla Desh problem.

With this demand as a basis, the U.S.S.R. spoke before the United Nations, and with this demand as a basis, the U.S.S.R. Prime Minister expressed his views during his visit to Denmark. There, he repeated that "for the relaxation of tension on the Indian sub-continent, it is necessary first of all to eliminate the dangerous inner political crisis which arose in East Pakistan as a result of mass reprisals of Pakistani authorities against the population".

The Yahya Khan regime was well aware of the fact that the flood of refugees and their persecution up to Indian territory would entail grave problems for India. That is why Pakistani authorities prepared for armed conflicts and unleashed the war....

(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin—December 9, 1971)

YAHYA KHAN HELD RESPONSIBLE

The ruthless repression by the West Pakistan army of the rebels in Bangla Desh and the failure to take correct steps for restoring peace in time by respecting the result of the elections, has brought about the present tragedy. It is now too late. The crisis has erupted into war and President Yahya Khan must be held responsible for what has happened.

(NANYANG SIANG PAU, Malaysia—December 9, 1971)

INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

By contrast, India, a struggling democracy nearly five times the size of Pakistan, got little but contempt from Washington for its policy of non-alignment with either East or West.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles could never conceal his disdain for the Gandhi-Nehru neutrality concept. And our arms aid to Pakistan forced India through the 1950's to devote desperately scarce resources to arming against Pakistan, for Indian leaders continually expressed the fear that American arms to Pakistan would be used against India (as they were in 1965).

(ST. LOUIS POST DESPATCH—December 9, 1971)

NIXON'S HIGHLY PERSONAL POLICY CAUSES PUZZLEMENT

President Nixon's highly personal policy of apportioning blame for the India-Pakistan war has caused deep puzzlement at the United Nations.

True, as the White House said yesterday, American support for an immediate cease-fire and mutual withdrawal of forces fit the near-unanimous judgement of the Third World delegations of Africa, Asia and Latin America—not to mention most of West Europe.

But the accompanying American claim of "strict neutrality" in the conflict brings only cynical smiles.

The way U.S. Ambassador George W. Bush has presented his case with a Texas-style evangelism, wrapped in the aura of personal betrayal radiating from Washington, leaves few people at the United Nations in doubt of the basic anti-Indian stance of the President.

(GEORGE SHERMAN in THE EVENING STAR, Washington—December 9, 1971)

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WHAT CAUSED THE WAR?

The sanguinary suppression by the Pakistan authorities of the basic rights and the clearly expressed will of the population of East Pakistan, ruthless terror against millions of people of that part of the country, have been an overt violation of the Universal Human Rights Declaration. Those events are known to have led to a military conflict between India and Pakistan.

(IZVESTIA, U.S.S.R.—December 10, 1971)

REAL AGGRESSOR BACKED

While Yahya Khan's army was butchering thousands of East Bengalis, the U.S. sat back and watched while world opinion mounted steadily against the wholesale massacres. Perhaps Washington has coined a new word to describe the action by the Pakistan army. But although Washington does to some extent recognise the fact that Yahya Khan helped to precipitate the crisis by his moves to repress the East Pakistani independence movement, it has chosen to back the real aggressor.

(THE HONG KONG STANDARD—December 10, 1971)

INDIA MADE SCAPEGOAT OF FRUSTRATION

We find that after eight months of calculated indifference to the escalating tragedy in East Bengal—after months of silence in the face of massive human tragedy—the highest officials of this Administration now tell us that they were in a race against time to preserve peace.

The Administration has made India the scapegoat of our frustration and failures and of the bankruptcy of our policy towards Pakistan.

(U.S. Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY—December 11, 1971)

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

....The Indian Prime Minister carries a lot of credibility when she says that her country had no recourse but to use force. The repressions in East Pakistan had sent nearly ten million refugees into India. It costs some four million dollars a day to feed them. Not all of them, however, are bonafide refugees. Some are Pakistani infiltrators whom India cannot afford to shelter in any case.

As the source of the repression, the Pakistan Government must bear a major part of the blame. But others are guilty as well. The big powers could have used pressure on Pakistan to stop the repressions, reverse the influx of refugees, and perhaps even lend their good offices, to secure autonomy for East Pakistan. They failed to do so and India had to act to protect her interests.

With Washington unable or unwilling to exercise peaceful intervention, war became inevitable. Curiously, Peking is on the U.S. side now as far as fault-finding is concerned. War, like politics, makes strange bedfellows.

(THE DAILY MIRROR, Philippines—December 14, 1971)

REASONS FOR INDIAN ARMY'S SWIFT ADVANCE

The Indian army is advancing so swiftly in East Pakistan because the majority of the people there are not against the Indian army but against the military regime, because the Pakistani military regime declared its opposition to the Bengali people when it buried freedom and democracy there.

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In the free general elections, the Awami League won a majority of votes in East Pakistan and Mujibur Rahman became the first real leader of the country. It was not possible for the people of East Pakistan to keep silent while they were treated as second class citizens despite their majority in number and their resources.

While all big jobs, rights, benefits and financial credits go to West Pakistan and its people, East Pakistan gets nothing.

What have the Pakistani military rulers done?

They banned the Awami League, the elected Parliament, declared the elected members of the party as traitors, cancelled all constitutional and democratic establishments, and launched an invasion and conducted massacres and killings the like of which modern history has not seen. Ten million Bengalis were forced to leave their own homes in heart-rending conditions facing hunger, disease and disgrace to seek shelter in neighbouring India. The leader of the Party, Mujibur Rahman, who was elected by the majority of the people, was savagely arrested and sent to jail.

The result of all this is that the military rulers who are against the people, against freedom and against democratic institutions are now facing the Indian army without the support of their people.

Now what is the solution?

The solution is to give the people of Bengal their rights of self-determination. And whatever is their decision, nobody in this world has the right to consider it wrong.... The solution is for the people of West Pakistan to be free and happy as a democracy. This means that the army officers (of Pakistan) should return to their camps. And the forces of the two parties, India and Pakistan, should return to their previous positions.

(AL TALEA, Kuwait—December 18, 1971)

PRE-PLANNED BOMBING BY PAKISTAN

I suggested to President Yahya Khan that he proceed with granting at least a degree of autonomy to East Pakistan. He told me he was willing to do this and he seemed very sincere. But ten hours later, Pakistani planes bombed six military airfields inside India...Yahya Khan lied to me. He had planned the bombing mission at the time he talked to me. I believe the shooting war could have been averted...if Pakistan had granted autonomy to East Pakistan.

(U.S. Senator SAXBE—December 20, 1971)

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CHAPTER IX

INDIA'S RESPONSE

I. BEFORE THE WAR

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview with the Secretary-General, World Peace Council, published on August 30, 1971

Following is the text of World Peace Council Secretary-General Ramesh Chandra's interview with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi:

Q.—Madam, the Indo-Soviet Treaty has been acclaimed by the overwhelming majority of the people of India. What would you say could be the reason for this near unanimous welcome.

A.—Friendship between India and the Soviet Union has grown in many directions over the years. In the international arena, we have both worked for peace and have opposed racialism and colonialism. The Soviet Union has helped our programmes for the achievement of self-reliance through developing heavy industry.

International relations have entered an era of rapid change, the range and direction of which is not predictable. Nations are seeking new ties and are cutting across old rigidities. This is a welcome trend. But some countries are taking advantage of these changes to embark upon opportunistic adventures.

We are convinced that the present Treaty will discourage such adventurism on the part of countries which have shown a pathological hostility towards us. Our people look upon the Soviet Union as a friend. That is why the Treaty has received such widespread acclaim in our country.

Q.—What would be its impact on the climate for peace in this part of the world, particularly with reference to the liberation struggle of the people of the Bangla Desh?

A.—To begin with the second part of your question, the struggle in Bangla Desh is between the 75 million people on the one side and the vindictive, cruel and autocratic military regime of Islamabad on the other. The people of Bangla Desh are united in the fight for their just demands. But we know that resentment against military rule is increasing among the people of West Pakistan also, whether they belong to Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. or even the favoured provinces of Sind and Punjab.

Our people, Parliament and Government have extended full sympathy and support to the people of Bangla Desh. We have no quarrel with the people of West Pakistan. The problem is not an Indo-Pakistan one.

The military regime in Islamabad is isolated from its people and is waging war against them. That is why it seeks to divert the attention of the people

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of Pakistan, as well as of the rest of the world, from the agony of Bangla Desh by attempting to give an Indo-Pakistan complexion to the problem. The threat of war might be an act of desperation, but how can we fail to take note of it? However, we feel that the Treaty will act as a deterrent against any rash adventurism on the part of Islamabad.

But peace does not mean merely the absence of hostilities, nor can there be peace while oppression and injustice prevails. Peace must be based on the fulfilment of the just aspirations of the people.

Q.—You have rightly said that the Treaty is not a departure from the concept of non-alignment, but that it actually strengthens the forces of non-alignment all over the world. Would you kindly elaborate this statement ?

Ans.—While staying out of power blocs, we have sought the friendship of governments of different persuasions. Peaceful co-existence and conviction that war should be ruled out as a means of settling issues, have been the basic guiding principles of our policy. Simultaneously, we have also opposed colonialism and racialism. Many other nations of Asia and Africa have pursued a similar policy. The Soviet Union has extended unreserved respect and support to our policy of non-alignment. This has been incorporated in the Treaty itself.

The word 'non-alignment' has been misinterpreted; that is why such doubts arise. The Treaty does not compromise our non-aligned position.

The national interest of non-aligned countries has to be safeguarded from threats of military adventurism. Security must be achieved in a manner which eschews hegemony or confrontation and ensures lasting peace. This is precisely what the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Co-operation does.

Q.—What is your estimate of the prospects for peace in South-East Asia and West Asia?

Ans.—Peace in South-East Asia depends on the solution of the problem of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. All these three are now inter-related. However, a settlement has to be reached in South Vietnam. There is increasing recognition of the fact that there is no military solution. Recently, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam made certain proposals. The crucial point there is that of the withdrawal of foreign forces, and more specially of American forces. I have no doubt that if this withdrawal is made within a certain fixed time-frame, then South Vietnam could be left to work out its future without military or political interference from outside. Sooner or later, the Vietnam problem will have to be settled along these lines.

There is at present a stalemate in West Asia. However, potentially the situation is dangerous. The greater the delay in finding a solution, the more difficult the problem will become. The directions in which a solution has to be sought are laid down in the U.N. Security Council Resolution of 1967. President Anwar Sadat has made a series of proposals. In our view, they deserve careful consideration.

Q.—The Treaty refers to colonialism, racialism and disarmament. In what way do you think it makes a contribution to the anti-colonialism and anti-racial movement and to progress towards disarmament?

Ans.—The Treaty reiterates both Governments' desire to continue the struggle against all forms of colonialism and racialism. Similarly, we shall continue to work for disarmament. The reiteration of the solemn determination of the two countries should strengthen the movements for peace and justice.

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Finance Minister Y. B. Chavan's statement in New York on the refugee problem
September 21, 1971

The Finance Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, who arrived here yesterday (New York, September 21) told newsmen that India had always regarded the problem of East Pakistan refugees as an international question and the world community must share this burden with India.

Mr. Chavan, who was on his way to Washington to attend the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, was asked if he intended asking the World Bank for special assistance in coping with the refugee problem.

Mr. Chavan indicated that he would discuss the issue with the World Bank authorities and others who would be present in Washington. But he made it clear that he was not going there with "a begging bowl".

(Krishan Bhatia's despatch from New York, **THE HINDUSTAN TIMES**, New Delhi—September 23, 1971)

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at a luncheon given by Chairman A. N. Kosygin in Moscow
September 28, 1971

It is a pleasure to be in Moscow once again at the kind invitation of the leaders and the Government of the U.S.S.R. I am especially glad that I have been able to come here so soon after the signing of the Soviet-Indian Treaty for Peace, Friendship and Co-operation.

The Treaty has been widely acclaimed throughout our country and in the Soviet Union. Even the traditional critics of Indo-Soviet friendship in various parts of the world have recognised the importance of the Treaty. Yet, there are some, in India and abroad, who are trying to misinterpret its meaning and purpose. However, I am convinced that in the coming months and years they also will realise that the Treaty will help the evolution of a saner, more peaceful international situation.

The essence of Soviet-Indian friendship as it has developed over the years, is mutual recognition of the importance of our two vast aggregates of territory and population and of the benefits that our two nations and the world will derive if our work for peace and development can be correlated and reinforced. There have of course been many and varied links in the course of our long histories. I remember seeing in the Leningrad Museum a reference to the gift of an elephant from India long ago. Tolstoy's influence on Mahatma Gandhi's thinking is well-known. After independence, it was my father who initiated our policy of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and laid the foundation of India's policy of non-alignment. I am glad that both these policies have gained strength ever since.

Long before we liberated ourselves from colonial rule, we admired the great experiment of social reconstruction which you had undertaken in your country, the results of which we can see around us. The Indian people respect the vision which has inspired your achievements. In the same way, I should think that your regard for India springs from your recognition of our aims, endeavours and our potentiality.

I hope that my country, which encompasses one-seventh of humanity, will always be a factor for peace and progress in the world. It is this, I believe, that has prompted your friendship, and co-operation with us. Our people have greatly benefited from Soviet economic co-operation and assistance. They realise

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that Indo-Soviet co-operation is not merely an arrangement between two Governments. It is a coming together of two great and friendly countries. Apart from economic co-operation and mutual understanding on many international issues, our cultural bonds have been steadily growing. In no other country are Indian languages and literature so widely studied and Indian music, dance and drama so greatly appreciated as in the Soviet Union. Your literature, music and science which have vastly enriched man's heritage are now available to our people as never before.

Indian history will remember 1971 as an eventful year. We are certainly at a momentous juncture. From March until now, there have been many important developments. At the year's beginning, our economy had just regained its elan after eight troubled years. Our General Elections, held in March, brought greater clarity to the national scene and gave a firmer direction to our political life. We were all set to launch the second phase of our national development during which the promise of equality and freedom from want could come closer to reality. Our Parliament had been in session for just a week and the representatives of the nation were still shaking one another's hands, when beyond our borders there occurred events which have created incalculable difficulties for us. In East Bengal, there is a grave confrontation between the people and the Government of Pakistan, and the actions of the Pakistan Army have compelled millions of people to leave their homes and to seek shelter in India. One cannot but be perturbed when fire breaks out in a neighbour's house. What has happened in East Bengal—or Bangla Desh, as the world has begun to call it—can no longer be regarded as Pakistan's domestic affair. More than 9 million East Bangalis have come into our country. Do they not have the right to live and work in their own homeland? We cannot be expected to absorb them. We have problems enough of our own and we certainly do not need to add to our vast population. In fact, much money and effort are going into plans to control population growth.

This is not an Indo-Pakistan dispute. The problem is an international one. But the weight of it has fallen on India, stretching our resources, financial and otherwise, to the limit. The international response has fallen short of the scale which a grim tragedy of this magnitude demands. It is surely the duty of the world not to delay in creating conditions in which these refugees, irrespective of their religion, can return without fear.

The growing agony of the people of East Bengal does not seem to have moved many Governments. Our restraint has been appreciated only in words. The basic issues involved, and the real threat to peace and stability in Asia, are being largely ignored. We are glad that the leaders of the Soviet Union have counselled Pakistan to reach a political solution which will satisfy the aspirations of the people of East Bengal. We hope that these efforts will bear fruit.

The Soviet Union has initiated many moves for world peace. We welcome the understanding which has been reached with the Federal Republic of Germany-and we sincerely hope that further relaxation of other tensions will follow. While Europe is coming nearer to enduring peace, it is tragic that a new threat to peace has emerged in Asia, a Continent already tortured by prolonged conflicts in the Middle East and the South East. I will support the inalienable rights of all peoples, especially those of the brave Vietnamese people, to national independence and freedom.

The search for peace calls for determined effort. Peace cannot be attained by waiting and hoping, but through action and perseverance. Even for an individual, there cannot be a private quest for peace, nor for a nation can it be merely a national effort. It must be an international imperative. A day before he was

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assassinated, Mahatma Gandhi said that the way to peace was to live amidst strife and to struggle with all one's might to overcome it. This applies to nations no less than it does to individuals. Dreams must be accompanied by endeavour. As Pushkin said:

"I crave more life, more dreams, more agony

Midmost the care, the panic, the distress,

I know that I shall taste of happiness."

I am glad to have had this opportunity of meeting and exchanging views with the leaders of the Soviet Union. Our discussions have been useful and there has been a similarity of views which reflects the closeness of our relationship. I am confident that our understanding will result in further strengthening peace, security and progress not only on the Indian sub-continent but in Asia and throughout the world.

I thank you for your gracious hospitality, and the people of this great country for their friendship and understanding which we value so much. May it strengthen us and contribute to the peace and welfare of all peoples.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I request you to join me in drinking a toast to ever growing friendship between our two great countries and peoples and to peace and progress?

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at a dinner to Soviet leaders in Moscow September 28, 1971

I am very happy to have come to your country and talked with your leaders. I am especially happy that the General Secretary, Mr. Brezhnev, was able to join the talks. I believe that our talks have been useful and that they will certainly lead to better understanding between us.

The recently signed Indo-Soviet Treaty for Peace, Friendship and Co-operation has been widely welcomed by the peoples of India and the U.S.S.R. We have had a long tradition of friendship between our two Governments and, if I may say so, between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, but this Treaty has certainly brought us closer and has improved the prospects of our co-operation.

As you remarked this morning, Mr. Prime Minister, our friendship is not based on a passing whim but on certain fundamental policies.

The close relationship between the Soviet Union and India has been a long and memorable one. Our friendship has grown with each passing year. In the international field we have a close identity of views on major world problems. We have stood together in the councils of the world in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and the exploitation of man by man. We share a common belief in peaceful co-existence and co-operation of States with differing social systems. We agree that the policy of non-alignment pursued by India is a dynamic force which can help to reduce tension in the world. We believe in the right of a people to shape their own destiny according to their own national genius. And both our countries have a deep abhorrence of war, and believe in general and complete disarmament.

Bilaterally, the co-operation between the Soviet Union and India has been of immense mutual benefit. It has greatly strengthened the public sector of our economy in vital branches like steel, petroleum and other basic and heavy industries. Our trade turnover has increased phenomenally over the years, particularly after

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the agreement on the rupee payment system. What is perhaps of greater significance than increase in the volume of our trade, has been its changing pattern. The Soviet Union is now supplying India with larger quantities of industrial raw materials, sophisticated machinery and technical know-how, while at the same time importing more of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from India. There are also good possibilities of multilateral co-operation in many spheres. I regard all these as signs of a healthy and dynamic relationship, and I am confident that in the years to come our co-operation will grow stronger.

During our struggle for independence, we thought that once we were free we would pursue uninterruptedly the path of progress. But, from time to time thereafter, we found that the freedom we had won was never secure, that one had to fight and struggle for it year after year. We have faced enormous difficulties on our path of securing for our people the rights which they should have.

Recently, the people of India gave their support to our policies in a very clear-cut manner. They turned the General Elections from merely a party election to a "People's Election".

But, before we could begin to fulfil the promises which we had made to them during the elections, events took place in a neighbouring country, which, for no fault of ours, placed a tremendous burden on our Government and on the people of India.

The burden is a financial one; it is a political one; it is one connected with security problems.

The events which were an "internal problem" of a neighbouring country have become very much "our problem", in fact "an international problem".

We have today in our country foreign nationals in numbers large enough to constitute the population of New Zealand and Sweden combined.

We are treating them as guests—but we have no doubt that these people must go back to their homes in peace and safety. Otherwise, peace cannot be secured in our part of the world.

Even before this, our people have faced many difficulties with courage and unity and I have no doubt that they will face this situation also in that spirit.

I have been to Moscow and other parts of the Soviet Union several times, and on every occasion I have been received with great friendship and warmth. I should like to take this opportunity once more to thank you, and through you all the Soviet people, for their friendship which I regard as the friendship for India and for Indian people.

We have had the pleasure and the privilege of having Chairman Kosygin and many other Soviet friends in India in the past. And now, in the next few days, we will have the privilege of receiving President Podgorny in India for a short while.

I sincerely hope that Mr. Brezhnev will also pay us a visit one of these days.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I request you to rise and drink a toast to the health of Chairman Kosygin and leaders of the Soviet Union, to the happiness of the people of the Soviet Union, to the friendship of our two countries and, if I may add, to the Indo-Soviet Treaty for Peace, Friendship and Co-operation?

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Extracts from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's address at the Moscow University September 29, 1971

....The efforts of the Indian people are often thwarted by forces beyond our control. Earlier this year in our General Elections, the people of India gave us a mandate for progress. We were about to embark upon a new programme of economic advance, when from across our frontiers we had a new kind of invasion: not of armed men, but of a vast influx of helpless terror-stricken men, women and children from East Bengal—some wounded, some ill and all hungry. More than 9 million people have come in the last six months, and they continue to pour in. Has there been a greater migration in history?

When millions of people are pushed into another's territory, jeopardizing its normal life, its plans for the future, and its very security, it is obvious that peace is in peril. We have shown the greatest forbearance, but it is essential that the basic cause of the crisis be immediately removed by a political solution acceptable to the people concerned. Unfortunately, there is no sign that this is being attempted. It is the world's responsibility to create without further delay conditions to enable the refugees to return to their homes in safety and dignity....

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's speech at the All India Congress Committee Session at Simla October 8, 1971

I am extremely grateful to the members of the A.I.C.C. who have unanimously and whole-heartedly endorsed the Indo-U.S.S.R. Treaty. As ours is a political body, therefore, apart from the general approval and full endorsement, it is necessary for us on an occasion like this to understand clearly the contents of such a far-reaching document and also the various important ideas which have been concretised in this Treaty. I would like to consider this Treaty as comprising four important aspects and elements. First and foremost, it is agreed by the two countries that they will constantly, assiduously and energetically work for elimination of remnents of colonialism and for ending the racist regimes wherever they are. This is a very important joint declaration which is contained in the Treaty. The House is, no doubt, aware that still large portions of the world are under colonial domination and racist regimes. The Portuguese colonial rule still pervades in Angola, in Mozambique and in what is called Portuguese Guinea. Racist regimes are still flourishing notwithstanding the unanimous resolution adopted by the United Nations in its various organs—in South Africa, in Namibia and also in Rhodesia. It has always been the ideal of our great Organisation—the Congress—to work for elimination of colonialism and for ending racist regimes. This posture of ours was however not adopted after Independence, but this has been our objective even before Independence, and the Congress organisation always raised their voice in a very effective manner against colonialism and, in fact, the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Ji, started his early political activity in South Africa itself. It is a matter of regret and a matter of misfortune that South Africa still continues to practice apartheid under a racist regime. Determination of two countries like Soviet Union and India to end the remnants of colonialism and racism is an important article which is contained in the Treaty.

Another important concept in the Treaty is the Soviet Union's acceptance of the policy of non-alignment which is being pursued by India. It is surprising that some people, at any rate in the initial stages, did raise a voice of criticism saying that this Treaty compromises India's policy of non-alignment. If a careful scrutiny of this criticism is made, both from inside the country or from certain quarters abroad, it will be clear that generally this criticism has come not from

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any non-aligned country but from countries which themselves are aligned and are members of military pacts. It is interesting that on India's signing this Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation with Soviet Union the love for non-alignment should suddenly spring in the hearts of those people who themselves and their countries are members of military pacts and defence pacts. This Treaty in actual terms specifically says that the Soviet Union respects India's policy of non-alignment. Not only that, I think, it was for the first time that in a formal document the Soviet Union accepted the validity of the policy of non-alignment as a major factor for peace and for reducing tensions throughout the world. So, not only has India's policy of non-alignment been fully safeguarded but the validity of the concept of non-alignment in the context of international affairs is incorporated in Article IV of the Treaty.

I would also like to draw the attention of the House and the country to the relevant clause in the latest communique that was issued at the end of our Prime Minister's visit to Moscow. This concept of non-alignment and India's policy of non-alignment have again been specifically mentioned in the joint communique that was issued at the end of our Prime Minister's visit.

The third important provision of the Treaty relates to the acceptance by the two countries of the desirability of co-operation between the two countries in the scientific field, in the technological field and in various fields for the mutual benefit of two countries. It will be an important provision according to which the advance in science and technology, the advance in latest sophisticated fields of technology, advances in the field of electronics, of other sophisticated fields in which Soviet Union undoubtedly has made tremendous progress, India on the basis of this agreement can fully get the maximum benefit by mutual co-operation which no longer depends upon the exigencies of any particular situation, but is solemnly agreed in the form of Treaty between the two countries, and under these provisions it will be of mutual benefit and, I feel, very much to India's advantage that we can take full and complete advantage for advancing our economy, for advancing our inudustry, for advancing our scientific know-how and knowledge by drawing freely upon the U.S.S.R. resources which are available to us in this Treaty as a result of the clauses in the Treaty.

The fourth important provision about which quite naturally a great deal of popular upsurge has been expressed in the country, is that which could broadly be described as touching upon the security aspect. This provision is contained in three clauses in the Treaty and it is important for us to understand the implications of the security aspect of the Treaty. I would like to say that unlike military pacts or defence pacts, by entering into this Treaty neither of the two countries will get automatically involved if the other party is involved in a military conflict. This is the real difference between this Treaty and the conventional military pact or mutual defence pact. Under those pacts, there is automatic involvement of the other country if one of the countries might be involved in an armed conflict. There is no such provision in this Treaty. There is, however, clear provision about what could be described as non-aggression, that is, neither of the two countries will take any action which might harm the other country. More so, there is further provision that if any of the two countries is engaged in any armed conflict then the other country will not give any help of any type to the country that might be engaged in such a conflict with either of the contracting parties, that is, India and Soviet Union. Now, this is an important provision because in our country from time to time, and quite rightly for reasons of security, doubts were always expressed that if we are engaged in an armed conflict with any other country where is the guarantee that such other country will not continue to get aid notwithstanding the past declarations to the contrary that might have been made by ourselves. Again there has to be an assurance

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about our getting in a continuous manner whatever supplies we may require for strengthening our defence potential. I would say that both these negative and positive aspects are fully safeguarded in this Treaty. To put it in unimbiguous terms; after conclusion of this Treaty, Soviet Union is not now entitled to make any military supplies of any type to Pakistan nor give any help to Pakistan which might strengthen the military potential of Pakistan. Again, as Chavan Ji very lucidly explained, there are very important provisions in this Treaty which are vital for our security. But the central key-note in the Treaty is not war and conflict, but to avoid war and to strengthen the forces of peace. In a nutshell, the essence of these security provisions is that when either of these two countries is either attacked or is faced with the threat of an attack, then the two countries will start negotiation with the object of avoiding that threat or to doing away with that aggression, and steps will be taken—"effective steps" are the words used in the Treaty—to ensure that the threat of attack is avoided and attack if any, is prevented or is vacated or done away with. Therefore, these are very important security provisions in the Treaty, and if I may say the Treaty was concluded at a time when feeling in the country was fully receptive to a concrete step of this type, as it was often said that in moments of test, in moments of trial, who are our friends? It is very interesting that those voices which used to remind us : "where and who are your friends ;" they themselves have started picking holes in the Treaty. I would like the country and this great organisation to be reminded of the immediate reaction even from the leaders of parties who are traditionaly opposed to the Congress. Even they, as the first reaction to the conclusion of this Treaty, did not have the courage to oppose this Treaty and their spokesmen on the floor of the House did support the Treaty and did not raise any voice of dissent. They did, however, try to raise doubts, but they knew that the feeling in the country in favour of the Treaty is so strong that they would be completely isolated if they attacked the Treaty and therefore they did not have the courage even though they may have different political motivations to oppose the Treaty. Later on, however, I do not know what may be the considerations, uncharitable interpretations can perhaps point out to some wire-pulling, but they did try later on to alter their original stand of support to the Treaty and started in some form or other to offer some voice of criticism. But the more we consider the terms of the Treaty, the impact produced in the country and the effect produced in the international community, there is no doubt, and there should be no doubt in the mind of any one, that the Treaty is sound in content, is practical, safeguards our independence and non-alignment, and at the same time it binds us to constructive course of mutual co-operation, safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of the contracting parties and at the same time providing enough of safeguards from the security angle, to preserve the sovereignty and security of the two countries, without the automatic involvement of either of the two countries.

Voices—Latest about Bangla Desh?

As a matter of fact, I am coming to that... To be able to speak about this important matter, was the main object of my speaking after the resolution on Treaty was adopted. Having said this much about the Treaty, I would now, with the President's kind permission, like to say something about my recent visit to several capitals and the United Nations. I will give my assessment of the general feeling amongst the international community about one of the most important issues that confront us, namely the developments in Bangla Desh. As you are no doubt aware, in the initial stages there was a tendency to find an easy escape in the various Chanceries and an attitude was generally taken that the question of Bangla Desh is essentially an internal question and an internal matter for Pakistan. But as the genocidal activities of the military authorities

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gathered in momentum, the forces of oppression were let loose and unleashed against the unarmed civilians and the democratic forces of Bangla Desh, this resulted in suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms and caused such conditions of insecurity that a large volume of forced exodus took place. The situation which initially was sought to be brushed aside as an internal development presented a facet which made it obviously a matter of international concern. Slowly but surely, the international community woke up to the fundamental and basic issues involved and there was a great measure of response to the reality of the situation and a growing awareness of the risks involved. In various capitals, as a result of visits of my colleagues and myself, when the situation was explained, the statements—some times joint statements, some times official statements—from a large number of those capitals were issued which pin-pointed the essentials of the situation, namely the humanitarian aspect of the problem and also the necessity, an inescapable necessity of working out a solution which creates conditions for the return of these refugees to their homes and hearths in conditions of safety and in conditions of honour.

Now, if we carefully examine even the trend of the debate in the United Nations General Assembly, it is noteworthy that the Four Big Powers who are permanent members of the Security Council with the right of veto, their spokesmen, their Foreign Ministers, with varying degrees of phraseology, which is not uncommon experience when the same concept is presented, have broadly accepted the essentials of the situation. And the essentials are a continuing forced exodus of helpless people and their being pushed on to the Indian territory, the resultant burden, not only economic but social and political tensions resulting from the presence of these large number of refugees in an area which has always been both economically and politically a sensitive area; and as a necessary corollary to these two, solution can only be found by creation of conditions in Bangla Desh which might facilitate the return of these refugees. We have made it abundantly clear, and I have a feeling that this is now growingly understood and appreciated and in certain cases endorsed by the other countries that the political solution is the solution which will be acceptable to the elected representatives of the people; a solution to be acceptable has to be acceptable to the people of Bangla Desh and that people of Bangla Desh have in unmistakable terms expressed their confidence and expressed their reliance upon Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League whom they returned with unprecedented electoral victory giving as many as 167 out of 169 seats in the National Assembly. These are the essentials of the situation and amongst the four permanent members of the Security Council—the Soviet Union, United States of America, France, as well as Britain—these essentials are broadly accepted and statements to that effect have been made by their representatives in the Security Council. Foreign Ministers of several other countries, particularly those where democratic institutions are functioning, and also the socialist countries' representatives, have also openly made statements endorsing the Indian appreciation of the essentials of the situation.

In the entire world, we should also, while noting these positive factors, be careful about what could broadly be described as negative factors. Let us not forget that a fairly large number of sovereign countries, who are members of the United Nations, have in their countries regimes which are in their content and in their operation not very much different from dictatorial regime of the type that now controls the destiny of Pakistan. This has been an unfortunate experience of the post-colonial era. A large number of countries became independent and the colonial forces were on the run. As a result of this, a large number of countries became independent and free. With varying degrees, they started with democratic establishments, democratic set-ups, democratic ideologies, democratic

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constitutions. But it is a cruel reality that democracy was unable to take root, whether democracy be of the Presidential type or the Parliamentary type, except in a comparatively smaller number of these countries and, therefore, there are whispers to this effect that perhaps Yahya Khan committed a mistake in ordering elections. But even they are obliged to admit that having initiated the process of holding the elections, he is now trying to run away from it, and this is a situation in which he cannot run away and the events are bound to overtake him. So, wheras these democratic ideals and our adherence to these, our love for these, and our natural abhorrence when they are violated, appear to be a very normal reaction to us, because we in our country have been fortunate in establishing the roots of democracy in a very solemn and in a very purposeful manner, there are other countries whose experience has not been of the same type as ours and this explains the reticence and reluctance of several other countries who should normally be on our side of the fence when a situation of this type arises.

About the general trend of discussions in the United Nations, I would like to take a positive view and also a negative view. Positive view in this respect is that those countries whose representatives have in their statements supported broadly our assessment of the situation are now hereafter likely to use their influence in a more purposeful manner in bringing about a change in the attitude of the military rulers of Pakistan, and also I would like to say that it is also understood even amongst some of the closest friends of Pakistan who would like to be the helpers of Pakistan that the manner in which President Yahya Khan and his military Generals have tried to tackle the situation, the military method has failed and, therefore, the military method has to be abandoned and a political approach has to be brought about in the interest of the Pakistan regime itself. We have some reliable information to this effect that countries that are traditionally close to Pakistan also have started counselling them that they should abandon, and that the military Generals should abandon their military ways and should try to find a political solution of this problem.

There are other critics here in our own country who have tried to pick holes in our policy. When we say that there should be a political settlement, they say in this respect have we in any way compromised our stand in relation to Bangla Desh? I would like to clarify this aspect because there is some uninformed criticism on that score. Our position is clear. We say that we will accept whatever is acceptable to those who have already been elected by the people of Bangla Desh and it is for those already elected representatives to arrive at any settlement with Pakistan Military bodies. It can be a settlement on the basis of independence, or of greater autonomy—whatever is acceptable to the elected representatives, the already elected representatives of Bangla Desh, is the only way by which the present deteriorating trend can be reversed and conditions can be created in Bangla Desh which might facilitate the return of refugees.

I would at this stage also like to say that this is universally accepted and it is also realised—that India is determined to ensure that the refugees will return to Bangla Desh and that India will not keep them. In the initial stages, some parallels were drawn to earlier occasions when soon after independence we were faced with the problem of refugees and for a variety of reasons—historical and humane—we did take an attitude based on human considerations and considerations of compassion. For historical reasons, we were prepared to subject ourselves to the strain of looking after millions and millions of refugees. Whatever may have been the earlier history, now after 24 years of independence, any person who is in Pakistan is a Pakistani citizen, is a Bangla Desh citizen, or a West Pakistani citizen and that foreign national when he comes to India, if we look after him, it is on human considerations because geography has placed us in

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a position where we are the first recipient of this task. But we treat them as first and foremost the responsibility of the international community and if we do anything, it is in discharge of our being responsible members of the international community. We discharge this trust on behalf of the international community and the international community has to reimburse us for all the troubles and with all the expenses and with all the strains that we are bearing. It is also of importance for us to remember that any country who might give us aid for looking after these refugees is to a very small percentage trying to discharge that obligation which is squarely that of the international community, or may be that this is a help to Pakistan because these are Pakistani and Bangla Desh citizens whom we are feeding and any help that is given to look after these refugees should be help either to Pakistan, to Bangla Desh or to international community. Whereas we in India appreciate this help as at any rate the immediate clear burden on us is reduced, we have made it absolutely clear that this is a situation which cannot be bought out. Who can judge in terms of money the immense socio-political tension that is generated by the presence of 9 million people in an area of our country which is already over-populated? Can anybody in terms of dollars or pounds or deutchmarks or yen determine the amount of economic, social and political tensions to which our entire country is subjected?

I will be quite frank in saying that after this sad development, the entire administration in whatever sphere it may be—whether it is the Central Government or the State Government—our primary and principal preoccupation has been to take steps to meet the situation, to look after the refugees and also to look after our affairs so that we could continue with development and progress of our country. Is it possible by any calculation, by any statistics, to determine in terms of money, to determine in terms of pounds and dollars, the strain to which 55 crores of Indian people are being subjected? The number of school that we have closed to house these refugees, the number of hospitals where doctors are doing nothing else except to look after the refugees, the medical students who have disrupted their education to look after these refugees, those educationists and the volunteers who have abandoned their work and are looking after the refugees? Now these are the problems which we have to highlight because there may be a tendency that this is a situation where if all the money is found, perhaps India can get reconciled. This is a very dangerous aspect and generally if you talk to the representatives of other countries, they can be very sympathetic to you saying it is quite a big burden, we realise it; we have shared it, we will share it. But that is not the correct approach. We might appreciate this sharing of burden, but our principal objective has to be to create political conditions in Bangla Desh which reverses the present trend, which in the first instance stops the forced exodus of people from Bangla Desh into Indian territory, and secondly that this flow turns backward and these people go back and we are convinced that this can happen only if there is a solution which is accepted by those who have already been elected by the people. This in essence is the entire situation in Bangla Desh. I think the essentials of the situation are dawning upon the people and Governments of other countries. We have also made it clear that there is a limit to our patience and our perseverance; there is a limit to our restraint and it will be a very dangerous development if the time were permitted to run out. It is, we are afraid, already running out rather fast and the limits are being reached. These are the realities of the situation, and we have, I think, to a large measure succeeded in projecting this to the world. The unity, the basic unity demonstrated by our peoples and the determination of our people to meet the challenge, are sources of our real strength.

About People's Republic of China, you must have noticed that after the secret visit of Dr. Kissinger to Peking, the United States of America altered

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their policy which they have been pursuing for all these years to keep the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations, to deny to the Government of the People's Republic of China their rightful place in the United Nations. When they suddenly reversed their policy, then a large number of countries, who, mainly under United States' inspiration and persuasion, had pursued a policy of endorsing the American line, suddenly found that their original postulates and their original postures had become out-of-date and they started revising their briefs. It is not easy to revise briefs quickly, and even the latest effort that is being made is again a very interesting approach. On the one hand, the United States' effort is to ensure that the rightful place to the People's Republic of China is restored to them not only in the General Assembly but also in the Security Council, with a permanent seat and with the right of veto. Whereas they are in support of this, at the same time, they do want to retain Taiwan as representative of Taiwan. Historically, it is not an easy exercise because all these years the supporters of the United States and the United States were saying that Taiwan Government is the government not only of Formosa and Taiwan but also of the whole of China. And now suddenly to take another line again has caused a certain measure of confusion. So far as India is concerned, notwithstanding our bilateral difficulties in relation to the People's Republic of China, our brief has been straight, and this changing situation has not necessitated the alteration of even a single comma in our attitude in this respect. We have all along been strongly of the view that there is only one China, there is only one Chinese Government, and that is the People's Republic of China, and its rightful place in the United Nations should be restored to it. That has been our consistent line. I am not sure whether during this session the efforts to retain Formosa will succeed, but I have no doubt that the restoration of its rightful place to People's Republic of China will receive overwhelming support. We have always been of the view that in the interest of universality and also in the interest of exposing China to international pressures, the Government of People's Republic of China should take their responsibilities and should play their part in the U.N., and that this is in the long range interests of the international community; we steadfastly adhere to this view.

It has been our view that keeping out China for too long has created several complexities and tensions in the world, and it will take quite some time before the world settles down to a normal course even after the People's Republic of China is admitted into the United Nations. These are some of the important matters facing the international community.

To give a little more complete picture, I will take a few minutes to give you the latest developments in Europe. As you are, no doubt, aware, the situation in Europe is definitely taking a turn towards lessening of tensions. This is due primarily to the great courage shown by Mr. Willy Brandt, the Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany, in reversing a policy which had been pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany ever since the second World War, and his deliberate policy to alter that course received a very good response from the Soviet Union, and the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty between Federal Republic of Germany and the U.S.S.R. has opened a new era of relaxation of tensions in the European context. This has also to a certain extent un-nerved the traditionalists on both sides, and they feel a new situation is developing and they are trying to adjust their minds. The latest four power agreement about such a difficult and complex question as that of Berlin, has generated a hope that Europe is definitely moving towards an era of freedom from tensions and relaxation of these tensions. These are good developments and this might guarantee and strengthen the forces of peace. We ourselves are happy that these developments have taken place and a process of *detente* and of relaxation of tensions has been generated and, I have no doubt, that pursued with patience and imagination, this will usher

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in an era where Europe, free from the scourages of armed conflicts, might open up some hope for the developing countries to develop their economy with aid from these highly developed countries.

These are some of the aspects of the international situation. I have nothing more by way of new information to give about the situation in the Middle East or the situation in Viet Nam. These unfortunate areas in Asia—one in the West of Asia and the other in East of Asia—still continue to be gripped by war and the process of having a durable peace in these areas do not appear to be very much in sight although we have constantly been working for establishing stable peace in these areas.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview to Sydney H. Schanberg

The New York Times of October 19, 1971, published an interview given by the Prime Minister to its correspondent, Sydney H. Schanberg. The following is the text of the despatch:

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has declared that the military situation on the borders between India and Pakistan is " quite grave ".

In an hour long interview, the Prime Minister added, " we certainly will do nothing to provoke an attack or to start any hostilities, but we have to be alive to our interests and safeguard our security".

" Unfortunately ", she added, " Pakistan's record has been one of hatred and desperation. The military regime has let loose a war on its own people, and there is no knowing what it will do next ".

The Prime Minister, who was interviewed in her office at the Government secretariat, seemed irritated when asked about military assistance India has been giving the Bengali insurgents in East Pakistan.

But she did not categorically deny that India was helping them. She said instead, " perhaps you know, they have many helpers, mostly their own people, all over the world. Also, many avenues are open to them". She did not elaborate.

Later in the interview, Mrs. Gandhi said, " whether they have arms or not, nobody can suppress the struggle".

Mrs. Gandhi cited " threatening statements from Pakistan which, we feel, cannot be entirely ignored". She mentioned, in particular, the speech last week of President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan in which he accused India of " feverish military preparations " and called on his people to meet the threat as a nation of one hundred and twenty million mujahids or preachers of Islam "whose hearts are pulsating with love of the Holy Prophet ".

The fifty-three-year-old Prime Minister firmly ruled out any peace talks at this time between India and Pakistan contending that Pakistan would first have to resolve the East Pakistan crisis by negotiating a settlement with the elected representatives.

For nearly seven months, the Pakistani army, composed almost entirely of West Pakistanis, has been trying to crush a Bengali secession movement in East Pakistan which is led by the Awami League. This party, which won a national majority in last December's general elections, was outlawed by the military regime when the army struck on March 25.

The military repression has sent millions of East Pakistani refugees fleeing into India.

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Mrs. Gandhi was asked if she felt there was a breaking point to the economic and social pressures placed on India by the refugees, a point beyond which India might feel compelled to take military action against Pakistan to halt the influx.

"Well, actually, I would say, we have already reached it", she replied. "But this does not mean that we are going to crack under it".

"We certainly want a quick solution, but we do not want to do anything which creates greater problems", she went on. "As you know, we have been extremely restrained. I cannot, even by giving deep thought to the matter, think of a single country who would have shown such restraint and patience in the face of such grave provocation".

During the last few weeks, both countries have reinforced their troops on their long eastern and western borders, and the Press on both sides has carried reports raising the spectre of another war between India and Pakistan. They last fought in 1965 over Kashmir.

Still, though Mrs. Gandhi called the situation grave, she indicated no change as yet in her plans to leave on a three-week foreign tour starting next Sunday, during which she is scheduled to visit six Western capitals including London and Washington.

The Prime Minister was critical of United States' policy on the East Pakistan crisis, saying that the Americans "do not take a very long-range view".

"Propping up the Pakistani military regime in Bangla Desh", she said, "is not necessarily strengthening Pakistan in any way".

Mrs. Gandhi was referring to the Nixon Administration's continuation of some arms shipments to Pakistan, and its unwillingness to criticise the Pakistani Government publicly.

"We have the greatest friendship for America and the American people", she said, "but one of the reasons (for deteriorating relations) so far as the Indian public is concerned, is this idea that the United States has of always balancing India and Pakistan".

On American arms for Pakistan, she said, "I do not know what the quantum is now, but in the past they have been supplied to Pakistan in large quantities. They have been used only against India, not at all against communism or any other of the things that had been said to us and which we had pointed out then were most unlikely".

"In this matter", she continued, "we certainly have had a far more understanding approach from the Soviet Union than we have from the United States".

Mrs. Gandhi talked at some length about differences between American and Russian relations with India.

"You see", she said, "the United States seems to have a thing about the Soviet Union which seems very strange to us. We do not support the Soviet Union any more than we support America—or we support both equally, whichever way you like to look at it, negatively or positively.

"The point is that the Soviet Union supports us in basic things for which we have stood and for which we have fought earlier on. And it is on these issues that we have been with them at the United Nations. Now, earlier on, you said something about American help. We are very grateful to the United States and

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they have helped us enormously in a number of ways. But at a time when we wanted to develop the state sector, they did not help the state sector, but the Soviet Union did".

"We certainly get on far better with Americans as individuals", she added later, "than, say, we would with Russians or anybody else. Language is partly the cause. But I personally greatly admire the American quest for technological and scientific advance".

Excerpts from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Press Conference in New Delhi October 19, 1971

Q.—Pakistan has usually been saying all the time that while they would like foreign agencies like the U.N. to be involved in the solution of this problem, and specially the refugees, we have been refusing it. What is your reaction?

A.—First of all, there is a very great difference as to what is happening on that side of the border, that is, in Bangla Desh, and our side of the border. We already have ten representatives of the U.N. High Commissioner for relief. The border and all the refugee camps are perfectly open for the Press people, for the Members of Parliaments who have come from many different countries ranging from Japan on the one side through Europe on to Canada, the U.S.A., Latin America, New Zealand, and the Middle East. All these people have visited, and are visiting the camps and the border. Therefore, obviously there is nothing that we want to hide or we can hide in the sort of society which we have in India.

Therefore, it is a valid question, why do we object to the United Nations formally sending observers? Well, because we see no need for them. What is the purpose of their coming here? It is said that they will come and see why the refugees are not returning. Now, it seems to me a rather ridiculous question when every day 35,000, 40,000, 42,000 are coming. This is the reason why they are not returning. Quite honesty, if you put yourself in a situation where you have escaped to avoid atrocity, to save your life, and sought shelter and are living in the most difficult condition, not at all in comfort of any kind, well, you can only go back if you are convinced that the situation has changed. But when more people are coming with the same sort of atrocity stories, you cannot possibly go back.

So, the first thing for the United Nations, if it wants to do anything, is to see that conditions are created within Bangla Desh which will guarantee the return of the refugees in safety and dignity. Then is the next step, when they could approach us and say: Look, we have done this, will you allow us to come and persuade your refugees! At that stage certainly the matter can be considered.

Q.—When are you going to grant *de jure* recognition to Bangla Desh?

A.—I do not know....When I think the time is ripe for it.

Q.—There is a great deal of fear in the West, and possibly in India, with armies on both sides, of an accidental war starting. Is there any safeguard to prevent an accident like this happening?

A.—In answer to a previous question, I have already said that we certainly do not want to provoke a war or do anything because of which a war situation may develop, but this is not a one-sided matter. As somebody has said, you cannot shake hands with a clenched fist.

Q.—Would it help to defuse the present confrontation with Pakistan, if any third country like Yugoslavia tries to mediate?

A.—On what subject will any country mediate? This is what I have not been able to understand. There is a liberation struggle in Bangla Desh. What is the

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point of mediating with us? That problem has to be solved there. We are only concerned because of the struggle, because of the atrocities. 13 per cent of the population of Bangla Desh is now on Indian soil.

Q.—President Yahya Khan is reported to have offered a mutual withdrawal of troops from the border. Would you be prepared to accept that? Or is the position, as the Defence Minister was quoted as saying the other day, that Indian troops will not pull back from the border unless the Bangla Desh problem is settled?

A.—It seems very simple and plausible to say that Pakistan troops will withdraw. But the situation has not begun a week ago; it has been an escalating situation, and the Pakistani hate-India campaign, their call for a war of *jehad* on the basis of religion—all these things have to be considered. You just cannot ignore them and say: we will remove troops. Furthermore, Pakistan's line of withdrawal to their bases is very close to the borders whereas our bases are very far. So all these things have to be taken into consideration.

Q.—Is there anything that the great powers could do, the Soviet Union, the United States, to help soften the tension between this country and Pakistan?

A.—They can help to solve the problem in Bangla Desh.

Q.—What is the priority for your Government as far as the refugees are concerned? Is it to get more aid from the international community or is it to force Pakistan to create political conditions so that the refugees could return to their homeland?

A.—We have asked for aid only because this financial burden of looking after over nine million people is a tremendous one, but we are quite definite in our mind that these people are here on a temporary basis. We cannot allow them to settle in India. Therefore, the sooner they can go back, the better it is, and we think that the sooner they go back, the less chance there will be of any kind of conflagration.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Broadcast to the Nation
October 23, 1971

Tomorrow morning, I leave on a tour of some foreign countries. I want to tell you that, however far I might be, my thoughts will be with you here in India. One cannot leave with a light heart at such a moment. Our country is facing danger. Yet, after much thought, I decided to undertake the journey. The invitations were of long standing, and it seemed important in the present situation to meet leaders of other countries for an exchange of views and to put to them the reality of our situation.

The defence of our national interest, as indeed the solution of any problem, rests ultimately in our own hands. But the very gravity of the situation demands that we do not speak or act in anger or in haste. It is a time for alertness, not only of our defence forces, but of all our people. In the last few months, the world has witnessed the courage, dignity and self-restraint with which we have faced this challenge. I am sure that you will meet all future dangers in the same spirit. We need unity and discipline. I sincerely hope that political parties of all persuasions will stand with us.

Every section of the population, every home, is bearing hardship. All efforts must be made to conserve the nation's resources, and to raise more. Higher production is essential in agriculture and industry. Farmers and workers, managers and factory owners, should all bend their energy to this over-riding national duty.

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In any crisis, hoarding is an anti-national crime. A special responsibility rests upon businessmen not to increase prices even if there be opportunity of gain. We must work harder and save more. We must guard against all that weakens our will. Rumours which create doubt must be scotched, and incitement to communalism must be resisted.

Despite the burden imposed by the influx of refugees from Bangla Desh and the crisis on our borders, we are determined that our programmes to help the landless and the unemployed do not suffer. We are going ahead with the Plan. The Indian people are hardened to difficulties and will not be deterred from building a better and stronger country.

My confidence in the solidarity and the sense of responsibility of the Indian people enables me to go on this journey. Let us sink all differences of party and religion. Let us stand united and work together, devoting all our strength to one cause, the freedom and integrity of our nation.

Jai Hind !

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's speech at a U.N. Day function in New Delhi October 24, 1971

Following is a report on the speech:

Mr. Swaran Singh said it was essential that a political solution acceptable to the already elected representatives of the people of East Bengal is brought about to enable the refugees to go back to their homes and hearths.

"The international community must realise the urgency and gravity of the problem and the human suffering involved, and discharge a great responsibility devolved on it by acting in a concerted manner", he said.

Mr. Swaran Singh said Pakistan had been unsuccessfully trying to divert the attention of the world by aggressive posturing and a build-up of forces and tensions along India's borders to cover up its own responsibility for the tragic happenings in East Bengal.

"However, the basic issue in East Bengal, as we all know, is a political one", the Minister pointed out.

India, he said, was looking after the Bangla Desh refugees as a trust, on behalf of the international community, till safety and peace were restored in East Bengal, so that they could go back to their own homeland with honour, in freedom and security.

The External Affairs Minister regretted that while the conscience of mankind as a whole had revolted against the genocide and repression by the Pakistani military regime in East Bengal, "the wheels of Government" had moved but slowly.

Mr. Swaran Singh observed that only a solution which was acceptable to the elected representatives of the people of East Bengal would create the conditions essential for the return of the refugees.

He accused Pakistan of having massed its troops across the Indian borders and indulging in provocative acts in order to cover up its ignominious record in East Bengal.

Mr. Swaran Singh, who covered a wide range of issues relating to foreign policy, also pleaded for universality of U.N. membership so that many countries, now outside its fold, could become part of the world fraternity.

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Mr. Swaran Singh said the achievements of the U.N. in the social and economic fields had indeed been remarkable. But he could not say the same about the political sphere.

While not minimising the contribution made by the U.N. in staving off major conflagrations, the External Affairs Minister pointed out that many major problems still awaited solution. He referred to the deliberate and persistent refusal of the minority governments in many African countries to allow the voice of the majority to prevail.

Extracts from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Brussels

October 25, 1971

....A new crisis which has arisen surpasses in its magnitude all the earlier crisis which have confronted us. Over nine million people of East Bengal—practically equal to the population of Belgium—have been terrorised and persecuted by the military rulers of Pakistan, and have been pushed inside our territory, jeopardising our normal life and our plans for the future. Should the world not take note of this new kind of aggression? This is not a civil war in the conventional sense. It is a genocidal pogrom of civilians merely because they voted democratically. It is cynical use of helpless human beings as a weapon against a neighbour nation. We in India have shown the greatest self-restraint, but there is no doubt that our stability and security are gravely threatened. Indeed, we feel the threat is to the peace of the entire region. The basic cause of this crisis must be remedied. A political solution must be found to this problem, and, to be effective, it must be acceptable to the elected representatives of the peoples of Bangla Desh. To hold elections for seats, which are not vacant, in the present conditions of repression and chaos, has no meaning or purpose. It is the responsibility of all those who are interested in peace to create conditions to stop the further influx of refugees and to enable those who are already in India to return to their homes in safety and dignity and without further delay....

Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram's interview on the West German Television—A.R.D.

October 26, 1971

Following is a report on the interview:

Q.—During the absence of the Prime Minister, how close is India to war?

A.—Our intentions have been always peaceful. We do not want war. This is why the Prime Minister decided to keep up her engagements in foreign countries. If war comes, the responsibility will be entirely Pakistan's.

Q.—Recently you said: "If war comes, it will be fought on Pakistani soil, and we will go straight to Lahore and stay there whatever the consequences. Don't you think that, with this remark, you put in doubt the defensive posture of your Prime Minister?

A.—Not at all. We are always defensive, but (being) defensive does not mean that if our country is attacked, we will fight only on the border or on my soil. Defence means that I will push the aggressors and, certainly, when I push them I will push them in their country, and I will push them to the point where they surrender. It does not mean aggression.

I have always said that we don't want war. In case we are attacked, certainly we will defend our country, but defence does not mean fighting just on the border but pushing the aggressor inside (his territory).

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Q.—How do you view the present build-up of troops on the border ?

A.—You know the origin of the whole dispute. I don't know how we can be held responsible for anything that is happening or that may happen...It (the crisis in East Bengal) would have been none of our business if he (Gen. Yahya Khan) had not pushed nearly 9.5 million of his citizens to India with a mischievous design to break the economy of India and to create social tensions here.

Apart from that, he threatened us with a total war in case the freedom-fighters of Bangla Desh succeeded in liberating certain areas of East Bengal.

Now, if the freedom-fighters liberate certain areas, why should we be punished? And, in order to follow up his declarations he sends his troops from cantonments to border areas. Now, any Defence Minister of any country, in order to safe-guard the security of his country and borders, will certainly take measures to ward off the threat.

Q.—How do you rate the combat strength of the Pakistanis *vis-a-vis* the strength of the army under your command?

A.—The combat strength of India is far, far superior to that of Pakistan.

Q.—In the event of war, how long do you think will it take—what is your assessment?

A.—It is very difficult to say (anything) about these matters. In the present age, any decisive war is very difficult: war continues and the powers of the world come and try for a cease-fire.

Q.—How do you assess the border situation?

A.—The troops of the two countries are concentrated on both sides of the border. Obviously, the border situation is grave, and I would not like to say much because the massive movement of Pakistani troops has created a situation in which we had no alternative but to move our troops also. When the troops are confronting each other across the border, the situation is serious and grave.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—October 27, 1971)

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview on the Austrian Radio
October 27, 1971

Q.—What expectations do you connect with your visit of Austria and your world tour generally?

A.—Only the expectation of understanding and friendship.

Q.—India and Pakistan are virtually on the threshold of war. What would happen if your visits in Austria and in the other foreign capitals are unsuccessful?

A.—Well, as I said that I have just come to gain a greater understanding of the European situation and to try and give an understanding to the leaders and the people of the countries I visit about the situation in India and in Asia. So, there is no question of success or non-success in this. I will just say that I have not come with any goal or end in view.

Q.—What must happen in your opinion to avoid an armed conflict on the soil of the Indian sub-continent?

A.—Well, political settlement in East Bengal which is acceptable to the people and to the elected representatives of East Bengal.

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Q.—Pakistan has accepted a proposal of the United Nations to station U.N. civil personnel on Indian and Pakistani soil to observe the repatriation of refugees. Why has not India done so?

A.—Firstly, we have got 10 people from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees already there in India visiting the camps and the border. Secondly, what are they going to supervise if they come to India? They have first to stop the further influx which is taking place at the rate of anything from 30,000 a day to 42,000 a day. There is no point in telling people to go back when everyday they see that 30,000 more people are coming with tales of atrocities, repression and so on. Therefore, the first task of anybody who wants to interest himself in this matter is to prevent the further influx of refugees into India. Then only you can consider the next step.

Q.—The British Sunday paper "*Observer*" has called you a dove with sharp claws. What will happen if the situation worsens in East Pakistan; there is a famine to expect? What will happen and what will the situation be, at what point of the situation will it be unbearable for India?

A.—The situation is very grave today because we feel that our stability and security are threatened. We do not believe in war as a solution of problems. We have done and we shall continue to do everything possible to prevent the conflict from escalating. But we have to guard our national interest and security.

Q.—About three months ago there was a treaty signed between India and the Soviet Union and one article of this treaty calls for immediate measures to be taken in case of an attack or a threat of attack. Does that mean that the traditional policy of neutrality of India has been abolished now?

A.—We never had a policy of neutrality in the sense that you have it here in Austria. We had and we continue to have a policy of non-alignment, i.e., we believe that we should have freedom of judgment and action with regard to international affairs which we shall continue to judge on the merits of each particular case and in the interest of our country and what we consider to be world peace. I do not think that the treaty with the Soviet Union in any way impinges on this freedom of ours.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the State Banquet in Vienna October 27, 1971

Following are extracts from the speech :

....India's journey has not been easy, but step by difficult step we have gone ahead, belying the prophets of doom. Today, our other and not inconsiderable problems are overshadowed by events on our borders. In Austria, you have the experience of dealing with refugees. So, you can perhaps imagine the burden of looking after an influx which is of the size of Austria's own population. But the problem of refugees is an incidental one. It can be solved only by going into the reasons which have compelled these helpless millions to leave their homes, to seek inadequate shelter and live in the greatest discomfort in over-crowded camps on our territory. Many of them, even during the heavy rains of the monsoon, were forced to sit under trees for days. The Indian tradition has always been to offer shelter to the persecuted. However, we cannot accept this charge as a permanent one.

At this moment, our main concern is not merely looking after a large number of people but the very real threat to our security and stability which this holds, which these developments have imposed on us. The people of India value the sympathy and understanding which we have received from Austria and are grateful

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for the support which you have extended to us. It is our sincere wish that Austro-Indian friendship will grow steadily over the coming years. Whether in international affairs or in domestic affairs, there are bound to be problems. Our own experience has been that no sooner do we solve one problem than ten new ones come to take its place. But we think this is part of life and we think that solving each problem itself gives us the strength to face the others.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the Austrian Society for Foreign Policy and International Relations, Vienna

October 28, 1971

Following are extracts of the speech:

....All of you here are aware of the serious situation which has developed in the last seven months on our borders. Perhaps you know that the two parts of Pakistan are divided by a thousand miles of Indian territory. But that is no reason for the two parts not to get on. Why the situation arose was because the legitimate grievances of the people of East Bengal were not attended to in time. When the election took place, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who was the leader of the Awami Party, had a six-point programme. It included greater autonomy for East Bengal but it did not ask for independence or secession. They wanted to have better relations with India but not at the cost of Pakistan. All that they wanted was trade with India because the economy of East Pakistan has suffered greatly since this trade was stopped.

This programme was public and the election was fought on the basis of this programme and under the present regime. So one cannot say that anything underhanded or hidden was done. But when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won the elections with the biggest majority that any election has given a national leader, there seems to have been some rethinking on the part of the government.

One more thing I would like to point out. This is not a question of a minority wanting something from a majority. When you take the whole of Pakistan together, the people of East Bengal are in the majority. So, instead of democracy following its normal course, the period of negotiations saw the bringing over of more troops and the unleashing of a reign of terror such as has seldom been seen in the world. This is what has led to about 13 per cent of the entire population of East Bengal leaving their homes and trying to take shelter in India. The size of the refugee population is about the size of your own country here. Among the victims are Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Buddhists. In the beginning the special victims of the persecution were scholars, authors and university men. We are told by people who have come from the other side that on the night of March 25, which was a Thursday, a special attack was made on Dacca University and over 300 people—students, faculty members and others—were killed.

Through the centuries India has offered refuge to the persecuted, but this time the problem is different in size and character. The tensions created in our country are political and social no less than economic, but you can imagine what the economic burden is of looking after such a vast number of people. The threat to our security and stability is also very real.

Our progress has sharpened our people's impatience. It is not true to say that the poor are poorer, because even the poor have advanced a bit. But it is true that they see their poverty with much sharper eyes. It is true that they are not prepared to wait any longer. We have taken the path of socialism because we feel there cannot be real democracy if there is a very great economic inequality. Even though the Constitution gives equal rights, if a very large part of the

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population is not able to benefit from what the Constitution gives them, then democracy cannot be complete. So if India cannot maintain its stability, I think it does threaten Asia and it does threaten world peace as well. Governmental and parliamentary leaders from many countries have shown understanding of the issues involved, but many others are acting, may I say, with somewhat lack of insight.

I am thankful for the understanding and sympahty which I have found in Austria. Many ordinary people, a woman who sells vegetables, children, different groups like this, have come to me to express their sympathy and even to give small donations. I am grateful for this sympathy, and appreciate the fact that people should extend a hand of friendship at this difficult time. This is the basis of peace in the world: when we can regard the trouble of others as our own and try to help.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

October 28, 1971

Following is an extract of the speech:

....We believe in and have strictly adhered to the principle of non-interference. But can this be one-sided? Today, there is interference in our affairs and the stability and progress of our country are gravely threatened. As a result of the tragic events in East Bengal, 9,000,000 people have poured into our territory, creating a situation which seems to surpass the convulsions of partition. The crisis in Pakistan is a deep one and the spectre which haunts that unhappy country cannot be exercised by the usual recourse to blaming India. Two questions arise: *first*, whether religion by itself can form the basis of a nation state, especially when the state machinery is impervious to the ordinary laws of political development and cultural aspirations, and *secondly*, whether some action other than that of the bayonet is not necessary to win loyalty. We in India are restrained and calm in the face of provocation but we are bound to protect the interests of our country....

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's address to the India League, London

October 31, 1971

Following are extracts from the speech:

....You all know that just before the elections, before the split in the Party even, India had gone through a very bad period of drought. It was a period when foreign newspapers started printing headlines such as "Will India Survive? Will Democracy Survive in India?" We in India are used to a great deal of misunderstanding and criticism. When we were fighting for freedom, the question raised was: "Can freedom be won with non-violence?" We stuck to our path and we proved it could be won by non-violence. Then the question was raised: "Can such a large country with so much illiteracy be democratic?" We proved in our five elections that democracy can work and that democracy has taken deep root in India. Democracy has been an educative process, because with every election we see a greater maturity amongst the Indian people. I can't say that everybody votes wisely, but if there are people who are misled by propaganda or who consider irrelevant factors in their choice, their number is certainly not larger than similar people in countries where there is much more education and much more affluence.

So this was the situation in India when we gathered together for our new Parliament. We came with high hopes and having raised the hopes of the entire

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people of India, we had hardly begun thinking of all the programmes that had to be initiated when, after a week, a very big burden fell on us and a very big event took place across our borders. It has disrupted our lives, but it is something very much more than that. I find that here in England and in other countries which I have visited, this border situation tends to be considered as a very limited problem, as a problem of refugees. I do not want to say that the refugee problem is a small one—9,000,000 people can never be small, no matter where they are—and certainly to have 9,000,000 extra people at a time when you can ill afford to look after your own people is not an easy task. But the problem of Bangla Desh is not merely the problem of the refugees in India. It is a far deeper problem and one which affects us in many ways. The refugees have highlighted the problem for us in India because they have posed not only a tremendous economic burden, they have created social problems, political problems and, above all, the question of the security, the stability and the integrity of India. We are equally concerned with the tragedy which is taking place outside of our country. Rarely has the world witnessed the sort of atrocities and barbarities which we hear described by the refugees who are daily pouring in.

At the time when I was working for the India League, our main concern was freedom for India, but we were no less concerned about what was happening in Europe, because that was the time when there was the Spanish Civil War, it was a time when Fascism and Nazism were gaining strength in Europe and the India League was rightly concerned with all these movements and all these troubles because we believed that if man's spirit is crushed anywhere that is a defeat for all of mankind.

Today, the problem of Bangla Desh is the same. It should be of concern to every human being who believes in freedom, who believes in basic human rights, who believes in democracy. Of course, there can be no democracy unless there are basic human rights. I would not like any of you to think that either I myself, or the Government of India, or even the people of India, are in any way against Pakistan or the people of Pakistan. Far from it. We have always wished them well because we believe it is in our interests that in our neighbouring country also there should be peace, stability and progress. We know that just as our major problem is the problem of poverty and disparities, this is also the problem of Pakistan. We are deeply concerned about the welfare of the people there. But we know also that peace and stability, prosperity and progress, can only come when you pay attention to the wants of all your people. In India also, we have areas which are backward, areas which have been neglected, but we are trying our very best to see that the neglect of ages is wiped out now. We know that it cannot be done by magic and neither do the people expect us to do this, but we are taking steps in every area to see that the legitimate grievances of the people should be removed and that the people themselves should be involved in planning and in working out their development programmes. This is what democracy has meant for us—not merely that people have a vote but that they should participate in all the programmes to make democracy work—and bring a better life to the people.

Just before we had our elections, there were elections all over Pakistan. We had no contact with any political party there, but we had heard from many people that there was a likelihood of the Awami League winning the elections. We had no idea that they would win with such a tremendous majority. I think it was perhaps the biggest majority that any free election has given. But, while in our country the result of the election was an automatic one, that a party won and the leader of the party became Prime Minister, across the border the event took a very different, a very tragic and grim turn. I am told that the leaders of Bangla Desh were on March 24 given the impression that something was coming

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out of the talks being held. There was a possibility of understanding. Later on, of course, it seemed that this type of negotiation was used to bring more troops across the seas, and when they were ready with the troops on March 25, the great massacre began. As is perhaps usual in all such conflicts, the brunt of it was borne by the intellectuals. One of the very first attacks was on the University and a large number, I believe over 300 people, were killed on that very first day in the University area—students, professors, etc.

To India came an avalanche or a flood of people such as, I think, the world has not known. India is used to refugees. It is not a new phenomenon for us. We have had people from many different countries over the centuries and it has been our tradition to open our doors to help them to find a new life. But you just cannot keep on doing this all the time. To have millions of people in a few weeks is more than even such a big country like India can manage. We do not have the place, we do not have the money, we do not have the materials. We welcome help from outside but, as I said, if giving help means that people are going to think only of the refugees and forget the main problem, then it will not help the refugees and it will not help India. Of course, it will not help Bangla Desh either, because we want the refugees to return, and we are fully aware that they cannot possibly return unless more refugees stop coming. Today, they number more than 9,000,000, but every single day we have 30,000 or 40,000 new refugees coming in. The stream has not ended by any means, and each group comes with new stories of horror which are hair-raising.

So, the first step is that conditions should be created within East Bengal so that more people do not want to leave their homes and their homeland. Then comes the second step of asking these people to go back. The question is whether this is possible in the conditions which exist today and, obviously, it is not possible, because otherwise they would have stopped. We are told in India that we should accept observers from the United Nations. It does not really make very much difference. Perhaps some of you are not aware that we already have ten of them. We have ten observers from the United Nations High Commission for Relief and they have been there since the very beginning. We have nothing to hide and the border, as well as the camps, are open to all the diplomats who are there in New Delhi, or the Consulates in Calcutta. They are open to all the foreign correspondents who visit us time and again. You who are living in England have seen the reports being published in the British newspapers and perhaps you know that similar reports are being published by the American newspapers, by many countries in Europe and other parts of the world. So the version that is coming out is not an Indian version. It is the version of eye-witnesses who have seen these things for themselves. As a matter of fact, most of our information comes from these people. We hardly have any way of having our own information except from the refugees and those people who come from there.

This is a very grave problem for us. It does not concern merely India—it concerns Asia and it concerns the world. Everybody today is busy telling us that we must show restraint. I do not think that any people or any Government could have shown greater restraint than we have in the face of such tremendous provocation and threat to our safety and to our stability. But where has the restraint taken us? With all our restraint we are not getting any nearer to a solution. On the contrary, the military confrontation, as the other confrontations which I mentioned, political, economic, social, administrative, are steadily getting worse.

People have asked me how long can India manage? Actually that date has long since been passed. I feel that I am sitting on the top of a volcano and I honestly do not know when it is going to erupt. So the question is not of how restrained we are today, but of what will happen across the border. We think

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this is the responsibility of the international community to see that a way out is found. Obviously, the best way, the most humane way, is to have a political settlement and that political settlement can only be with the elected leader of the people of Bangla Desh, and with the elected and accepted representatives of that country.

It seems very strange to us how the situation can be normalised by suddenly declaring that some elected people are no longer there when they are very much in the world. You suddenly say that you are going to have new elections and that new elections are going to solve the problem. They cannot possibly solve the problem. The elections were not considered illegal when they were held, the programme put before the people was well known to the Government and the elections were presided over by the same governmental authority. They had a six-point programme on which they fought the elections and which was supported by the vast majority of the people of both sides of Pakistan. Nobody objected to it. The time to raise an objection was before the elections were fought. They could have said, "well, we don't approve of this programme, we are not going to accept the six points and, therefore, if you want to fight the elections you will have to re-think". I do not know if it would have been proper, but certainly if any objection had to be raised, that was the time to raise it, not when the programme was accepted. The people thought it was accepted and they voted accordingly.

Today, India is faced with a very grave situation. Honestly, I cannot prophesy what will happen or how we can deal with it. I can only see that from day to day the situation is worsening. The crisis is becoming more acute. India is a country which has always stood against war. We have always believed that problems and disputes can be solved by negotiation and by discussions. But there is such a thing as national interest and we cannot allow our national interest, the interest of the people, of their security and their stability, to suffer. This is the situation. But, as I have said to my people in India, which I would like to repeat to all Indians here, the graver the situation becomes, the greater the necessity to be calm and collected and think things out with a cool head. Whatever happens, we must look not only at the near future but at the distant future. We in India will naturally take all those steps which are necessary to secure the sort of future which we have hoped for and worked for before Independence and after Independence.

I want only to say that living at this distance, people see only our faults, our shortcomings, our weaknesses, our quarrels. All these things do exists. We do not want to hide them. We do not hide them. But if you think this is the whole of India, you will be very sadly mistaken. We may have sixteen languages or we may have more languages, that is not important. Each one of those languages serves a population as large as any country in Europe. We do not want regimentation, we do not want uniformity. But the fact remains that under all these fissiparous tendencies, demands, divisions, agitations which are constantly taking place, there is a very strong base of Indian unity. There is also a strong base of self-confidence. Time and again we were told that we could not do something and we have shown that we could do it and we did do it. I spoke to you about our freedom struggle. I spoke to you about democracy. I see that there is a question in 'India Weekly' that India will never be able to feed its growing population. Well, this year, 1971, we are fully self-sufficient in food, even-though we have paid attention only to wheat and rice. We still have to do a lot of research, we still have to increase production in all kinds of other fields. We were told that planning would not work, and planning certainly has its ups and downs, but it has given us direction. In the last elections, the confidence of the people has given a new coherence and a new strength to the country. Today,

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it is true that we are facing tremendous problems, tremendous burdens, but do not think that we are disheartened, do not think that we are discouraged. We are full of courage, full of self-confidence, and we know that we have the endurance to bear the burden however heavy. We welcome help, we want your support and your sympathy, but we are not dependent on anybody's help or sympathy.

There is another question asked about why we turn to Russians and not to Americans. Quite honestly, we have not turned to anybody. If help is offered, we are not going to say we do not want it. We shall take it from wherever it is offered provided that it is in our national interest. The over-riding consideration is what is in the national interest. Economic progress and growth, the lessening of poverty and disparity, are important. But, there is something which is more important, and that is our freedom. We are taking only what help does not cast any shadow on our freedom. We have always believed in being friends with countries and we shall continue to believe in that and work for it, but, as I said, the over-riding consideration must be what is in our national interest, and we shall always work for that....

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's reply to President Nixon's welcome speech in Washington November 4, 1971

It is a pleasure to be in Washington and to meet you and Mrs. Nixon once again. I am grateful for your invitation which had made this visit possible.

It has not been easy to get away at a time when India is beleaguered. To the natural calamities of drought, flood and cyclone has been added a man-made tragedy of vast proportions. I am haunted by the tormented faces in our over-crowded refugee camps reflecting the grim events which have compelled the exodus of these millions from East Bengal.

I have come here looking for a deeper understanding of the situation in our part of the world, in search of some wise impulse which, as history tells us, has sometimes worked to save humanity from despair.

I look forward to our discussions. I have no doubt that they will lead to strengthening of friendship and understanding between our two nations and to a lighting of our path as we work together for peace in Asia and the world.

We share a community of ideals and there is no real conflict of interests between us. Our people value your friendship. They have great admiration for the spirit of quest of the American people for their desire to reach beyond the immediate. I bring the greetings of India to you and to the warm-hearted people of the United States.

And, I fully and sincerely reciprocate the desire which you expressed that the sun may always shine on our friendship and that we may always work for those ideals which our people and countries have cherished through these years.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at banquet by President Nixon in Washington November 4, 1971

This room is indeed full of history, as indeed is this house in which we are today. This house has been the home of many great men whose ideas and actions have influenced events far beyond the boundaries of the United States.

I remember how thrilled I felt as a small girl, when my father first introduced me to the stirring words of Jefferson and Lincoln. Much has happened in the

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world since those days. There have been many ups and many downs. But certain ideas and certain ideals have held people together.

I think, although there is so much difference between your country and mine, although many miles of land and ocean separate us, there is also much in common between our two peoples. We are both large societies, composed of diverse ethnic elements, proud of our regional diversity, resentful of imposed uniformity. Our peoples are friendly and generous, wanting to be liked, quick to give expression to their feelings, and equally ready to forgive.

Naturally, there have been differences of assessment and emphasis. And since our people and our legislatures live by speaking out, there have been moments of awkward candour. But let us also remember that in both our societies the most forthright critics are within ourselves.

I think that a functioning democracy converts this weakness into strength. During our Fifth General Election last March, to which you referred so generously, Mr. President, our people demonstrated the ability of the democratic process to find answers to national problems. They gave the nation a clear and coherent sense of direction, of renewed self-confidence in and a fresh impetus to our long struggle against poverty.

The instability of the 1960's which had enervated our growth was overcome. Our plans have benefited by the long-range capital assistance and food aid so generously given by your country. Foreign aid is important because of its direct economic contribution and also as a symbol of the involvement of advanced nations, and more specially of the United States, in the developing world. But the effort in the progress of our country is overwhelmingly and increasingly that of the labour and sacrifice of our own people.

Today, we are self-sufficient in foodgrains. Net foreign credits constitute a small but useful part of our resources. All this was achieved not easily. And though we have smiled through these years, you know, Mr. President, how very difficult they were for India.

There was the drought during which many people thought we just would not survive. But it was that very time that we utilised to introduce our new agricultural strategy which today has made us self-sufficient.

You spoke of our elections. They were not easily won. I was telling Mrs. Nixon just now that we had a very short time at our disposal because we decided to hold the elections a year and a quarter earlier than we need have, because we were just tired of people telling us: "You are the minority government. You have no right to do this and you have no right to do that". We said, "all right, let's have elections". In 43 days I travelled 36,000 miles. I had 375 meetings, all with over 100,000 people, some with 200,000 or 250,000. This was one person's effort, but it also naturally needed the efforts of hundreds of thousands of other people. Why we won the election was not merely because of our effort, but because we were able to convince the people who are in a majority, the poor people, the smaller business men, the smaller farmers, those who had been under-privileged, the minorities, and, above all, the young people of all classes, that we had something to offer which others did not.

So, the campaign became not a campaign of a political party, but a campaign of the people. I don't know what happens in the United States, but not all of our workers were equally enthusiastic about all our candidates. (President Nixon: It is the same.) In some places naturally we thought we had the best candidate. In some places we sometimes didn't, for various reasons. But there were many places where we thought we would not win because there was not co-operation

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between the candidate and those who were supposed to make him win. But this is where the people came to the fore and said, "if this is a candidate belonging to Mrs. Gandhi's party, we will make him win, whether the party wants him or not, or anybody else wants him or not". This is how we won these elections.

We had met in the new Parliament for only a week, and like all politicians we were still busy patting each other on the back and congratulating one another, when suddenly our entire world changed. What seemed to be a part of sunlight, just waiting for us to go ahead and solve the problems which remained, was covered with a very large dark shadow. And without warning, a major crisis erupted across our frontiers and well nigh engulfed us, seriously threatening our hard-earned stability.

What has happened is now part of contemporary history. I shall not dwell on it, but may I recall the sheer magnitude of the problem? Can you think of the entire population of Michigan State suddenly converging on to New York State? Imagine the strain on space, on the administration, on services such as health and communications, on resources such as food and money, and this not in conditions of affluence, but in a country already batling with problems of poverty and population.

We are paying the price of our traditions of an open society. Of all peoples, surely those of the United States should understand this. Has not your own society been built of people who have fled from social and economic injustices? Have not your doors always been open?

Every nation must bear its own cross. Our people have faced this challenge with exemplary unity, self-reliance, and self-restraint. But from neighbours far and near, and from others who value and uphold democratic principles, we expect understanding and, may I add, a certain measure of support.

None of our friends, and especially not those who share common ideals, would expect us to abandon our long cherished democratic principles. If today we are beset with economic uncertainty and faced with the grave threat to our stability and security, it is because our democratic code and geographic proximity have made us the inevitable refuge of millions of helpless victims of medieval tyranny.

The circumstances did not allow an analysis of the consequences to our own economy and our society. Our administration, already strained to meet the rising demands of our vast population, is stretched to the limit in looking after nine million refugees, all citizens of another country. Food stocks built against drought are being used up. Limited resources scraped together for sorely needed development works are being depleted.

The occasion is too serious for the scoring of propaganda points. Our people cannot understand how it is that we who are the victims, we who are bearing the brunt and have restrained ourselves with such fortitude, should be equated with those whose actions have caused the tragedy.

There is no foretelling how far-reaching will be its consequences. It is for the international community to try to remove the root cause of the trouble. India will not be found wanting in generous responses.

In the meantime, I cannot avoid the responsibility or my duty to safeguard the future of my people.

Mr. President, we are with you in your faith in freedom and democracy. The size of my country, and the complex situations which confront us have led to many prophesies of despair. But India, like the United States, has the great

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resilience which is born of a free society, and out of the very crisis emerge solutions and new resources of energy.

Mr. President, you have evoked admiration all over the world for the imaginative manner in which you have taken bold decisions. I am sure that having a First Lady of such grace and charm is a source of strength to you.

This morning, you spoke of sunshine, and indeed it was a very beautiful day. I don't know whether you were responsible for it or whether I was, because, in India, I do have the reputation of bringing the weather the people want. Usually, of course, it is rain, it is not sunshine at all, because our crops need rain, and even in the driest of the drought days, when I went somewhere it always rained, not enough to make any difference to anybody, but just two or three drops to say, "well, I was there". So, perhaps, I had something to do with the sunshine!

But while that sunshine naturally added to the beauty of your very lovely garden and house and the view we have from here, you referred to another sunshine, a deeper kind, which you hoped would light our friendship and give it a greater meaning and purpose.

So, when you mentioned sunlight, something rang a bell in my mind, but I could not think of the words immediately. They did come back to me later on. In one of our Vedas, which is the earliest existing literature in the world, I found this little quotation: "As the lotus gets its radiance with the rise of the sun, in the same way the thoughts of friends are auspicious and bring prosperity".

So let us hope the words of friends which have been spoken in this room will bring prosperity. Of course, your country is already very prosperous, but we hope that this prosperity will be shared with those who have not got it, and that you will also move to another kind of prosperity, shall I say, receptivity which enables people to enjoy prosperity. You have the material prosperity. We find in many countries there is prosperity, but somehow people are not enjoying it. They are looking for something else, but they don't know what they are looking for.

I sincerely share that wish, not only as a person, but on behalf of the Government and, indeed, the entire people of India, who have very great admiration and friendship for the people of the United States.

I have said how much our people were inspired during our freedom struggle by the words of great Americans, and afterwards also by the many deeds of your scientists and others to add to the world's knowledge and progress.

In India, although many of us think forward into the future, when we want something to say, we invariably look back into the past. There is always some word or sentence written thousands of years ago that could very well have been written today. There are some timeless parts of our history (as I am sure you have in America) and some great ideals, which we would like to keep no matter what other progress there is, what other advances mankind make.

So, it is important to have things, but just as important to know how to enjoy them, and how, through them, to share the enjoyment with others.

I would like to thank you once again for your invitation which has made my visit possible and given me the opportunity of having very useful and interesting talks with you, Mr. President, and tomorrow, I hope to have with some others, and of being present at this very gracious function in this lovely room with so many distinguished people.

May I ask you all to join in a toast to the health of the President and the gracious First Lady, the future of the great people of the United States, and to friendship between our two countries?

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Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the National Press Club, Washington November 5, 1971

I am delighted to be here once again with you all. I have met several of you in the meantime in India or in other parts of the globe. You have been given some description of my day. But perhaps all of you, who are acquainted with the life of anybody who is in politics, know that actually no two days are ever the same. And, as much as one would like to meditate and do various other such necessary and agreeable things, more often than not this remains in the realm of desire, rather than practice.

I find my relaxation and recreation when I am with people, and especially when I am with interesting people, such as in this hall today.

Our time is limited, so I am not going to make a long speech. I am just going to mention a few points which may help you to formulate your questions. And, of course, anything that you are interested in will crop up in the questions you ask.

I was here just five years ago and I spoke to you then of what we have been trying to do in India. Much has happened in that time, not only in India but in all parts of the world. But naturally, just now I am more concerned with my own country.

Doubts were expressed then in 1966, in my own country and by the world Press, including the Press in the United States, about our unity, our democracy and even our ability to survive. Well, all I can say is here I am again. But, we have gone through a period of darkness and difficulty, which even for a people accustomed to hardship has been exceptionally severe. We are now self-sufficient in wheat and rice and other cereals, which are the staple diet of our people. With increasing expansion in irrigation facilities and fertiliser output, major breakthroughs are expected in other farm products as well. Our family planning programmes have had some impact. The census held this last March showed that our population was fourteen million less than had been estimated.

Political changes in our party have taken place peacefully, giving greater coherence and sense of direction to our national life. Our confidence in our people was justified in our general election. On an average, sixty per cent of the people voted, not only in the cities but in the remote areas of the interior and in the mountains. The people gave me and my party a good majority. But what was special about the elections was the enthusiasm with which the people, and especially the young people, made it their own campaign.

The elections aroused new hope in our people and generated new energy and purpose in us. But today, your thoughts and mine are preoccupied with the crisis of Bangla Desh, that is, East Bengal. There, too, elections were held. The fact that even under a military regime the people of East Bengal so overwhelmingly voted for the Awami League showed their deep desire for democratic rights. The military rulers used the period of negotiations to amass troops. And on the very day, when the Awami League thought that settlement was to be reached, a reign of terror—such as history has rarely witnessed—was unleashed.

I have not hesitated sometimes to criticise the Press, of course, in self-defence. But on this occasion, I should like to express appreciation of the manner in which the Press correspondents of many countries have tried to arouse the conscience of the world. They have shown courage and perseverance in lifting the veil around East Bengal and revealing the truth of the grim tragedy being enacted there. Their words have been honest and direct, but the photographs have outdone them in conveying the very essence of sorrow and misery.

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What is taking place there is not a civil war in the ordinary sense of the word; it is a genocidal punishment of civilians for having voted democratically. It is a strange and cynical way of getting rid of one's opponents and of deliberately using helpless millions as a weapon against a neighbour nation. The number of the refugees is equal to the population of some of the countries of Europe, such as Austria and Belgium, where I was only recently.

We feel that this is a new kind of aggression. It certainly casts an unconscionable economic burden on us and has created political and social tensions endangering our security. This is not a purely internal matter of one country, because the overflow of the political, economic and security consequences are affecting another country, that is, India. This is not an international dispute, certainly not an Indo-Pakistani dispute, for the traditional international instruments to be invoked.

We are told that the confrontation of troops is a threat to peace. Is there no threat to peace when a whole people are massacred? Will the world be concerned only if people die because of war between two countries and not if hundreds of thousands are butchered and expelled by a military regime waging war against the people?

We cannot draw upon precedents to deal with this unprecedented variety of aggression. We have to devise new patterns of response. It is in order to impress on world leaders the nature of the crisis and the means of resolving it that I wrote to heads of governments several months ago and sent some of my colleagues to meet them. We informed them that the only way out of the mess which the military rulers of Pakistan have made for themselves is to have a political settlement with the elected representatives of East Bengal, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, if he is alive, and his colleagues who embody the Will of the people.

Had the world realised it then, much of this mounting misery and the migration of many more millions could have been avoided. The chances of such a settlement have grown more slender with each new day of neglect. But there might still be time if world leaders appreciated the reality of the situation.

In the various capitals I have visited on this tour, I have been asked what solution India would like. The question is not what we would like, or what one or other of the big powers would like, but what the people of East Bengal will accept and what solution would be a lasting one.

I should like to plead with the world not to press me for a solution which leaves out the people of East Bengal. It is an illusion to think that the fate of a country can be decided without reference to its people. Once again, we see the old habit of underestimating the power of nationalism in Asia and of the demand of the people of Asia to make their own choice. Those who subscribe to the belief that democratically reached decisions are the most viable should recognise that the process of democracy admits no geographical disqualification. If democracy is good for you, it is good for us in India, and it is good for the people of East Bengal.

The suppression of democracy is the original cause of all the trouble in Pakistan. The nations of the world should make up their minds who is more important to them, one man and his machine or a whole nation.

I am asked what initiatives India will take. We have taken the biggest possible initiative in remaining so self-restrained and in keeping in check the anger within our country. We have endeavoured strenuously to see that this does not become an Indo-Pakistan issue. Any direct talks between the two countries would immediately be converted into such a dispute and make the solution more difficult.

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Pakistan has been trying to create conditions in which the world would think that Pakistan is threatened by a more powerful neighbour. As I have said, the threat to Pakistan has come from its own rulers, not from us. When the regime there found out that its calculations will not succeed, it moved its troops to our western frontier, knowing full well that we would be forced to follow suit.

Pakistan's pleas for observers from the United Nations, for bilateral talks with India, and for mutual withdrawal of troops, seemed very plausible at first sight. But these are only methods to divert the attention of the world from the root of the problem to what are merely by-products. We cannot be side-tracked. We cannot have a dialogue with Pakistan on the future of East Bengal, because we have no right to speak for the people of East Bengal. Only Sheikh Mujib or the elected and accepted representatives of East Bengal have that right.

I have merely touched on certain points and on what I thought would interest you the most. I should like to leave the time now for questions. But I want to add only one thing, because the President of your Club said that I had come here to ask for aid. I have not asked for any aid, neither in this country nor in any of the other countries which I have visited. I believe that it is not the task of any one country to say to another what they should do even if it is a question of helping. It is my duty to put the situation in my country and its neighbourhood, to give my assessment of the situation to the leaders of the countries I visit. It is for them, then, with their own assessment and what they hear from me, to make up their mind what they think about this and what they should do about it.

My intention in coming here was, of course, primarily in response to President Nixon's invitation, which was extended to me about a year ago, long before these events took place, but also because I believe that in our fast changing world it is important for heads of governments to keep in touch with leaders of other nations to find out their thinking and to be better educated about this changing world.

Following are some of the questions by the press, and answers given by the Prime Minister, during the function:

Question: Madame Gandhi, could you give us some description of the subjects covered in your talks with President Nixon? And what do you think the talks accomplished, if anything?

Prime Minister: This is the sort of question that I thought I would only make on the fifteenth of November when our Parliament meets and which one has to circle around a bit. Because you could not have useful talks with heads of nations if you were immediately to divulge exactly what was talked about.

I think the talks have been useful. They have been very wide ranging, practically all over the world: Europe, Asia; bilateral matters, international matters. And what they have achieved is what I said in my remarks: I think the President knows now what we are thinking in India, and I have a better appreciation of what the American Government thinks about all these matters. I don't think I can go into greater details on this occasion.

Question: May be you won't answer this, but let me ask. Initial reports suggested there was firm disagreement between you and President Nixon over the ways of reaching a political solution with Pakistan. Are these reports correct? And would you elaborate?

Prime Minister: No, this report is not correct. As I said, that it is for the U.S. Government and the President to see what they can do in the matter. I was certainly impressed by the President's sincere desire to try and help in this

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very difficult situation. I think this report was largely based on the fact that we met for longer than was expected or scheduled. But that is only because we had so much to talk about. And that is why the talks overflowed to this morning also.

However close any two countries are, each country must have its own point of view, because that point of view is influenced by the geopolitical situation of the country, by the historic background, and many other experiences which can never be duplicated in two countries. So, although I would say that we have a similarity of approach with the United States, we could never have an absolute identical approach either with the United States or, for that matter, with any other country.

And in this, of course, we could only put to the President and his colleagues our assessment of the situation on our borders, its likely impact on India. And we do think that peace in India, stability in India, is of utmost importance, not to us only, but to Asia and, I think, the world.

Question: Did you expect President Nixon to speak up, to stand up and be counted when democracy was suppressed in East Bengal? As a result of your talks here, do you expect a change in American policy?

Prime Minister: Well, I don't think it would be fair for me to tell President Nixon what he should do. This is for him to judge, keeping very many aspects in view.

Now, you see, to say whether there would be a change in American policy—as I said, I think that the President is trying to find a way. But the whole thing has got so entangled that it isn't easy for anybody to find a way.

Question: Madame Gandhi, why does India not agree to the proposal of Yahya Khan for the withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani troops from the frontier?

Prime Minister: I have just touched on this point in my earlier remarks. When the refugees first started coming into India, we drew the attention of the United Nations to this fact. And at that time we were told that this was an internal problem and nothing could be done, even though we had said that the repercussions would be far-reaching. After that, it was Pakistan who brought its troops right up on our western border. It was not India who moved then. The attention of the United Nations observers there was drawn to it, and they questioned this. And they were told by the Pakistanis that they were merely—what is the word?—training or doing exercises, military exercises.

Obviously, this was not a very convincing reply. But, presumably, it was accepted as the truth. But we couldn't accept it as the truth. And we waited a week or so until we were convinced that our security might be in danger. You may all of you remember that we have had three aggressions on our soil, one from China and two from Pakistan. And also our lines of communication with all these border areas are not too good. It was my duty as head of the government to see that we should not be found once again unprepared. And that is why we moved our troops up also.

By speaking about withdrawal of troops, it is again a question of diverting the world focus from the problem of East Bengal, which is the main problem. Even if troops are withdrawn—we don't really trust this—the question is of how far they are withdrawn. There is also the question of the irregular troops. In 1965 conflict, we had the experience of thousands of infiltrators being led into

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Kashmir in an effort to weaken the country from inside, hoping that this would give support to the later aggression by the Pakistani Army. That didn't happen, because although the infiltrators came in, our people—we din't have any army there—the ordinary people, the farmers, the nomadic tribes who look after their goats and their cattle, these people stood up to the infiltrators and helped us to control the situation.

So, there isn't only one type of confrontation. And in this particular situation, the major question is what is happening in East Bengal. And I don't think you can separate what is happening on the west from this basic question.

Question: A pair of questions, Madame Gandhi. Is India willing to accept the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General for defusing the dangerous India-Pakistan tension? Also, even though India is not to blame, why can't you allow U.N. observers in your area if it would bring peace to South Asia?

Prime Minister: To take the second question first. I would say that we do have United Nations observers. There are some on the western front for many years, and there are ten representatives of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in the East. So, it's not as if there are no observers or no foreigners.

Also, ours is a very free and open society. And Ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of the Press, radio, television from many countries, parliamentary delegations from Canada, the United Kingdom, countries of Europe, Scandinavia, Latin America, Japan, New Zealand: all these people have been and are going to the border, as well as to the camps.

So, there is no question of our hiding anything or preventing anybody from going. But the question is, as this person has said, if it would bring peace to South Asia. Now, we don't see how can it bring peace to South Asia. Something is happening in East Bengal. People are still being killed. Refugees numbering thousands are still coming in every single day. Now, if you want the refugees who are already in these very uncomfortable, overcrowded camps to go back, the first question that they will ask is, is it safe? And if it is safe, why are more people coming? So, this is a question that you have to be able to answer.

But if the Secretary-General, or whoever is taking an interest, is able to ensure that this stream, which is still pouring in, can be stopped, then as the next step, he could say, "now we will consolidate that position and create conditions in which the rest can go back".

Question: In bringing the world's attention to the present crisis, why did you not schedule a visit to the United Nations?

Prime Minister: Well, I didn't think it would serve much useful purpose.

Question: Some observers say that the new Indian-Soviet treaty definitely takes India out of the camp of the neutrals. Would you comment?

Prime Minister: India has never been in the camp of the neutrals, because while in America you have used the word "neutralism", in India we have never used that word. Non-alignment does not mean being neutral or unconcerned, or ignoring what is happening in the world. It merely means that we do not belong to a military bloc, and that we reserve the right to judge each international issue on its own merits, not because the U.S. is supporting it or the U.S.S.R., or anybody else. We like to see these things from our own point of view and in the light of our own national interests and also, of course, of world peace.

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So far as the Indo-Soviet treaty is concerned, it does not affect our position of being a non-aligned country. So, we are not allowing military bases to any country. And while, under the treaty, we shall consult with the Soviet Union should any dangerous situation arise, it is entirely a matter for India to decide by herself what decision we take, what steps we take.

Question: In assisting elements in East Pakistan to achieve independence, are not the Indians playing into the hands of the Soviet Union, which has sought to obtain an outlet on the Indian Ocean?

Prime Minister: I don't really see how the Soviet Union gets an outlet in the Indian Ocean by anything happening in East Bengal. I don't think this makes any difference.

The question is now whether India is assisting elements or not. I think, all that India is doing is to make a very realistic assessment of an existing situation. What can be a lasting solution? What solution or what agreement will the people of East Bengal settle for? That is the question. Our assessment is that the bitterness and the hatred have grown so much in the last months that it will be very difficult to have any solution which comes short of their aspirations.

Now, this is the reality of the situation. It is not whether we like it or we want it, as I said in my earlier remarks....

Question: Does the fact that you see no useful purpose in visiting the U.N. reflect an assessment of the significance and strength of the United Nations ?

Prime Minister: Well, the United Nations has its weaknesses. But we have always supported it, because we feel it is essential to have such a forum. When there was a League of Nations, everybody felt that it was not doing what it should do, and so it was done away with. But you had then to have something else and it came up under the name of the United Nations. If we now get rid of the United Nations, I am sure we shall have another body which will be practically identical under a new name.

So, it is important to have some such body. But we all know that it does suffer from certain weaknesses. It is not always able to assert itself. And, quite often, national policies play a part within the United Nations, instead of being able to lift it above to higher plane.

Question: When Australian Prime Minister McMahon was in the Press Club the other day, he said there must be no war between Pakistan and India. He said he would tell you this. Did he talk to you, and what was said?

Prime Minister: I did meet the Australian Prime Minister, but I don't remember his using these words. Naturally he is concerned, just as President Nixon is concerned and the Russian leaders and all of us are concerned, that war is not a good thing, and that war creates many new problems and entails a lot of suffering for all the people. As President Nixon has said, and others have said, in today's world there is no such thing as complete victory.

So, we fully appreciate this. I myself am fully in agreement with this. But, it is a question of the freedom, the security and the stability of our country. Those must be saved at all costs.

We are trying everything possible for this problem to be solved in a way other than war. We will not stop trying to look for some solution. Had notice been taken of this developing situation earlier, I am sure it could have been solved. But now, many other elements have come in. First, I would like to

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take this opportunity to say that India has no quarrel either with Pakistan or the people of Pakistan. But we feel that because of one person's mistakes Pakistan is suffering. And, if we try just to bail that one person out, it will not be at the cost of India; it will be at the cost of Pakistan itself....

Question: If Pakistan were to succeed in ousting its remaining Hindus, what would happen to the sixty million Moslems in India?

Prime Minister: I trust and hope that they will be perfectly safe. Although we do have people who have some very wrong ideas, and we have had riots, which we feel a cause for great shame, the Government has been very firm on this matter. And I think that today all Indians, even those parties who do not normally support us in this, are supporting us in ensuring that peace is maintained in India and our minorities feel that they enjoy the rights and privileges which are theirs under our Constitution.

I said something about our not being against Pakistan. The Foreign Secretary has very rightly drawn my attention that I should make it clear that India has no designs on any territory of Pakistan. And I will add: or on any part of East Bengal. We certainly don't want to provoke a war with Pakistan.

Question: What is your reaction to the defeat of the U.S. foreign aid bill?

Prime Minister: I think this is an internal matter which affects many countries.... (Laughter). I can't prophesy the future. So I don't really know what is going to happen to this. So far as India is concerned, we have welcomed help, and the help which we have received from this country has enabled us to do many things which we could not otherwise have done. But little by little, we are becoming self-reliant and able to stand on our own feet.

And the real burden of development has been increasingly and overwhelmingly our own, built on the endeavour and the sacrifice of the people of India. Also, today, the foreign aid we get largely goes to repay what we got before. So, it does not really help us to do very much more.

Question: What impact will the improvement of United States relations with China have on India and on other Asian countries?

Prime Minister: It should have a good impact. Any relationship, if it is not against anybody else, increases the area of peace. And that is why we have welcomed this move. And we sincerely hope that one by one the various areas of tension in the world will be reduced....

Question: Is your recent treaty with the Soviet Union completely compatible with the policy of non-alignment, such as was promoted by your father, Prime Minister Nehru?

Prime Minister: We think it is. And a few people who have commented on it—President Tito when he was in India, just before he came here—he also told us that he fully realised that it did not impinge on our non-alignment. And I believe that our friend Chou En-lai has also said in an interview to some foreign correspondent that it did not prevent us—that he thought it was not a change in our position.

Question: Should East Pakistan be made an independent and sovereign nation?

Prime Minister: As I said, I think that this question should be put to the people of East Bengal.

Question: A follow-up question on the Indian Ocean. Both America and the Soviet Union are sending increasing naval forces into the area. How do you feel about this?

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Prime Minister: We can only hope that this will not increase the tensions there....

Question: If a solution cannot be imposed on the people of East Bengal by the big powers, what reason is there to believe that the big powers can impose a Mid-East solution on Egypt and Israel?

Prime Minister: At this moment, I think that the situation in Egypt and Israel and the Middle East is not very hopeful. But we know from experience that sometimes the tightest and most complicated of knots can be cut through. This is the only hope that some way can be found.

Earlier on, there was a question on the Soviet Treaty. Perhaps you know that one of the articles—I think it's Article IV—was especially put in which the Soviet Union has expressed its own appreciation and respect for India's policy of non-alignment. As regards the question of refugees going back and whether the presence of somebody from the U.N. would help this, perhaps the whole problem would come more alive for you if I give you a comparison. For instance, we had the problem of the Jews in Hitler's Germany. Suppose you had said, "let us send some observers there". How would it have helped the situation for the Jews there? Would it have enabled the Jews who were forced to come out because of the discrimination and the killing and the concentration camps—would it have eased the situation for them? It is a very similar situation today in East Bengal.

Question: Knowing East Bengal as you do, would you believe it to have the capability of nationhood, economically primarily, in the event they opted for independence and were granted it ?

Prime Minister: This is a question which we had to face when we were fighting for our own independence. We were constantly told that the British would very happily give us independence, but India was not ready for it. Until you try and do a thing yourself, nobody knows whether you are ready or not. And, I think we have certainly shown— and so have many other countries—that although once free they make mistakes, but they have to make those mistakes and learn through them and stand on their feet...

Question: In keeping with the importance you attach to a candid exchange of views between heads of states, wouldn't it be a good idea for you to meet with the President of Pakistan?

Prime Minister: I have said that if the President of Pakistan would like to meet me to discuss the problems which exist between India and Pakistan, I would be very glad to do so. But not to discuss the problems which are not basically concerned with India, that is, the future of the people of East Bengal. Now, that's not an Indian problem; it's a problem which concerns the people of East Bengal and their elected representatives.

But there is one more aspect. You can only meet a person if there is a two-way trust. I said in London that I may want to shake hands with everybody. But if there is a clenched fist, well, you just can't shake hands with it. And this is the situation. If you have been noticing the sort of remarks which the President of Pakistan is making, either about me personally or in general, it is not an attitude which shows that there could be a very friendly conversation. From my side, I am always friendly. I have never said a rude word about anybody. (Laughter and applause)...

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Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's address at the Columbia University, New York November 6, 1971

Following are excerpts from the speech:

....Had I come here just a few months ago and you had asked me what are the difficulties, I would have said: "There are no difficulties now. We are united. We are sure of our direction. And we are going ahead solving our problems one after another". But just a week after our new Parliament met and we were still, in the way of all democratic societies, congratulating one another on our victory, a terrific new burden fell on us. All of you are aware what it is. So I do not want to dwell on it. But I would like to point to some questions which arise and which we think are very basic questions. We are told today that because our forces and those of West Pakistan are facing each other on the borders, there is a threat of war. And this is true. But the real problem is not because these forces are face to face. The real problem is because of what has happened in East Bengal. If today there is peace in East Bengal it would not matter if our forces are face to face in the West or in the East. There would be no war. But there is this a very serious problem there. And how did it arise? It did not arise because there was insurrection or because there was a desire of one part of Pakistan to separate, to secede, to become independent. No such voice was raised. There was an election held, a free election under the present military leadership of Pakistan. The programme for the election was put frankly and openly before the people. If the Government of West Pakistan objected to that programme, that was the moment to say, "we will not allow the elections, we cannot allow your six points, we do not approve of them". Nothing was said. The elections were held and the people of both parts of Pakistan overwhelmingly voted for one party—the Awami League.

I am congratulated on my great majority. But it was nothing compared to the majority which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gained in the election in Pakistan. It was a tremendous victory for him. And he is not an extremist. He was a moderate person. In fact, if I may use the term, he used to be called by some others an American stooge at one time. But once the elections were won, apparently this came as surprise to the Government of West Pakistan and they wanted to find out ways of getting around these results.

Negotiations were begun. We were not in touch with either Sheikh Mujib or his party of East Bengal. We did not know what was happening. We read in the papers that there were negotiations. Later, much later, in fact only about a week before I started on this trip, I happened to meet somebody who said he was present at the negotiations. And, on the 24th of March, they thought that they were coming to a settlement, may be not a satisfactory settlement but still something that could be worked out. But this period was in fact used to bring troops from West Pakistan, and on the 25th of March a reign of terror was let loose. Perhaps you have heard that the biggest concentration, the biggest attack, was on the University of Dacca, where a large number of faculty and students were killed on the very first night. The entire East Bengali population—the civilians, the para-military forces, the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistani Rifles— changed their allegiance, that is, they decided to fight the Pakistani Army. They are the base today of the fight of the people of East Bengal. They are the people who are training the guerrillas, the young people who are coming across.

Now, we are asked the question why is India hesitating to allow United Nations observers? We are not really hesitating, because we have some observers already. We have United Nations observers on the Western frontier who have

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been there since many years and we have about ten people from the United Nations High Commission for Relief of Refugees on the eastern border. Ours is a very open society—anybody who comes, any of you, any of the diplomats who are there, the Press, parliamentary delegations from Europe, from Latin America, from Asia, from New Zealand, the Arab countries, the Scandinavian countries, all these people have been to our camps; they have been to the border, and many of them have crossed over and been to East Bengal. Every one of them, without exception, has given one story, which is of the very great misery and the utterly chaotic conditions which exist there. Now, in these conditions we are told that there is an attempt to have a civilian government by declaring some seats vacant which are not vacant. The people who were legally, constitutionally, elected are still there, but their seats have been declared vacant and I am told that 55 people have been declared elected unopposed. Now, in the present conditions they can have the whole Parliament declared unopposed, because it is surely not possible for anybody to vote.

If United Nations observers go, what do they hope to achieve? If they go with the intention of really bringing about peace in East Bengal, they are very welcome on our side: on any side they want to go, we will facilitate their going there. But this is not what they want to do. They want to say, "what is happening in East Bengal is an internal problem of Pakistan—we will only want to see what is happening at the border". What is happening at the border cannot be divorced from what is happening inside East Bengal. You cannot say, "we will go and try and prevent the guerrillas, but not prevent the army killing the people". I cannot even mention to you what is happening to some of the women there. The U.N. observers are not going to interfere with those things, but they do want to interfere with what the freedom-fighters are doing.

You may ask, "is India interfering in this by giving some support?" I can tell you that the people of East Bengal are not very happy with what we are doing for them. They think, and I agree with them, we are doing far too little. And what we are doing is something that we cannot help doing. We cannot stop people going across the border either from the other side to our side or from our side across back to East Pakistan. Had we been able to do this, we would certainly have taken measures to stop these millions of refugees from coming. Initially the reaction was, "they are in great trouble, let us allow them in". But very soon the problems for us grew really beyond our control and thus are creating an extremely difficult situation.

The people of America have shown generosity. As I came here, I was given a cheque. I have been given cheques by school children in different countries, by poor people, all kinds of people, and we are grateful for that help. But the major problem is not a financial one. We are poor, we cannot afford these millions of people. But because we are poor, because we have known how to live without food, without necessities, we can put up with any difficulty. We can look after any number of people, of course with great discomfort to them and to us, and may be some people will die also. Nevertheless, we can survive this problem. What is difficult to survive are the political consequences, the social tensions, the difficulty of the administration, and last but most important, the real threat to our independence, to our stability, to our integrity. Because, with the refugees are coming people who are not genuine refugees. We are having sabotage. Our trains have been blown up, and all kinds of other things have happened.

So, India today is facing a real threat. We had reached a point in economic growth, in social stability, this was not an easy task; it was achieved against very great odds. We had help from many countries, including the United States,

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but it has been a very very small part of the major endeavour. The major brunt of the problems—whether it is of the refugees today or whether it is the problem of our own people, has been borne by the Indian people themselves. If there is progress, it is because the Indian people have put in the effort, put in the sacrifice that was needed to go ahead.

So, just when we come to a stage where we think we can go ahead much more easily, much faster, we suddenly have the problems of another country. They are not our problems. This other country has pushed across the border people who did not vote for their Government, but voted for the regime they wanted. There is no other crime which these people have committed because the cry for independence arose after Sheikh Mujib was arrested, and not before. He himself, so far as I know, has not asked for independence, even now. But after he was arrested, after there was this tremendous massacre, it was understandable that the rest of the people should say: "After this, how can we live together? We have to be separate".

This is the situation. We have no animosity towards Pakistan even though they have campaigns of "Crush India", "Conquer India". They observed a Day or a Week and they had these strickers on their cars. We never had anything like this, and we never shall. We have not had anything against even China. China has attacked us, Pakistan has attacked us. On our side, we have always said we want friendship. On our side, we have always taken unilateral steps which we thought would lead to a normalisation of relations. But there has been no response forthcoming.

We do not mind if there is no response. But we do think that the limit of our endurance has been reached when they think they can just put their troubles on to us. Here was a problem they were facing—that their people had voted against the Government. So what do you do? You send them across the frontier. At one stroke, you get rid of your enemies, you get rid of population, and you weaken India, which you want to weaken. This is something which India just cannot tolerate. May be, I could tolerate. But with all my majority in Parliament, it is not a dictatorship. I have to carry not only my party, I have to carry, in a serious situation, all the other parties of India. And we feel that it is not just the question of India, because we believe that if peace is threatened in India, if stability is threatened in India, there cannot be peace and stability in any part of Pakistan. They can have all the armies of the world, whether they have from China or the U.S.A. or any other country. They cannot bring peace if there is instability in the major part of the sub-continent.

Today, by some countries wanting to support the prestige of one man, they are threatening peace in the entire sub-continent. I do not personally think that they can save Pakistan, or keep it united, or keep it strong by supporting a person who is not an elected person, who is a military dictator. This is what we are concerned about—not really today's problems, but the basic values for which we have fought, for which so many of our people have given their lives. These are the values which are being attacked.

And if they are attacked next door to us, what guarantee have we that they can survive in our country and they cannot be attacked there? This is what bothers us. It is not important who is to blame, though I think Pakistan is to blame, but I do not want to score a debating point. What is important is: How can we now have peace? You cannot have peace just by saying that the troops should move. You can only have peace if the basic problem which has arisen is solved. And the basic problem is not in the West, where the troops are facing each other, but in the East.

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Since I have mentioned troops, I would like to say one word more, and that is that Pakistan moved its troops about a week or ten days before we did anything. And the United Nations observer, who was there, took up this question with them. They said, "this is nothing serious, this is just ordinary training exercise". It is very strange indeed that you have these exercises and you keep your troops posted, not for a day or two days, but over a week. And ten days passed without any action from the United Nations or anybody else. Then we said, "these people may attack, and in order to defend ourselves we must move up our troops". Already twice, or three times if you include China, we have been invaded and been found unprepared. No government can last in a country if the people feel that it is not going to defend the country or defend security.

We waited patiently, hoping that something would be done, some way would be found. But nobody was bothered. Not a word was said while these troops were on our borders facing us. It was only when our troops went in, that suddenly the world's concern came up: "Oh, the two troops are facing each other".

It is true that war is a dreadful thing. I have lived through the last war in London during the worst part of the blitz. And I know that wars now are much worse. I know what happens to the civilian population. Never would anybody want war for their people. And certainly India will do nothing to provoke a war or conflict. But India is determined to safeguard her interests. India is determined to keep her freedom intact. India is united as never before, and India feels so strongly about these basic things whether it is freedom, whether it is democracy. It is a whole way of life with us. It is not a dogma, is not an, ism, that we follow. It is a way of life which has kept our nation alive for thirty centuries. And we are not going to have it attacked because it suits somebody or other, or does not suit somebody or other. We want help, we want support, we welcome sympathy. But basically, in the world, every individual ultimately is alone and every nation is ultimately alone. And India is prepared to fight alone for what it thinks worth fighting for....

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview to N.B.C. Television (U.S.A.) Programme 'Meet the Press', Broadcast on November 7, 1971

MODERATOR: **Lawrence E. Spivak**

PANEL: **A. M. Rosenthal** (*The New York Times*)
Selig Harrison (*The Washington Post*)
Darius Jhabvala (*The Bosten Globe*)
Pauline Frederick (*N.B.C. News*)

Mr. Spivak: Our guest on *Meet the Press* is the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who is in this country on an official visit.

Miss Frederick: Madam Prime Minister, when you went to Washington you said you were searching for deeper understanding of the situation in your part of the world. Did you find that deeper understanding, particularly among American officials?

Prime Minister: I would say there is a greater understanding since I have come than there was perhaps before I came, of the situation which exists in India which, as you know, is a pretty serious one.

Miss Frederick: You speak of a greater understanding which doesn't quite extend to 'deeper', I gather. What was it specifically you wanted from the United States to demonstrate that deeper understanding that you sought?

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Prime Minister: The situation is so complex that it is very difficult to say what any particular country or government or person can do. We can only say that we can give our assessment of what is happening and we see it as a real threat to Indian democracy and Indian stability. And we in India feel that if what we have gained over the years in order to make this ancient country a modern one and make it stronger in every way, if that is jeopardized even to a small extent the consequences to world peace will be great.

Miss Frederick: You speak of this threat to Indian democracy, consequences to world peace; the situation is very serious, which emphasizes what we have been reading about in the press. Do you mean to say the United States offers you nothing to try to avert such a catastrophe which could only redound to this country, or that United States suggests some plan of action which you felt you could not accept?

Prime Minister: No plan of action has been suggested to us. I think that there is a sincere attempt to try and solve it, but I don't know whether there is, you know, full understanding of the situation in the sense that in the Western countries—not only the U.S. but the entire West—there is an effort always to equate India and Pakistan. Now, whether this will help Pakistan or not I can't say.

Mr. Rosenthal: Madam Prime Minister, I think the biggest question on anybody's mind is the danger of war between India and Pakistan. What is your assessment about how close the danger is, now?

Prime Minister: It is very difficult to say. We have been drawing the world's attention to this question, because we knew that it might escalate to this when the refugees started pouring in and really chaotic conditions began in East Bengal.

Now of course, the threat is not merely in the East, but the armies are drawn up facing each other on our Western borders as well.

India has always been against war, and we feel deeply on the subject of world peace. We have stood for total disarmament in all world forums, but we just don't know what to do in these circumstances. The Pakistan Army was brought up on the Western border a full week or ten days before we made any move. But we found that this did not agitate the world conscience, and the reply the Pakistanis gave to the U.N. observer who drew their attention to this move was that they were merely doing exercises, or for training purposes.

Now, obviously this was not a very believable reply, and therefore we were forced to move up our troops also, and this is where the situation is today.

Mr. Rosenthal: Well, if you have troops on either side in such power, very often there is a danger of an accidental war, a war the people don't really plan. There are some people who feel that it would be beneficial in avoiding accidental war to have more U.N. observers of some kind on either side. I know you haven't been enthusiastic about this and I wonder if you would tell us why.

Prime Minister: Now, there are two parts of the question, because there are U.N. observers on the western border under the cease-fire agreement with Pakistan over Kashmir, you know, so I don't think the proposal, today, is to have more U.N. observers on that frontier. The proposal is to have them on the eastern border. Now, there also we have about ten observers or representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and Mr. Sadruddin, who is the Commissioner for this, has either arrived in India or is due to arrive in a day or two. We don't object to more people because you know we have a very open society—some people think too open. Your press correspondents, radio people, television people, have been on the border in the camps, across the border.

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So have newspaper people, parliamentary delegations, diplomats from many different countries of Asia, Europe and Americas been to this area; so we are not hiding anything. But we do feel strongly that at this moment no useful purpose will be served by more people going. Ten are already there as I told you.

The first step is to have more peaceful conditions within East Bengal which would prevent a further influx of refugees, because more refugees are coming in every single day. So, that is the first step. Now, to say they are going to watch the situation from our side of the border, we honestly don't see what purpose can be served, and the harm that is done is that the peoples' attention of the world is diverted from the real basic issues involved to merely requests—and they try to show it is an Indo-Pak. dispute, which it isn't. The dispute is between the military regime of West Pakistan and the people and elected representatives of East Bengal. India comes in because of the influx of the refugees, the acts of sabotage which are taking place on our side by people who have come in either disguised as refugees or in some other way, and as I said, we believe there is real danger to us.

Mr. Harrison: Madam Prime Minister, last April, in our interview in New Delhi, you made the statement that the demand for independence currently being made by the East Pakistan government would not have arisen if President Yahya Khan of Pakistan had made more concessions in the negotiations before the fighting started there, and you seem to have the idea that some sort of a loose connection between the two wings of Pakistan might still be possible and some political settlement based on autonomy for East Bengal might be possible.

Do you feel that now a political settlement is still possible or is full independence achieved through guerrilla war the only answer?

Prime Minister: Anything is possible which is accepted by the people of East Bengal. I don't think we have a right to say that they should accept something or not. It is their country, it is their movement, and they must take the final decision.

Mr. Harrison: How long do you think it would take them to win their independence militarily if the United States were not to give further military or economic aid to West Pakistan?

Prime Minister: I don't think it is possible to give a date, but from the news we get, the guerrilla activities are being stepped up, and not at all near our borders, but in the heart of the most fortified, the most strongly guarded of the cities of East Bengal, such as the capital city of Dacca, for instance.

Mr. Jhabvala: Madam Prime Minister, there is a lingering suspicion in this country and elsewhere that India is engaged in a diabolical scheme to weaken and ultimately decimate Pakistan. Now, apart from the assistance and the shelter that has been given to the refugees, can you cite some specific gestures or actions taken by your government to dispel that suspicion?

Prime Minister: Now, this is something which the Government of Pakistan has been saying from the very beginning, all these 24 years. But what has been the actual experience? It is that it was Pakistan who was training our tribal people, whether the Mizos or the Nagas, arming them. It is Pakistan who sent thousands of infiltrators into Kashmir which provoked the conflict in that year. And you have only to see the speeches now made on radio and other means which are very threatening and provocative. India has made no such declaration, and I can assure you that the Government of India, and I would say the majority of the people of India, have no such desire. We are not against Pakistan and we have only the friendliest of feelings for the people of Pakistan. And we think

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it is tragic that Pakistan should feel it necessary for their unity and survival to imagine a constant confrontation with India.

Mr. Jhabvala: Madam Prime Minister, you have just said that you think there is a greater understanding now within the Nixon Administration about the situation in the sub-continent. But what would be the reaction of India if this greater understanding is not translated into some concrete meaningful action, as has been suggested by you?

Prime Minister: We are a very balanced people, Mr. Jhabvala. You have noticed that we have had conflicts with people—for instance, China—but we have remained very restrained and balanced, and we have stuck to our basic policy. We shall be unhappy if the U.S. does anything which is what we consider against Indian interests, but we shall not lose our heads over it.

Mr. Spivak: Madam Prime Minister, obviously you think there is a solution to this very serious problem, and we seem unable to find the solution and the U.N. seems unable to find the solution. What is the solution that you propose?

Prime Minister: The solution which we had proposed earlier, and I think is the only valid one today, is that some talks should be held with the acknowledged leader of the people of East Bengal, who is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and we must remember that he was—you know while I have been here references have been made to tremendous victory, majority, that I won in the last elections in India. But if I may say so, Sheikh Mujib's majority was even greater than mine, and his elections were held in far more adverse conditions, that is, under the present military regime. His programme for the elections, his campaign, was put squarely and honestly before the Government and the people, and it is on the basis of that that he won this tremendous victory.

Now, you suddenly say that, well, you know, he is a traitor. He did not ask for independence, by the way. It was just limited autonomy, trade with India and some points like that. The Government of Pakistan in its wisdom, or unwisdom, whichever you would like to call it, arrested him, declared him a traitor. And they are trying to hold re-elections for the seats where the members still exist. They are there. And what has shocked us is that, I think, about 55 people have been declared elected, unopposed, to these very seats where a fair and free election was held; it seems a strange thing to have an election and then send out, force people who were elected against you out of the country. It is a diabolical—that is the word which one of your colleagues used—way of solving your problems, just sending those who are opposed to one out of the country.

Mr. Spivak: And, are we to understand from what you say that you consider that the only solution to the problem?

Prime Minister: Yes, because how else will you know what they will accept, and if they don't accept a solution, whether I think it is right or you think it is right, the conflict will continue, because the conflict is their's, the movement, the struggle, is theirs.

Mr. Spivak: But isn't that an internal problem, though?

Prime Minister: We have said it is an internal problem, but it is overflowing into India. It is affecting our economy. Not is, but has. It is creating political, social tension, and as I said, the most serious of all is we think our security is threatened.

Miss Frederick: Madam Prime Minister, many people wonder why, when the situation is so tense and there is a threat of a major war there, India has

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not been willing to accept the good offices of someone like U Thant or anybody else, or negotiate directly with President Yahya Khan?

Prime Minister: We are not negotiating directly for the very simple reason that the problem is not one between India and Pakistan; it is between the military regime of Pakistan and the people of East Bengal, the elected leaders, representatives of those people. So far as U Thant is concerned, he is always welcome, but we should be clear as to what can be achieved, what the U.N. wants to achieve. It was we who drew his attention to this question first, and we were not able to move anybody here. Now they want to come on what seems to us President Yahya Khan's terms.

Miss Frederick: But if the situation continues, there is some fear, and perhaps you even share it, that the big powers could become involved. India has made its first defence pact with the Soviet Union. Pakistan, the political leader of Pakistan, Bhutto, has just gone to Peking, obviously to get some help, because President Yahya has said that he can turn to Peking. Now, what is going to happen here? Are the big powers going to become involved, or is there some way to avoid a clash among the big powers? Did President Nixon say that he would take this up in Peking and Moscow when he visits those two capitals?

Prime Minister: I don't think that such a definite statement was made, but he did say that he was very anxious that a conflict should be avoided and that other people shouldn't be involved. We, as I said earlier, are against the whole concept of war, and we would not like to do anything which would provoke a war. But to any country, something is always more important. We have fought for many years for our freedom and we are not going to see that freedom threatened by no matter who. We have not signed a defense pact with the Soviet Union. It is merely a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace. We can have discussions with them, but it is not a military treaty in any sense of the word.

Miss Frederick: Madam Prime Minister, how do you then account for Article 9, which says in the event of Threat to either country there would be consultation on the kind of measures to be taken? Isn't that a defence treaty?

Prime Minister: It is not a defence treaty in the sense, well, that immediately it is decided that we will have military help from them or not, and whatever we are now—what we have got from them are all in the normal course, which we would have got—taken from any country and which have been agreed to earlier. We certainly hope that should we be in trouble not only the Soviet Union but other countries will also like to help us.

Mr. Rosenthal: You made a reference to China a moment ago, Madam Prime Minister. Although your country does not want war, the fact is that ten years ago you had a war—about ten years ago—with China and suffered, I believe, a rather bad defeat. Are you still concerned about the Chinese military presence? Do you feel that this represents a continuing threat to India?

Prime Minister: I think the Chinese attitude towards the world has changed, and I personally feel that they may not now want to be involved in any such conflict. But of course it is very difficult to prophecy so far as they are concerned.

Mr. Rosenthal: Has that lessened your military problems, do you feel you have to keep a lesser, or less powerful watch in the areas?

Prime Minister: I think we have to keep a very vigilant attitude on all our frontiers.

Mr. Harrison: Madam Prime Minister, you have been accused of applying a double standard toward the Pakistan problem and the problem of Kashmir.

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On the one hand that accusation has been made by the Kashmir political leader, Sheikh Abdullah. On the one hand he says you criticize Pakistan for keeping the Bengali leaders in prison, such as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. On the other hand you have restricted the movements of Sheikh Abdullah. He hasn't been permitted to go to Kashmir for the past nine months, and he wasn't permitted to take part in the elections in Kashmir. Why are you restricting his movements?

Prime Minister: Firstly, I wonder whether you see no difference between the sort of massacre, the suppression of democratic rights, the rape of women, the killing of the students, university faculty, the driving out of millions of citizens of East Bengal onto our territory, do you see no difference between that and a very peaceful Kashmir, where today there is free education, there is progress in every field, and there is an elected government.

It is true that we have some restrictions on Sheikh Abdullah, but he is a free man. He can go anywhere he likes except to Kashmir, and that is because it is peaceful there and naturally at the moment—which is politically so sensitive now with the present security problems and so on, we can't risk any kind of, you know, somebody trying to make trouble there.

Mr. Jhabvala: I would like to come back, Madam Prime Minister, to an answer you just gave to Miss Frederick's question. If the U.S. does halt all military supplies and economic assistance to Pakistan, what would be the immediate consequences in the context of the political solution that you believe might be helpful?

Prime Minister: You mean if they don't urge talks with Sheikh Mujib or some elected representative?

Mr. Jhabvala: Well, no. What I mean is if there is no military aid given to Pakistan, what would be the solution in terms of the solution? Do you think it would force President Yahya Khan to move into talks with Sheikh Mujib?

Prime Minister: Well, I certainly think that the U.S. and some of the other big powers are in a position to persuade the leaders of West Pakistan to talk to some of the people concerned with this problem in the East.

Mr. Spivak: Madam Prime Minister, the charge has been made in this country, by our press at least, that India gives sanctuary and arms and training to the liberation forces and has even provided artillery and mortar fire for the Bengali guerrillas. What is the charge and what is your answer to that charge?

Prime Minister: Well, quite frankly, we do support the people of East Bengal in their struggle. As I have said earlier, they did not ask for independence or secession. They function in a democratic way and they were asked to function, they were asked to vote honestly and openly and this is what they did, and now they are being punished for that. Even then we have not interfered, until this movement of guerrillas grew on its own. Perhaps you know that it is based on the para-military forces belonging to East Bengal, that is, the East Bengal Rifles and the East Pakistan Regiment. This is the basis of the movement. Today, it is they who are training the young people and so on. They may be coming into Indian territory. I think they do sometimes, but they are not entirely based in India. The guerrilla activities are all over East Bengal, quite far from the Indian border. Obviously, they have the most tremendous and single-minded support of the entire people of East Bengal in spite of the retaliation on these villages by the army.

Mr. Spivak: Thank you, Madam Prime Minister, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at a State Luncheon, Paris November 8, 1971

I am touched by your kind words and I thank you—and through you, France —for the hospitality and friendliness. A year ago, I came in haste and in sorrow to attend the memorial service for General de Gaulle. He was a man of great stature, who embodied the honour of France at a time of trial. We in India respect and salute him.

We all have deep feelings for France. France, like India, is more than a country—it is an idea. Throughout history, your nation and mine have known triumphs and tragedies, but have always tried to maintain certain values of civilisation. In the last few centuries, the world owes much to the creative spirit of the French people—in art and science, philosophy and literature and politics. France has taught us that liberty is the goal and condition of man's life, and law and logic the means to progress. Nowhere are the issues of man's fate more poignantly and passionately discussed than in your country. France has not been content to seek its glory at the cost of the good of man.

The achievement of Indian civilisation is its persistence over thirty centuries. This survival has been possible because of tolerance, the power of assimilation and the belief that the values of life are more important than power and position.

After many vicissitudes, we are once again in the mainstream of history. We are engaged in overcoming the stagnancy perpetuated by years of feudalism and colonial rule when we were deprived of industrial, technological and social change. The results achieved in a democratic society may appear less impressive than those of a controlled society because of voices of dissent and discontent, and the absence of organised propaganda. Yet we believe that democracy is the surer and more effective method, for it gives strength to the people.

Freedom arouses expectations, and democracy encourages competition. The first gains in development have produced new tensions. People sometimes take advantage of smaller loyalties to region and religion which abound in a vast and varied country such as ours. We are trying to lessen the disparities between different sections and to give greater opportunities to the small man. We have many minorities. They enjoy full rights as minorities and as citizens.

We would certainly like our society to benefit from technology, but we do not want to be imprisoned by technological structures. We have no wish to re-enact the experiences of the West. Our national personality must evolve in its own way. Increasing material affluence does not seem to have satisfied man's deepest yearnings. Society must be imbued with the values which will enable man to find fulfilment and to enjoy his world.

This is the principle which has been guiding our endeavours. It is not easy to transform the old order without revolution, or to mould a diverse people into a modern nation on a rational basis without recourse to compulsion. The task is too vast to attempt superficial unity which comes of fanatic appeal to religion or dogma. In this quarter of a century, a rational democratic process has been established.

We have always viewed Indian problems in the larger perspective of international peace. To us, the Cold War seemed to be distracting attention from the major problems of the world and encouraging confrontation rather than co-operation. It was inevitable that the assumptions of the Cold War could not pass the test of time. We welcome the *detente* in Europe. We are glad that China has at long last been admitted into the U.N. and that the United States and China are

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beginning a dialogue. In this period, France has displayed foresight and statesmanship of the highest order.

Thus, there was every reason to expect evolution towards a peaceful world and, naturally, of India. Our last general elections created the conditions of political stability which would enable more rapid economic advance.

However, within a week of the formation of the new government, without warning and without volition on our part, a tremendous new burden fell upon us. Over 9 million people of East Bengal—more or less equal to the population of Belgium or Austria—terrorised and persecuted by the military rulers of Pakistan, have been pushed inside our territory, jeopardising our normal life and our plans for the future. Should the world not take note of this new kind of aggression? This is not a civil war in the normal sense of the word. It is genocidal punishment of civilians for having voted democratically. It is cynical use of helpless human beings as a weapon against a neighbour nation. Loyalty cannot be commanded by force. The spirit of man, his yearning for freedom and human dignity, cannot be extinguished by repression.

We in India have shown the greatest self-restraint. But there is no doubt that our stability and security are threatened. Indeed we feel the threat is to the peace of the entire region. The basic cause of this crisis must be remedied. A political solution must be found, and to be effective, it must be acceptable to the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh....

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech in Beethoven Hall, Bonn
November 21, 1971

Following are excerpts from the speech:

....When we thought that the path was cleared—and after the elections, as you all know, we were busy congratulating one another, patting each other on the back, suddenly a new burden, without any warning, without any fault of our own, descended upon us, and that is the crisis which took place across our borders. Now, normally, I do not like speaking about other countries, but, in order that you may understand the situation, I would like to say something. When there was the independence struggle in the Indian sub-continent, the movement or the struggle was all over the sub-continent, even in that part which is now Pakistan. But when independence was achieved, the country was divided; we accepted that division, unhappily perhaps, but we accepted it, and we have not by any word or deed done anything to change that situation. In India, those who have fought for freedom stood for elections and have formed the government; but on the other side, those who had fought for freedom remained in the prison, by and large, and the Government was formed by those who had collaborated with the foreign rulers, either in the military or in their civil service. This was a major difference between the Governments of the two countries, and this is what has made it so difficult for us to see alike.

India was twice attacked by Pakistan, and today there is a danger of war. We have done, and we will continue to do, nothing which will provoke a war, but the conditions are very war-like even today because our troops are facing each other on the border. I was asked this question a little while ago on TV: Why is it that India is not willing to withdraw her troops when this proposal has been made? It was India which approached the United Nations when the crisis first began brewing.

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You know, just as we had elections in India, there were elections in Pakistan after a very very long time, because the people were getting tired of military rule and there was a general demand for elections. In Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League Party, got a majority that was even much bigger than my majority in India. Almost to a man, the people in East Bengal—man or woman—voted for him. But whereas in India it was a logical conclusion—you win an election, you form the Government—on the other side this did not happen. The six-point programme was not a new programme, it was the programme which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had put before the people before the elections. This was his election campaign, his election programme. And if anybody had any objection, whether the leaders or anybody else, the time to raise the objections was before the elections. They should have said we cannot have elections on the basis of this six-point programme. But nobody said anything. It was when the elections were won by such a big majority that this was raised; "that this means far too much autonomy than we are prepared to give". And negotiations began. We thought, and the people of East Bengal thought, that this was a genuine attempt to come to an understanding; but the time was used for bringing across more troops from West Pakistan by sea, and when they thought that there were sufficient troops to deal with the population, on the 24th March, I am told by a leader of East Pakistan, who says he was, if not in the same room, at least in the same house where talks were being held—that they thought that things were going on well and that they were approaching a solution and an agreement. The very next day, a regin of terror, of massacre, and all that goes with it, was unleashed, and this resulted in millions of refugees—the number is now over 9 million—it is the population of Belgium or Austria—who are now sitting on Indian soil in the greatest of discomfort, in the greatest of misery, in very inadequate camps.

Now, even if in a rich country 9 million people were to come suddenly, not a few at a time, but very suddenly in a few weeks, they would not be able to manage the situation. So you can imagine that India being one of the poorest countries, with very limited resources, and in this situation we have 9 million people. You can imagine the pressure on supplies, on the administration, on the resources, on money, on every possible thing. Most of the refugees have come into four States of India in the Eastern region, and in one of them, Tripura, there is hardly room to put a person now. They are occupying the schools and the colleges and parks, every possible public building. In the beginning, the people were very sympathetic. Now the parents say: 'well, we are sympathetic but what about our children? When will the schools open? Are they going to miss years of their education?' So, all administrative work in some of these States is at a standstill. Every official is busy looking after the camps.

The economic burden is tremendous, the administrative problems are there, but even more so are the social and political problems which have arisen. We have organised trade unions. There is a recognised rate. Now, the refugees can't —we are trying to keep them in the camps, but because the number is so large, and many of them don't come to camps at all—they offer their services at a much lower rate. Now, immediately there is trouble, because the labour unions say: 'well, this is our rate and you cannot employ'. But we have people who want to take advantage of such a situation, and so we have great social tensions. I am just giving one example to show the type of problems that can arise; but more serious than all of this is the threat to India's stability; because amongst the refugees there are many who may not be genuine refugees. We have no way of checking them. And we are having acts of sabotage, trains are being blown up, bombs are found in places, and a lot of propaganda is being done in order to create tension between the different religions.

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Pakistan has raised a question about the number of refugees; we say they are over 9 million. They have given the figure of 2½ to 3 million. Now, there is some logic in their argument, because 2½ to 3 million is the figure of the Muslim refugees, but we have not only Muslim refugees, we have Hindus, we have Christians, we have Buddhists. In three of the States, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam, everybody is fully accounted for, for there every individual has a ration card. It is true, in West Bengal things are not so well organised because the larger numbers are there. But after this question arose, we are having a recounting at all the camps and it may be over by now, because it started some time before I left the country. It may be a little less, it may be a little more, but I don't think there will be a great difference in the figures which we have given.

Now the question is: (1) about the United Nations observers, and (2) about the withdrawal of the troops. When we had asked the United Nations to look into this matter, we were told that it is an internal matter, the United Nations cannot do anything. This was right at the beginning of the crisis. We kept on reminding them that it may be an internal matter, but its consequences are over flowing into India creating great problems, and the United Nations should take an interest. Now the United Nations observers want to come, not to deal with the cause of the crisis which is in East Bengal, but to see who is crossing over the border. They want to tell the refugees to go back. We are telling the refugees to go back and if some more people will tell them, well, they are welcome. But Indian society is an absolutely open one. All the journalists from your country, from Canada, from the U.S.A., from the United Kingdom, many other countries, have gone there, both sides, to East Pakistan, to India, to West Pakistan; they are free to report; the Diplomatic Corps is free to go where it wants to go. We have had Parliamentary Delegations also from both the Americas—Latin American countries, North America—Japan, New Zealand, the different countries of Europe, the Scandinavian countries; all these people have been free to go, to report, to talk to the refugees. So it makes no great difference. And we have also 10 people from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. So, it is no great problem if a few more people come from the United Nations or from anybody else. Of course, then there are the international organisations; there is CARITAS, there is UNICEF, there is CARE, "WAR-ON-WANT", OXFAM, and some others. So, it wouldn't make much difference if some more were to come. But we do object; we object because these people are coming not to deal with the problem as a whole but to try to deal with a part of the problem. When we say to the refugees, as I have been consistently saying, that India cannot keep these refugees as a permanent burden, they must go back to East Bengal, they can stay for a few months, if there are a few children who are orphans or a few women who have no home, we could keep them, but we are not going to keep millions and millions of foreign nationals in our country, no matter what, we are absolutely determined about it. Their reply is: "we want to go back, but how can we go back when the massacre is continuing", when every day—first there were 30 to 40 thousand, then the figure went up to 62 thousand everyday —now I am told that it has come down slightly, but it is still in the region of 16 to 20 thousand. But still so many people are coming with the same stories of barbarity, of horror, of murder, of rape. How can we ask the people to go back? And who will listen to us, even if we do ask? First, the condition should be created on the other side which should assure the refugees that they can go in safety and in dignity. This is what we have said to the United Nations.

Now, with regard to troops, it is Pakistan which first brought their troops to the borders; they came first on the Eastern border because they are para-forces. We have an agreement with them that they would not be troops, they would be only para-military forces—East Bengal Rifles, East Pakistan Regiment—on their

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side, and what we call the Border Security Force, on our side. Their people, i.e., this Regiment and the Rifles, have left the Pakistani service in March, as soon as this happening started, and they joined the Movement of Liberation of East Bengal. So, their border was left in a way unprotected. Either they left it or they did not trust these people in the check-posts and they moved their army to the border. So, after some time, we were forced to move our troops also. Now, there was no trouble whatsoever on the Western front, i.e., Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan, but one day they moved their troops there also. Now, there we have got U.N. observers since 1947-48, and when they were asked why their troops were there, they said, "Oh, this is merely a training exercise!". Obviously, it is not something we could believe. Even then, we did not do anything for more than a week, but at the end of that time we saw that their troops had no intention of withdrawing, we were compelled to bring our troops up to the border.

Now, what does withdrawal mean? People say, even though it was their fault, what harm is there in withdrawing the troops? Well, the question is that their cantonments are right near the border, but ours are not; ours are very far away, and if we withdraw, there is no way we can really adequately defend our country if they change their mind. And, we have had no cause to trust them, I mean, we have been attacked twice and on each occasion for many months they have said, "we have nothing to do with it, we have sent no infiltrators", and then they themselves have admitted this in public forums, such as, either the Security Council or somewhere else. This is the history and the background. As any head of Government—although India is deeply committed to peace, to total disarmament, India believes that war does not solve problems—but we cannot leave our borders undefended in the present circumstances, especially as all the news coming from Pakistan state that since they are bound to lose East Bengal, why should they not grab a piece of the West. This is the situation which we face. Seeing India from a long distance, it may seem to you: "well, it does not make any difference". But the people who live on the borders, and ours are inhabited right up to the very edge—in fact, in East Pakistan we have houses where the houses are in India and the kitchens are in East Bengal or *vice-a-versa*. We have no natural border; there is no river or road or anything like that. To the people who live in the border, it means a great deal whether they are properly defended or not, whether they can trust the Government to defend them. So, this is what the position is.

There was another question which was asked me a little while ago and which was: 'what about Kashmir?' Now, what about Kashmir! Pakistan has spread the propaganda that Kashmir is pro-Pakistan, and I am afraid some other people have helped them in this propaganda. In 1965, they sent a lot of infiltrators, trained people. They thought that these people would be welcomed by the locals. But they were not welcomed. The local population was the first to inform us, because, as it happened, at that time, we did not have very many forces there, we did not even have sufficient police in the city of Srinagar, which is the capital city. It was a very great weakness. This was so because, in the meantime, in 1962, we had been attacked on the other border and we had concentrated all our forces there. But when this attack took place in 1965, it was the unity of the local people, who not only kept us informed, but who formed the front lines almost till the army came to defend their country. This is how we not only not allowed the Pakistani Army into Kashmir, but took a large portion of territory which has most of the vantage points which were under Pakistan's occupation previously. Now, Kashmir has lived in peace all these many years. There are voices of dissent there, I am not saying that there are not, but so are there in practically every country. There is hardly any country in the world, which has not some voices of dissent. The way to judge a situation is: is there peace or

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not, is the Government there going on normally, is education expanding, agricultural programme improving, industry expanding in Kashmir; all these things are happening. Everybody is free to go there. It is true that we have recently put some restrictions on one or two of their leaders. They are free to go anywhere, but not to enter Kashmir, because things are peaceful there and we thought that at this moment for somebody to start trouble is not in the country's interest.

So, we have nothing to hide and, as I said, we shall not, certainly not, be the people to provoke a greater confrontation. But to think that the present situation can last is unrealistic. To think that the bitterness and hatred in the hearts of the East Bengalis can go without any positive action, is to be unrealistic. And, as a politician, one has to face the reality of the situation; it is not a question of what I think or what I want, it is a question of what exists, and what exists is that the people of East Bengal want to decide their destiny themselves. They do not want advice from me, and they will not take it even if I want to give it to them. They are imbued today with the spirit of nationalism. It may be good, it may be bad, that is beside the point. But this is a situation which nobody can ignore. And that is why we think that the world should take interest, to try and see that a political settlement is reached which will be lasting, and nothing will be lasting unless it is accepted by the people of East Bengal and their elected representatives.

Now, the Pakistan Government has announced that they will have re-elections. We certainly cannot understand it. The people who won the elections are here, they are alive. You can't suddenly say these seats are vacant. Not only do they say the seats are vacant, but 55 people have been declared elected unopposed to some of those vacancies. It is an extraordinary position, and I don't think anybody who is concerned with democracy, with liberty, can accept this situation.

Further, the burden on India, not the economic burden, is tremendous. As I said a little while ago to another audience, when you are poor, you know you can be poorer. If you have not enough to eat, you are always willing to share what you have. We found that in our country and our experience has been that whether there is drought or whether there has been war, it is the poor people who have helped the most. Today, although the burden is a tremendous one, it is going to cost us a great deal, not just in money, it will cost us in development, it will cost the promises we made to our people, of the programme of employment, every single programme; we are trying not to cut it, but I don't see how it can remain whole, everything will have to be pruned. We have very heavy taxation already, and about a few days before coming, we had to put extra tax burden on every possible thing we could think of. And we just sat and thought, now what can be possibly taxed, and we taxed. So, we have this enormous burden, but I have confidence in my people. They have shown their capacity to endure any burden, to bear any type of suffering or sacrifice, and, today, if we have to do it for our unity, for our stability, for our freedom, I know that the people of India, and even the political parties which are otherwise completely opposed to me, I know that on this question, we stand as one. And we have the determination to bear this burden. We are not going to go under, however heavy the economic burden is, or any other burden.

But we may have to take steps which are necessary to safeguard our freedom and our stability, and, I think, that this is not only in the interest of India, it is in the interest of Pakistan itself. Pakistan cannot remain if India is unstable. If Pakistan becomes unstable for a while and India is stable, Pakistan will come back to stability. But if, in the larger part of the sub-continent, there is trouble, then certainly nobody can save Pakistan or any other smaller countries there. And, I

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think, if there is unstability in India, it will have an effect on all of Asia, and perhaps in other parts of the world as well.

So, today, we feel that very much more is at stake than people are realising; and I have come here not to ask for anything from the Government, from any of the countries where I have been, but merely to give my assessment of the situation as it exists. And it is then for these countries, these governments or the people, to decide what they should do in such a situation, whether they should help or they should not. Naturally, everybody welcomes sympathy, everybody welcomes friendship, everybody welcomes support, but we know that in life, in the utlimate analysis, everybody—even a parent, or a child, or a sister, or a brother, each individual is alone; each country is alone; and India must learn to stand on her feet; she is going to stand on her feet and deal with the problems herself.

Following are some of the questions asked by the audience and the replies given by the Prime Minister:

Question: You speak about humanity for the East Pakistanis. How will you explain the construction of Farraka Barrage which certainly is going to destroy the agriculture and economy there?

Prime Minister: I don't know whether the young lady knows the geography of the place. East Bengal does not suffer from a shortage of water but of too much of water... (applause) This matter has been under discussion for a long time. Unfortunately, Pakistan is now trying to make it into a political question, whereas it is not. It is not in any way harming East Pakistan or East Bengal.

Question: Excellency, Mrs. Gandhi, I want to tell you that I am Vice-President of the Committee of Migration in the International Council of Women.... We have made a resolution in our meeting in Amsterdam about the very great problem of refugees in your country, to urge all 60-member councils to take more care for your problems and urge the United Nations to look after the minorities in the world.

Prime Minister: Thank you very much.

Question: Madam, you said in the course of your speech that East Pakistani people are imbued with nationalism. Do you think this nationalist spirit is absent in West Bengali people, and because Bengalis are a nation, therefore, they should have one State? How would you preclude the people of West Bengal, who are as much Bengalis, from forming the same State?

Prime Minister: It is a very good question; thank you for asking it. I should have actually dealt with it in my speech. Well, the first answer is that there is no feeling in West Bengal to separate from the rest of India. Secondly, it is not only a question whether what West Bengal would like to do, but whether the people who live in East Bengal would like West Bengal to join them. Obviously, nothing is impossible in the world and it is a remote possibility. I personally do not think that such a thing can happen, because West Bengal is far more developed, whether industrially, educationally or in any other way, than the East is. We know from our experience of what has happened in Vietnam, that they would not like to have a bigger brother attached to them who would dominate them.

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Question: You mentioned something about the six-point programme of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But I think you should inform the audience that the division of the country was not in his six-points. And it would be the same thing as if Candidate Strauss would win the election for Chancellorship and he would like to separate Bavaria from Germany. I don't think that the people of Germany would accept that.

Prime Minister: I think I made it very clear that the six-points were announced before the elections. They were accepted, presumably, because otherwise why should the elections have been held on that programme? That was the basic programme put to the people of East Bengal and it is not only the people of East Bengal but also some of West Pakistan who voted for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Party.

Question: The six-points did not give him the mandate to divide the country.

Prime Minister: We are talking about whatever the six-points did. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not ask for any 7th point at all. Whatever the programme was, as I said, if anybody disapproved of it, the time to raise that point of disapproval was before the elections and not afterwards....

Question: Relating to Indo-Soviet Treaty and *detente* in Europe.

Prime Minister: Well, our Indo-Soviet Treaty is unconnected with this matter. We welcome the *detente* here and we wish that there would be *detente* in all such disputes anywhere. So far as the Indo-Soviet Treaty is concerned, well, it is just what it says, its name says, the "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation".

A lot of people who have never supported non-alignment are now trying to say that this Treaty is going against the interest of non-alignment, India is no more non-aligned, and so on. We are naturally not at all impressed by this argument because we know what our policy has been and we are determined that it is going to remain the same.

Question: Hon'ble Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, my question is almost identical with the former question, but I just want to elaborate one point. It is a fact that our Treaty with the Soviet Union is not intended to affect our policy of non-alignment; but I think the influence of Russia is getting more and more in our part of the world. As far as I am informed, the Soviet Navy has approached some of our ports, at least partly. And Russia is too big a power, too strong a power, that in a long time, I mean, in a long period of our relationship, whether India can really remain sovereign and non-aligned?

Prime Minister: This indeed is a very extraordinary question, if I may say so. Perhaps the gentleman has been out of India for a considerable time and he does not know how we feel. If the Soviet Union is on the Indian Ocean, well, so are many other Navies there. He has not suggested that any other Navy being there is also going to influence us. So, therefore, why should the Soviet influence be more than the others? Every country in the world, small or big, does try to influence others countries. The question is whether we are going to withstand that pressure or not. We have always withstood pressure. We have fought for our independence. We have not appealed or begged for it. We have fought for it with our lives. (Prolonged applause.)

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Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the German Society for Foreign Policy, Bonn

November 11, 1971

Following are extracts from the speech:

....I do not want to say very much on the new crisis which has arisen across our borders, because I have spoken about it on various occasions. I would only like to say that we have no quarrel with Pakistan and especially not with the people of Pakistan. We feel that they have had a rough deal since they became a separate country, and their leaders have thought that Pakistan's unity can only be built on a confrontation with India. Obviously, this hurts Pakistan much more than it hurts us, because we are a much larger country, and because of our type of democracy we have much more cohesion in our country than there is in Pakistan. When a country has a military government, from the top it looks as if things are peaceful until suddenly they blow up, as they have in East Bengal.

The East Bengal problem is not a new one; it has been developing all these 24 years. There are similar problems in West Pakistan which are going to blow up unless the Government of Pakistan recognises the reality and tries to see how it can get on with its own people and give them a feeling that they as citizens have a say in running the country. So far as East Bengal is concerned, nobody can suppress or kill off 75 million people. This is the basic reality of the situation. If those people have made up their mind that they want something, well, either they will have to be killed off or they will consistently fight for it and work for it.

We are very greatly concerned with the economic burden, the administrative problems, the social problems and the political problems which have cropped up because of the influx of such a large number of refugees. But we are much more worried about the threat to our stability and to our very freedom and integrity. Amongst this large number of people are many people who may not be real refugees. For us, it is a very explosive problem.

So, while we believe in co-existence, and while we do not want to interfere with whatever system of government the Pakistani people want or get, whether they want it or not, we cannot tolerate the sort of interference that has been taking place in our country by Pakistan. Unfortunately, all these years, Pakistan has had very strong Western support, and this is what has encouraged them to continue in this manner, leading to disruption and the weakness of Pakistan. Otherwise, by now, it could have been a strong and unified country such as we are....

Some of the questions put to the Prime Minister after the speech and her answers:

Question: Why has the U.N. Committee on Refugees not been approached by India, especially when doubts are being expressed about the real number of refugees?

Answer: First of all, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is in India right now. We have had ten representatives of his, right from the month of April, on the spot. Nobody has prevented them from doing anything or going anywhere. We have also had parliamentary delegations from nearly every country in the world, Latin America, the U.S.A., Sweden, various countries of East Europe, New Zealand, Japan, some of the Arab countries; and I think from Germany also. We also had somebody from the G.D.R. Ours is a very open society. The newspapers are freer—I say this without any hesitation—than any single

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country in the world, than even the U.S.A. Journalists have also been going there from all countries. Most of the news we have of what is happening inside East Pakistan is through the conservative as well as other papers of England, of America, of France and so on. There is no question of hiding things. President Yahya Khan first said that there were no refugees. Nobody will surely think it is true? He first said that the situation was absolutely under control, and there was no trouble at all except what was being made by Indians. This has not been supported by any single international person who has been to Dacca or to Islamabad. There is a certain problem of credibility. Whose word do you take? We are entitled to ask this question. We have been twice invaded by Pakistan. Every time Pakistan has first said, "no, we are not doing anything". Their own Foreign Minister is then on record in the United Nations as saying, "yes, we did go in". You have to see what a person has been saying and doing.

With regard to the number of refugees, our officials say these are 9,700,000. It may be that they are 200,000 or 300,000 fewer. But I do not think anybody can doubt the basic figure. Anybody who wants to see them is free to see them. Every refugee whom we can reach (there are a large number who are not in the camps, and who live with people whom they know) and who is in a camp has a ration card. They cannot get their food without a ration card. So we have a very fair idea of how many they are. According to us, there are nearly 3 million Muslim refugees. The import of Pakistan's figure is that they are not willing to admit the people of other religions who are refugees. They are counting only 3 million Muslim refugees; they are leaving out the Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. We cannot leave them out. Whatever the international opinion says, I very authoritatively say that I will not tolerate these refugees living in India. I am very definite, and so is our entire country. We have borne a very big burden with hardly any help from outside, and when we drew the attention of the U.N., we were given the answer: "It is an internal problem of Pakistan. We cannot interfere in it". They are nearly 10 million people and the U.N. just says, "we are very sorry, we do not mind if million people have been killed in Pakistan; it is an internal matter of Pakistan". This may be a way of looking at things. But surely you cannot expect us to accept that way of looking at things or to have respect for this kind of thought-process. I personally have no objection if the entire U. N. comes and sees what is happening. But I will not tolerate their saying: "We will come and see what is happening in India, but we will not prevent the genocide, the mass murder, the raping of women, that is taking place in East Bengal". This is what we object to and which we will continue to object to. (Applause). I might add that the U.N. Commissioner for Refugees and the Consortium have accepted our figure....

Question: Some people are very irritated at the warlike speeches made by your Defence Minister, especially his statement that the fighting would be on Pakistan territory if India was attacked. Would you comment on it, and also say what you would like Germany to do?

Answer: As I told you, we have twice been attacked by Pakistan. The first time in 1965, we took some vantage points in what is now Pakistani-occupied Kashmir, and which makes it very easy for them to come down into Indian territory. Under the Tashkent Agreement, we gave those up, and this created a very bad feeling all over India. There is one thing that everybody says in India: "Whatever happens, we hope that the Government of India will not go in for another Tashkent". So you have to take into view the historic experiences we had in the last 24 years. Please note that the Defence Minister used the words, which you yourself quoted, "If we are attacked". I do not think that any person would say that if we are attacked we just go backwards. Certainly not. If we are attacked we also go forward. We have to, even if for defence.

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I do not think that the Defence Minister meant anything more than that, nor that the Indian public take it as anything more than that. And should we be attacked, I might say here that although there has been some talk of truce or withdrawal and so on, on the eve of my departure the President of Pakistan made an exceedingly bellicose speech asking for a religious war against India. There can be nothing more serious than that. There can be nothing more threatening or more provocative.

And after that, cannot our Defence Minister even say that we will defend ourselves or we will keep what territory we take? If people are irritated, well, we are sorry, but I think that Indian security is more important than other people's irritation.

The other question is what Germany can do to help in the situation. When we approached the United Nations, had any country taken up this question then this very unhappy situation would not have arisen. Unfortunately, because of the attitude of the United Nations, because of the attitude of some of the big powers, the President of Pakistan openly—to his people and over the radio, to newspaper correspondents and so on—said that Pakistan was supported by the U.S.A., by China, by the U.S.S.R., by Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and so on. This is what urged them to continue with what they were doing in East Bengal. Had they been told that genocide will not be tolerated, I am sure that they would have come to some understanding. There is so much bitterness now in the hearts of the East Bengalis, that I just really do not know what can be done. The one thing that can soften the situation, or blunt it, is if Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was to be released. Pakistan is trying to convert this into an Indo-Pakistan dispute, which it is not. The dispute is between Pakistan and the majority of their people; it is not a minority trying to be separate, or a minority having a disagreement with the majority. It is the majority which is saying that it has not had a fair deal; it is the majority which took part in an election run by the present military Government of Pakistan, run on a programme of six-points which were clearly before the Government of Pakistan and the people of West and East Pakistan. That programme got a huge majority. I thought I had a very big majority—but Sheikh Mujib's is bigger than mine. Whereas I could form the Government in my country, he is arrested as a traitor. He did not declare for independence. It is when they said: "We shall not agree to your forming the government", that they said: "We have no other way out". All that I can say is that the German Government, along with other international governments, could try and make the Pakistani Government see the reality and talk with the people who can answer for East Bengal. I have no authority to speak for them, and if I were to say something, their leaders will resent it very much. It is only the accepted and elected representatives of East Bengal who can talk with the President of Pakistan or anybody else who wants to reach a solution. I think the governments can help in this.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's statement in the Parliament, regarding her foreign tour

November 15, 1971

I have just returned from a tour of Belgium, Austria, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The decision to pay official visits to these countries was taken much earlier in response to repeated invitations and in consonance with the practice of reciprocity. The House will remember that President Nixon and Prime Minister Heath had visited our country in 1970, Chancellor Kiesinger in 1969 and President Pompidou when he was Prime Minister. But owing to our General Elections, my visit had to be postponed.

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In spite of the grave situation in Bangla Desh and along our borders in West Pakistan, I undertook this visit as an earnest of our desire to leave nothing unexplored which might lead to an easing of the burdens imposed upon us and to discourage those who are bent upon finding excuses to threaten our security. It is the complete self-assurance of our people and the unity of all our parties which gave me the confidence to undertake the visit at a time of national danger.

My visit enabled me to exchange ideas with the heads of governments and leaders of public opinion at a point of time when important changes were taking place in the world, and to put across to them our point of view on matters of world interest, bilateral relations, and more specially on the situation in Bangla Desh and the threat it is posing to our social, political and economic structure and to peace in this region. Our discussions helped to remove certain misgivings and to focus attention on the root cause of the problem, that is, the refusal of the Pakistan military regime to respect the verdict of their own people, the reign of terror let loose by them in Bangla Desh and the consequent influx of refugees into India. I think that these countries as well as others realise that it will not help to deal with peripheral problems without finding a political solution in Bangla Desh through negotiations with the already elected leaders of the people of Bangla Desh and in accordance with their legitimate wishes. Most countries also realise that the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is essential and intend to impress this upon the military regime of Pakistan.

After a long period of tragic indifference and sheltering behind the thinly disguised legalistic formulation that it was merely an internal affair of Pakistan, there is now a growing sense of urgency in seeking a solution.

Pakistan's efforts to side-track and cloud the basic issue by seeking to involve the United Nations and to transform the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh into an Indo-Pakistan confrontation and conflict, have been exposed. It is now well understood that India will not be misled by Pakistan's moves and that the military regime in Pakistan must come to terms with the people whom they have treated with such injustice and cruelty. It is also widely appreciated that no country has any right to impose a solution on the people of Bangla Desh and that force cannot suppress the spirit of freedom and nationalism with which they are inspired.

During my visit to the United States, I was informed that a decision had been taken to stop further shipments of arms to Pakistan. A formal announcement has since been made. I was given to understand that no arms are being supplied from the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is my earnest hope that joint or several efforts of the statesmen whom I met will make the military regime in Pakistan realise that no good can come of sabre-rattling or by forcing a military conflict on India. I hope it is not too late for sane counsel to prevail, for one cannot go on ignoring hard facts. The just and legitimate aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh, indeed of West Pakistan also, cannot be ignored and trampled upon.

There was general sympathy for the manner in which we are bearing the heavy burden of looking after over nine million refugees. There have been indications of additions to the funds for giving relief to the refugees. All these countries agree that conditions must be created inside Bangla Desh to stop the further influx of refugees and to facilitate the return to their homeland in safety and human dignity of those now in India.

Having said this, I must make it clear that we cannot depend on the international community, or even the countries which I visited, to solve our problems for us.

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We appreciate their sympathy and moral and political support, but the burnt of the burden has to be borne by us and by the people of Bangla Desh who have our fullest sympathy and support.

So far as the threat to our security is concerned, we must be prepared—and we are prepared—to the last man and woman, to safeguard our freedom and territorial integrity. Obviously, we cannot take risks such as the withdrawal of our forces from the border unless the situation in Bangla Desh is resolved satisfactorily, as it poses a serious threat to our security.

Solutions have been found or initiated even to seemingly insoluble problems, as for instance in Europe and between the United States and China, by a wise impulse in men of wisdom and vision. But these developments should not lull us into complacency or wishful thinking.

In Europe, there is a welcome spirit of *detente*, which we hope will soon lead to stable security in that continent. This should have a stabilising influence in Asia and other parts of the world. There was a realisation that political *detente* should be combined with outward-looking economic policies, especially in regard to the needs of the developing world.

Bilateral economic relations were also discussed with those countries. There was a sympathetic response. Belgium, France and the Federal Republic of Germany have shown understanding that there should be a broad outlook in approaching the relations between India and European Economic Community. There are new possibilities of our collaboration in the industrial, technological and scientific fields.

In brief, these are the impressions which I should like to share with honourable Members. I am deliberately not mentioning the leaders of individual countries by name, because they were all full of sympathy and friendship for India.

I think my visit also helped to restore our relations with Britain which had suffered a serious setback in 1965.

I should like also to express, on behalf of the Government and the people of India, my sincere thanks to the Governments and peoples of the countries I visited for the warm and friendly reception I received everywhere. I should further like to record my appreciation of the world Press, which, by and large, has given a fair and objective account of the events in Bangla Desh, of the inexpressible horror let loose upon the people there, of the heroic struggle which they are waging in defence of the most elementary democratic right and liberties.

May I take this opportunity of thanking my people and all the political parties who have shown wisdom and restraint and kept the nation united against any external threat?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I conclude this statement with a reminder that in the community of nations, our country symbolises the urge for peace, freedom and justice. There was a time when ours was a lone voice in the world which was in the grip of the cold war. Even in the midst of the grave crisis which the military rulers of Pakistan have created for us, our people, our country and this great Parliament of the largest democracy in the world have maintained the spirit of peace and of self-restraint. We refused to be excited by threat or provocation from across our borders. Let us then continue to conduct ourselves with quiet confidence in ourselves so that the world should see and know that India cannot be browbeaten nor lulled into a false sense of security. Calmness of spirit and strength go together. India is calm and we are capable of taking decisions in defence of our security and our stability.

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Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview to NEWSWEEK Magazine

November 15, 1971

On war with Pakistan

For a long time, even though there were very provocative and threatening actions and speeches by the President of Pakistan, India did not do anything. Now, when we feel that we are being threatened, we simply can't leave our border undefended. I don't know any country in the world that would say, "We will leave our border undefended"....What should we do when this is happening on our border? Do we just sit quietly and say, "Do whatever you like, even if its consequences to us are so great?"....This I would say: by and large, the Indian people don't want war. We do have vocal elements who have been wanting war, certain extremist parties who have been wanting war. But we don't have among the people an anti-Pakistan movement as (Pakistan has) a hate-India movement....I sincerely hope that there will not be a war, and I am doing everything possible to keep it from happening....The threat of war is considerably less since we moved our troops to the border of West Pakistan. But, of course, as the situation heats up in the east, that is where the threat is. We feel every day the danger to eastern India is increasing.

On supporting the Bengalis

Only when the refugees started coming....can you say that India had a hand in the Pakistan crisis. Only after all (the Pakistani Army terror) can you say, "Well, may be some of the guerrillas do come over from India"....Some of the training may be taking place on our side, but certainly not all of it. Even now the guerrillas are not dependent on India. As you know, the majority of the guerrillas are the para-military forces of East Bengal....And they're the ones who are training new people....What the Bengalis consider to be the spirit of their people has been very deeply wounded. And while that spirit is there, the Pakistani Army will have to kill all the 75 million people in East Bengal before they can have control over them....India can only prevent such a massacre in small and indirect ways. And I have absolutely no hesitation in saying that if I were placed in a situation like the Bengalis', I certainly would fight. After all, we did fight the British and we have encouraged independence struggles all over the world.

On the Bengali refugees

Taking care of the refugees means cutting a lot of our programmes, it means a certain austerity in living, cutting government spending and re-orienting various schemes and programmes....It is indeed a very, very heavy (burden). I don't think it will cripple our economy, we won't go under with it....But the major danger is not this burden, which is heavy enough. It is the social and political tensions which are growing out of this problem. And, we feel that there is even a very real threat to our security.

On the breakup of Pakistan

I don't think any country in its right mind would want its neighbor to disintegrate. We have enough problems of our own without having a weak neighbour; its' not a healthy situation....(But) it is our assessment that East Bengal cannot remain united with Pakistan ever again in the same way it has been.

On Soviet aid to India

I've never asked for help at any age. Not even as a small child did I ask any person, "Will you do this for me or will you give me this"? I have not asked the Soviet Union for help. I have explained to them as I have to other

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countries what the situation is. Now, it is up to the Soviet Union—and other countries—to decide: is the stability of India important to our region or not?.... We certainly welcome help from whatever quarter it will come. We welcome support, we welcome sympathy. But I have always stood on my own two feet and I want India always to stand on its feet. We don't want to be dependent on any country in the world.

On Yahya Khan

(He is) one man who could not get elected in his own country if there were a fair election. I would say he would not even get elected in province if there were a fair election....(Asked to reply to a statement by President Yahya in last week's *Newsweek* interview, Mrs. Gandhi noted that Yahya had referred to her as "that woman".) That woman! I'm not concerned with the remark, but it shows the mentality of the person. I mean, how well has he judged his own capacity to deal with East Pakistan? If he can't judge a very small section of what was his own country, what weight has his judgment on India? What does he know about it? It's a world which is quite outside his ken.

Statement by Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram in the Parliament regarding concentration of Pakistani forces on India's borders

November 15, 1971

The genesis of the tense situation on our borders with Pakistan lies in the confrontation between the military rulers and the people of Bangla Desh.

The House is aware of the terrible crackdown by the Pakistan army on Bangla Desh on the fateful night of 25th/26th March, 1971. In an election held earlier for the first time after a decade, the people of Bangla Desh gave their confidence to the Awami League and voted for its six-point programme of autonomy. The military rulers of Pakistan, instead of honouring the result of the election, hurled defiance at the people of Bangla Desh and unleashed a terror like of which has not been seen or heard before, on the fateful night of March 25th/26th.

In the process, unprecedented atrocities have been perpetrated, hundreds of thousands of people have been done to death in cold blood; villages have been burnt; women have been dishonoured, and children maimed. The University of Dacca was a particular target for attack. The armed forces concentrated on the intelligentsia, the youth and the minorities. Modern weapons of warfare, including tanks, armoured cars, even artillery and aircraft have been used. This House has already extended its sympathies to the victims of this terror.

The people of Bangla Desh rose to a man in revolt. The East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles offered resistance, with many members of the armed police joining them. Whilst seemingly engaged in negotiations with the Awami League, the military rulers had already brought nearly two divisions of Pakistani troops into East Bengal.

When they met with determined resistance, large scale reinforcements were quickly brought in by air and sea. Later, large para-military forces, called the East Pakistan Civil Armed Force and Razakars have also been organised and are wrecking havoc in the country-side.

Unparalleled terror

Men, women and children, Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Buddhists, fled from this unparalleled terror in an unending stream to seek shelter in India. The

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terror continues unabated, so does the stream of refugees. It has reached the staggering figure of nearly 10 million people.

The genocide practised by Pakistan, the cruel attempt to destroy the culture and identity of the people of Bangla Desh, has evoked the sympathy of the entire world. The forcible expulsion of millions of men and women, of all creeds and ages, in a state of utter helplessness and exhaustion, constitutes, so far as we are concerned, a new kind of aggression. We could not but give them shelter and succour. Their continued stay in our country imposes intolerable strains on us; threatens the stability of our economy, jeopardizes many of the fundamental values enshrined in our Constitution, and has engendered social, economic and political tensions. It is our wish that these refugees from terror return to their homes in honour, in dignity and in full safety.

The military rulers have so far done nothing to put an end to the terror or to create conditions in which the refugees could return to their homes. The efforts made by the people, the press, the governments of many nations have so far proved unavailing.

The people of Bangla Desh have been making their own efforts to make it impossible for the Pakistan Army to continue its reign of terror. A powerful resistance movement has grown around the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles. Angry young men have joined in large numbers. The resistance offered by them has unnerved the Pakistan Army. Their successes have made them hopeful of early deliverance.

The military rulers have for the past many months been trying to divert the attention of the world from their misdemeanours and mistakes by fastening and foisting the blame on India. We are guilty only of sympathising and supporting people in dire distress. The President of Pakistan, however, threatens to wreak vengeance upon us if the Mukti Bahini succeeds in liberating their land from the clutches of Pakistani hordes who are perpetrating rape and rapine in Bangla Desh on a scale unprecedented in the recorded annals of history. On 30th July, 1971, President Yahya Khan threatened us with total war. On October 12, in his address to the nation, the threat was renewed. In between, the armed might of Pakistan has been significantly reinforced and strengthened. War hysteria has been whipped up. A poster campaign to "crush India" and "conquer India" has been launched. The cry of jehad has been raised.

To back up his threat of total war against India, President Yahya Khan ordered large-scale movement of troops all along the western Indo-Pak. border. Opposite Rajasthan, Gujarat and East Punjab, Pakistan has moved its troops close to our border. Special attention has been paid to the cease-fire line, in violation of the terms of the Karachi Agreement. Additional Pakistani battalions have been raised, Frontier Corps troops have been brought in; a large number of Mujahids have been activated, and an additional wing of Karakoram Scouts has been organised. All along the western border and the cease-fire line, enormous quantities of defence stores and ammunition have been piled up, close to the troops' locations. By the middle of October, almost the entire military might of Pakistan had been deployed, away from their cantonments, along our frontiers, in operational readiness. Since then, the Pakistani forces have indulged in a series of provocative acts. There has been a large number of border violations, on land and also in the air. There has been extensive shelling of Indian territory by Pakistanis on our eastern borders resulting in considerable damage to property and also in loss of life and injury to a number of our own citizens and also to many refugees seeking shelter on our soil. Fire has been exchanged along the cease-fire line.

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Many acts of sabotage have been committed along our eastern frontiers in an attempt to disrupt our lines of communication.

I do not wish to exaggerate, but the situation on our borders is very serious indeed. The Pakistan forces have the advantage of nearer interior lines. Their armoured divisions, which have been put into a full state of readiness, are poised to act in full concert. The reports received by us indicate pre-emptive strikes on our airfields as part of their plans.

In such a situation, we have no alternative but to move our forces to our western border. Today, our defence forces are deployed along the eastern and western borders in a full state of readiness to meet all eventualities. The morale of our jawans is very high. The morale of the people in the border districts is high; they have lent their whole-heartered support to the defence forces in organising our defence all along the border. Steps have also been taken to guard vital points and installations against sabotage and against air attacks. We are determined to defeat any attack on our territory and to carry the war to the soil of the aggressor.

I trust our vigilance and preparedness will deter the military rulers of Pakistan from carrying out their threats to make war upon us for a third time. We do not propose to relax our vigilance or withdraw our troops from the borders, until a satisfactory solution is found to the situation in Bangla Desh which shall induce and enable the refugees to return to their homeland. I wish, the futility of militarily suppressing the people of Bangla Desh dawns on Islamabad, and men in position of authority and influence heed the lessons of history and listen attentively to saner counsels. I fervently hope that the Pakistani rulers persuade themselves to abandon the course on which they have embarked, to retract their threats to us and to find a political solution to Bangla Desh which will be acceptable to the already elected representatives of the people under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This is the only course which will ensure democratic freedoms to all people on this sub-continent, providing them an opportunity to devote themselves to the peaceful tasks of economic and social progress.

Speech of the Chinese Delegate, Mr. Fu Hao, in the Third Committee of the U.N. Debate on Pakistani refugees in India

November 19, 1971

The representatives of quite a few countries have spoken expressing concern on East Pakistan question. The Chinese Delegation would also like to make a few remarks on this question. The Chinese Government and people have always held that the internal affairs of any country should be settled by the people of that country itself. The position that has arisen is purely Pakistan's internal affairs which could be settled only by Pakistan, and no other country has a right to interefere under any pretext. The so-called refugee question came into being and developed to this present stage due to a certain country's intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs which has resulted in the present tension in the sub-continent. Recently, Pakistan Government has repeatedly proposed measures for relaxation of tension in the sub-continent and to settle the question of refugees. All these proposals have been rejected by the country concerned. They continued to exploit the question of refugees to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan and to carry out subversive activities against her and to obstruct the return of East Pakistan refugees to their homeland making a reasonable settlement impossible. These tactics of interference in the internal affairs are well known to the Chinese

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Government and the people. In our experience, a certain country stepped up subversive activities in Tibet with a rebellion which was smashed by the Chinese people. They encouraged Chinese inhabitants into coming into that country and created the question of Tibetan refugees. We hold that interference in Pakistan's internal affairs should be stopped. Only in this way refugees can be assisted in returning to their homeland. Chinese Government has always abided by the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and is firmly opposed to any country interfering in the internal affairs of a country under the pretext of so-called refugee question. Disputes between States should be settled through consultation between countries concerned. We believe that the broad masses of people in Pakistan are patriotic and are totally opposed to interference and they will certain be able to solve their own problems.

Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in Rajya Sabha regarding pro-Pakistani stand by China in U.N. Third Committee

November 23, 1971

Government have seen the statement made by the Chinese Delegation on the question of Bangla Desh refugees, in the course of the debate in the Third Committee of the United Nations. The statement was not unexpected.

The refugee problem has been created as a result of the atrocities committed by the West Pakistan military authorities against the people of Bangla Desh to suppress their democratic rights and fundamental freedoms. The allegation that this problem has been created by outside intervention is baseless. The solution of the problem can be found if the military rulers of West Pakistan abandon their military approach and make a political settlement with the already elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh. For this reason, we have resisted Pakistan's attempts to divert attention from the main problem by converting it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute.

India is shouldering an intolerable burden in looking after these millions of refugees and is determined to ensure that they shall return to their homeland in safety and human dignity at the earliest possible date.

The grim tragedy which the millions of refugees represent, and for whom there is deep sympathy and support all over the world, cannot be ignored or evaded. The U.N. itself is directly involved in bringing relief to them. Many nations have responded to the U.N. Secretary-General's appeal. Attempts to introduce extraneous matters should not lead us away from the main problem. If the problem is considered objectively, no country, guided by considerations of humanity and justice, will allow itself to be side-tracked into extraneous and irrelevant arguments. No purpose will be served by accusations which are unrelated to reality. India has a proud record of non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs and categorically rejects any insinuations to the contrary. India hopes that no country of the world and, in particular, no Great Power, will add to the already existing tension in this region.

Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in Lok Sabha regarding U.S. decision to suspend arms supplies to India

December 3, 1971

Government have been informed by the U.S. Government that in view of what they regard as "the deteriorating situation in South Asia, and continued

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military engagements between Indian and Pakistani armed forces", they have as of December 1, 1971 decided:

(1) to suspend the issuance of all future munitions list licenses for India,

(2) not to issue any new licenses or renew existing ones, and

(3) to cancel several licenses, the total value of which according to their estimates is approximately $ 2 million.

For months, India had been drawing the attention of the United States and other Governments of the world to the enormous burden imposed on her by the inhuman atrocities of the Pakistan regime in Bangla Desh, and pleading that they should direct their efforts to persuade Pakistan to stop its military represssion and to negotiate a political solution with the already elected representatives of Bangla Desh. Their efforts to persuade the military regime in Pakistan have not borne any fruit. The continuing presence of ten million refugees on our soil, and a daily influx of over ten thousand, together with the concentration of Pakistani troops all along our border, and hundreds of violations of our ground and air, and continuous shelling of our territory, endanger our security. We cannot be silent spectators of this serious development. We are, therefore, surprised that the U.S. Government should have reacted to these developments in the manner they have done.

II. AFTER THE WAR

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES December 12, 1971

The Foreign Minister of India said in an interview today (December 12) that his Government had no territorial designs in East Pakistan and did not want to destroy Pakistan.

Swaran Singh, a tall bearded man wearing a white turban and a Nehru jacket, also said that India would never in any way be subservient to the Soviet Union or any other foreign power. He added that India hoped to have normal relations with China.

Mr. Swaran Singh, answering questions in his suite at the Carlyle Hotel, was asked whether he thought that the breakaway of East Pakistan as the independent nation of Bangla Desh could threaten the existence of Pakistan. He replied:

"I would not call this a breakaway of East Pakistan. Geographically, the two units are more than 1,000 miles apart; ethnically and linguistically, they are different altogether. I do not see why West Pakistan should have any fear or apprehension, if, in the assertion of their right of self determination, the people of Bangla Desh succeed in achieving independence for Bangla Desh".

Act of self-denial

"We are not out to destroy Pakistan. The leadership that agreed to the partition of India in 1947 is still living."

Mr. Swaran Singh added that when India decided to recognise the Government of Bangla Desh "We made a clear announcement of India's intention not to have any territorial designs against the territory of Bangla Desh".

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"It was an act of self-denial", he said. "We did not want to get there as an army of occupation or having any territorial designs on Bangla Desh".

Mr. Swaran Singh spoke a few moments before the White House, in issuing a call for a new Security Council meeting, declared that the War on the sub-continent was taking on the character of an armed attack on "the very existence" of Pakistan.

He was asked for his reaction to charges made by the Chinese representative in the Security Council that the Soviet Union was using India as a tool in a plan to encircle China, and whether he thought that there was a threat of Chinese intervention if East Pakistan became independent.

"I want to say categorically and very clearly that there is no question of India being exclusively dependent on the U.S.S.R.

"India, ever since the independence, has established the Indian identity, and the Indian personality has always refused, and will always refuse, to be a tool of any power whatsoever. We have our own policy. We have our own ways of working and our own objectives."

Differences between Neighbours

"India and China are neighbours. In the recent past, and at the present moment, there have been differences. Differences between neighbours are not uncommon. We believe that the people of China and the people of India want to live as good neighbours and that the time is not far off when relations will be normalised.

"The present situation has been brought about by the conduct of West Pakistan's military rulers in continuing atrocities and suppressing results of elections. It is this unwise policy that has created a feeling of cohesion among the people of Bangla Desh which has culminated in the emergence of a free Bangla Desh", he replied.

"I don't see why in such a situation the People's Republic of China should intervene in a matter which is, in origin and by history, a matter between the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan military rulers. We have been dragged into this on account of the pushing of about 10 million refugees into Indian territory."

"I don't see how and why the Government of the People's Republic of China should find it necessary to intervene in the situation."

Asked to comment on United States policies during the crisis, Mr. Swaran Singh said:

"We believe that the United States with its tremendous influence on President (Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan) could have exercised their influence in bringing about reconciliation between the West Pakistan military leaders and the people of Bangla Desh. If the United States had exercised (this influence) it would have helped Pakistan to tide over this crisis."

Charges of Delay Rejected

The Foreign Minister strongly rejected the charge made by some delegates that India had sought to delay action in the Security Council and the General Assembly to give her forces time to achieve military victory in East Pakistan. He said: "There is no question of our gaining time. We never started the war,

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never declared the war. But in the present situation that was developing, it was futile to consider the possibility of restoration of normal and peaceful conditions without the people of Bangla Desh. It is in this respect that the international community failed to take note of what was happening in Bangla Desh.

"The collision course of the Pakistani Military Generals has to be abandoned and an atmosphere must be created for the smooth withdrawal of West Pakistan forces from Bangla Desh, so that the people of Bangla Desh can take their future in their own hands. That is the essential point."

(THE NEW YORK TIMES—December 13, 1971)

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's interview to N.B.C. Television (U.S.A.) December 13, 1971

Q.—As a condition for negotiation with Pakistan, the Pakistani recognition of East Pakistan is given and that it is now an independent nation?

A.—I would not put it in that juridic sense, although we in India have recognised Bangla Desh and it will take West Pakistan some time before they actually get reconciled to the reality. But it will be a good development if West Pakistani authorities—the military regime—and also the politicians—do recognise this reality.

Q.—Would part of the negotiation on your side be the demand for the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman?

A.—We have made it absolutely clear that the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a circumstance which will stabilise more quickly the situation in Bangla Desh and this stabilisation is very necessary.

Q.—What is the condition now of U.S.-India relations after support of West Pakistan?

A.—We have noted that the United States Government did give support to Pakistan, and we also have a feeling that the United States Administration's approach to the situation was not unbiased, and, therefore, we are not happy about that attitude. But we have to take this in our stride.

Q.—What would happen if the United States Administration were to continue to send help to Pakistan, including military help under the CENTO and SEATO alliances?

A.—Any help that the United States Government gives to Pakistani military or the rest, which might make Pakistan more intransigent, is not likely to be in the interest of Pakistan and is not likely to be in the interest of peace in this region.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's letter to the U.S. President December 15, 1971

I am writing at a moment of deep anguish at the unhappy turn which the relations between our two countries have taken.

I am setting aside all pride, prejudice and passion and trying, as calmly as I can, to analyse once again the origins of the tragedy which is being enacted.

There are moments in history when brooding tragedy and its dark shadows can be lightened by recalling great moments of the past. One such great moment

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which has inspired millions of people to die for liberty was the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America. That Declaration stated that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of man's inalienable rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, it was the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

All unprejudiced persons objectively surveying the grim events in Bangla Desh since March 25 have recognised the revolt of 75 million people, a people who were forced to the conclusion that neither their life, nor their liberty, to say nothing of the possibility of the pursuit of happiness, was available to them. The World Press, Radio and Television have faithfully recorded the story. The most perceptive of American scholars who are knowledgeable about the affairs of this sub-continent revealed the anatomy of East Bengal's frustrations.

The tragic war, which is continuing, could have been averted, if during the nine months prior to Pakistan's attack on us on December 3, the great leaders of the world had paid some attention to the fact of revolt, tried to see the reality of the situation and searched for a genuine basis for reconciliation. I wrote letters along these lines. I undertook a tour in quest of peace at a time when it was extremely difficult to leave the country, in the hope of presenting to some of the leaders of the world the situation as I saw it. It was heart-breaking to find that while there was sympathy for the poor refugees, the disease itself was ignored.

War could also have been avoided, if the power, influence and authority of all the States, and above all of the United States, had got Sheikh Mujibur Rahman released. Instead, we were told that a civilian administration was being installed. Everyone knows that this civilian administration was a farce; today the farce has turned into a tragedy.

Lip service was paid to the need for a political solution, but not a single worthwhile step was taken to bring about. Instead, the rulers of West Pakistan went ahead holding farcical elections to seats which had been arbitrarily declared vacant.

There was not even a whisper that anyone from the outside world had tried to have contact with Mujibur Rahman. Our earnest plea that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should be released, or that, even if he were to be kept under detention, contact with him might be established, was not considered practical on the ground that the U.S. could not urge policies which might lead to the overthrow of President Yahya Khan. While the United States recognised that Mujib was a core factor in the situation and that unquestionably in the long run Pakistan must acquiesce in the direction of greater autonomy for East Pakistan, arguments were advanced to demonstrate the fragility of the situation and of Yahya Khan's difficulty.

Mr. President, May I ask you in all sincerity: Was the release or even secret negotiations with a single human being, namely, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, more disastrous than the waging of a war?

The fact of the matter is that the rulers of West Pakistan got away with the impression that they could do what they liked because no one, not even the United States, would choose to take a public position that while Pakistan's integrity was certainly sacrosanct, human rights, liberty, were no less so and that there was a necessary inter-connection between the inviolability of States and the contentment of their people.

Mr. President, despite the continued defiance by the rulers of Pakistan of the most elementary facts of life, we would still have tried our hardest to restrain the mounting pressure as we had for nine long months, and war could have been prevented had the rulers of Pakistan not launched a massive attack on us by

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bombing our airfields in Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra in the broad day light on December 3, 1971, at a time when I was away in Calcutta, my colleague, the Defence Minister, was in Patna and was due to leave further for Bangalore in the South, and another senior colleague of mine, the Finance Minister, was in Bombay. The fact that this initiative was taken at this particular time of our absence from the Capital showed perfidious intentions. In the face of this, could we simply sit back trusting that the rulers of Pakistan or those who were advising them had peaceful, constructive and reasonable intent?

We are asked what we want. We seek nothing for ourselves. We do not want any territory of what was East Pakistan and now constitutes Bangla Desh. We do not want any territory of West Pakistan. We do want lasting peace with Pakistan. But will Pakistan give up its ceaseless and yet pointless agitation of the last 24 years over Kashmir? Are they willing to give up their hate campaign and posture of perpetual hostility towards India? How many times in the last 24 years have my father and I offered a Pact of Non-aggression to Pakistan? It is matter of recorded history that each time such offer was made, Pakistan rejected it out of hand.

We are deeply hurt by the innuendos and insinuations that it was we who have precipitated the crisis and have in any way thwarted the emergence of solutions. I do not really know who is responsible for this calumny. During my visit to the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium, the point I emphasised, publicly as well as privately, was the immediate need for a political settlement. We waited nine months for it. When Dr. Kissinger came in August 1971, I had emphasised to him the importance of seeking an early political settlement. But we have not received, even to this day, the barest framework of a settlement which would take into account the facts as they are and not as we imagine them to be.

Be that as it may, it is my earnest and sincere hope that with all the knowledge and deep understanding of human affairs you, as President of the United States and reflecting the will, the aspirations and idealism of the great American people, will at least let me know where precisely we have gone wrong before your representatives or spokesmen deal with us with such harshness of language.

With regards and best wishes,

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's interview on CBS Television (U.S.A.)
December 20, 1971

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM'S NEWS CORRESPONDENT JOHN HART: In this half hour, the Foreign Minister of India is coming in to talk about what is coming next from Pakistan and Bangla Desh and India. What is new is that Pakistan has a new President today. He is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whom you saw walk out of the U.N. Security Council last week. He was Foreign Minister then, and now that Pakistan lost the war, President Yahya Khan has quit and let Bhutto take over. Bhutto's party won a lot of seats in the election that Yahya cancelled last December, most of the seats in the Western section of Pakistan, which is all that's left of it now. Bhutto said last week he won't have another election now since he won last time. Actually, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's party won a majority in the election last year, but his party was in East Pakistan and that's Bangla Desh now. Sheikh Mujib is a prisoner of Bhutto's, or else he's dead. Bhutto is the one who has to negotiate with India now, and he says he wants back the territories that India captured.

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We have India's Foreign Minister with us this morning, Sardar Swaran Singh. And, gentlemen, the first question I suppose is: when do you start negotiating?

A.—We will start negotiations as soon as Pakistan's leaders are ready to do so.

Q.—Do you have any indication of when that will be?

A.—It's very difficult for me to say. I hope that they will start quickly.

Q.—What will the negotiations be about, Mr. Singh? Will you be aiming for a stable peace?

A.—That should be the objective, to have a durable peace, and, in that context, the reality that Bangla Desh has come to stay will have to be taken into consideration. That is the basic issue involved.

Q.—So, that really is the condition for successful negotiations for a peace with Pakistan?

A.—You will call it a condition, but this has to be taken into consideration, and any durable peace without taking into consideration the aspirations of 75 million people is not realistic.

Q.—What about the person of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman? He has not yet appeared. One doesn't know whether he's alive or dead. Will that figure in the negotiations and in the reality of peace thereafter?

A.—It is our hope that he's alive, and, obviously, being the elected leader of the people of Bangla Desh, he will have a decisive voice in giving a future shape to that Bangla Desh which has come to stay—a Free People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

Q.—If he is not alive, Mr. Singh, or if he is not given up by the Pakistanis, what will that do to the negotiations?

A.—I presume that other leaders of the Awami League Party would (negotiate), but we do hope that Pakistan's military regime has not taken the extreme step of liquidating Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He is a great stabilizing factor.

Q.—Will India return that 1,400 miles or so of territory along the border that you captured during the fighting—in Kashmir and in Punjab?

A.—So far as the eastern sector is concerned, we recognize the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, and we have no intention to stay there even for a day longer. It all depends on how things stabilize and the aftermath of this conflict is clear. In the west also, we have made our position clear—that we have no territorial claims on Pakistani territory, and the negotiations should yield the result of that this thing is straightened out in this matter.

Q.—But what about Kashmir, Mr. Singh—which is not really Pakistan?

A.—That is a matter which can be negotiated. There has been a war, there was a cease-fire, there can be another cease-fire, if it comes to that.

Q.—But spokesmen of your government in New Delhi said that India would keep the territory in Kashmir which was occupied during the fighting of the last few weeks.

A.—That I would say will be a matter of negotiations and there will be a cease-fire line just as there arecease-fire lines after every armed conflict.

Q.—When will Indian forces be withdrawn from the east?

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A.—I already said that we do not want to stay there even for a day longer. There are several things to be attended to. The West Pakistan army, who have surrendered—they have to be repatriated. There are risks of reprisals, and the presence of the Indian army is a great stabilizing factor. All these factors will have to be taken into consideration. That will be a matter between the Government of India and the Government of Bangla Desh.

Q.—Mr. Minister, fighting between India and Pakistan, of course, had repercussions far beyond even these two big countries, because they involved politically and indirectly the Soviet Union, China, the United States. Can a new balance be found there? Let's take American relations with India. There was this great outpouring of—at least in public sentiment—of anti-American feeling. Is this going to colour future relations between India and the United States?

A.—We have always taken the view that this talk of balance is unfounded and there is no basis for it. And any actions taken by other powers to keep up an artificial state of balance of power is something which, I think, is at the root of many troubles here and elsewhere. You ask me about Indo-United States relations. There is no doubt that the United States Administration did not act in an unbiased manner. At the same time, the redeeming feature has been that newspapermen, leaders of public opinion, news media, Senators, Congressmen—they have appreciated the true facts of the situation. I will not venture to say that the state of relations has not been affected, but it all depends on how the Administration tackles this problem now that the shooting war is over.

Q.—Well, what do you suggest the Administration do then, Mr. Singh?

A.—To bring about a more unbiased attitude—in relation to our problem.

Q.—To bring about better relations with India, yes. Do you mean the recognition of Bangla Desh?

A.—The recognition of Bangla Desh will take time. But even without that, there are several postures which they adopt which do not give the impression of having an unbiased attitude when relations between India and Pakistan are concerned.

Q.—Could you be specific, Mr. Singh? What are those things?

A.—For instance, they still continue to plug the unfounded story that India was responsible for this war. We had to defend ourselves, and the war started when President Yahya Khan ordered air raids on our territory on the evening of the 3rd. To continue to say that India is more responsible for this war is an attitude which, to say the least, is not fair, is not just, and is not based on fact.

Q.—What about India's future relations with China, the great neighbour just across the Himalaya Mountains?

A.—We have always desired that relations between India and China should normalize, and this will continue to be our policy. A great deal depends on the response that we have from China, but our policy will continue to be to improve our relations with China.

Q.—The Chinese appear terribly suspicious. At the United Nations, they said that the presence of Tibetan refugees in India might be used to justify an Indian operation against Tibet the way, they said, that the presence of refugees from East Bengal was used to justify military operations into East Pakistan. How do you feel about these accusations?

A.—In the first place, there is no parallel between the situation in Bangla Desh and the situation in Tibet. In Bangla Desh, the democratic wishes and

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aspirations of 75 million people were ruthlessly suppressed by military atrocities. In the case of Tibet, we have made the position clear that Tibet is part of China. And, as regards the refugees from Tibet who are with us, we have given refuge to them on humanitarian considerations, and we have never permitted them to indulge in any political activity. This suspicion, if it is genuine, is unfounded, and I don't see why any parallel should be drawn between the two.

Q.—There was great concern at the United Nations, Mr. Singh, quite apart from the moral side of the case—the treatment of the Bengalis by Pakistan—great concern that the use of arms to settle what is even an excruciating problem between nations might be repeated elsewhere, because there are other Bangla Deshes in the world and other neighbours who are not—who are not really at peace.

A.—I do not see any basis for any such fear. For one thing, there are not many Bangla Deshes in other parts of the world. I can't imagine such a vast number of people—75 million people—having expressed unmistakably what they want; then that they should be suppressed in a military, and in a ruthless, manner. I can't see any parallel anywhere. There may be problems relating to the—to certain parts of or certain regions in other countries, but the case of Bangla Desh is a case by itself, and I don't think that there need be any fear in any other country that this can be repeated.

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's Press Conference at the U.N.
December 22, 1971

F.M.—I shall not detain you long. I extend you a very hearty welcome. I have no intention of making any opening statement. You can start straightway asking such questions as you may like.

Q.—Do you think that the Security Council resolution last night was a useful one?

A.—I think it is useful because it highlights and stresses the importance of stabilising the cease-fire, the principle of withdrawals also is accepted, and, therefore, it is a good resolution. It also indirectly acknowledges the reality of the situation, and there is no call for immediate withdrawal which, in the circumstances, is impracticable.

Q.—How does it indirectly recognise the reality?

A.—It does this in this respect that taking the two theatres—eastern and western theatres—in the eastern theatre any call for immediate withdrawal of troops would create a situation which obviously cannot be countenanced with any satisfaction. The situation there is such where a civil government has already been established. It is the latest information that we have got. The entire people are with the elected representatives, those who were elected in December, 1970, and they will take some time to establish themselves, and it is, therefore, necessary that some time should lapse before there can be a withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangla Desh.

Q.—Are you taking any steps in consultation with other governments in an attempt to secure the return of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to Bangla Desh?

A.—I have seen a press report that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is being released from prison and is being moved to a house. Perhaps his physical comfort might improve, but unless he is released, it is immaterial whether he is in a jail

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or a house, and it is time that he is released and comes back to his people to give them the lead that they badly require at this stage.

Q.—Would you like any of the West Pakistan troops in East Pakistan to return to West Pakistan before he is released?

A.—I have already made a statement in the Security Council that West Pakistan troops, as are left in East Pakistan, will in course of time be repatriated to West Pakistan as a result of negotiations that are bound to take place. After that, the Government of Bangla Desh, constituted by the elected representatives, will decide as to what are their requirements, and we do not want to be there in Bangla Desh even for a day longer than may be necessary.

Q.—Are you saying, Mr. Foreign Minister, that if West Pakistan did not release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, you will still return West Pakistan troops?

A.—We attach importance to the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, because he is the one man who can stabilise and give the right lead to the 75 million people of Bangla Desh, and, therefore, it is necessary anyhow, and we would do our best along with other countries to ensure that he is released and goes back to his people.

Q.—Mr. Foreign Minister, you mentioned last night two conditions that must take place before withdrawal. One was that all the refugees must return to their country. I did not quite get the second.

A.—In fact, I mentioned in my yesterday's intervention in the Security Council, but it was not exhaustive in relation to the factors that might necessitate the stay of Indian troops in Bangla Desh. I mentioned some of these considerations. One was the creation of conditions where the refugees could return to their homes and the other important consideration is that the West Pakistan troops in Bangla Desh at the present moment face a danger of reprisals, and for their protection and for their repatriation also the presence of Indian troops is necessary. It is also necessary to ensure that the type of reprisals that are not unnatural in a situation where the entire people have suffered for over nine months in all manner of atrocities; it is to tide over these difficulties that the continued presence for some time of Indian troops in Bangla Desh appears to be necessary.

Q.—Can you make a guess about how long that will take?

A.—A great deal depends on the international community. The more rapid the recognition of the reality in Bangla Desh by the international community, the easier will it be for us to pull out our troops from Bangla Desh. But, if there is no response to the continued assertion by West Pakistan that they have the right to send troops to Bangla Desh, that will be a negative factor and this will obviously delay the Indian troops leaving Bangla Desh. The sooner the international community recognises the reality that Bangla Desh has come to stay, the sooner will Bangla Desh move towards stability, and thus enable India to pull out her troops.

Q.—What is your assessment of the delay in action by the United Nations, particularly recalling that the Secretary-General asked the U.N. to take some action last summer?

A.—It is not for me to comment upon that. All of you are fully familiar with it. I think the main reason was that there was reluctance on the part of a number of countries to take some action for stopping the atrocities and for stopping the movement of refugees from Bangla Desh, treating this as an internal affair of Pakistan. But in the context of what is any country's internal affair, if

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it causes an external problem of the magnitude that India faced when India received ten million refugees, then obviously it ceases to be an internal matter, and the reluctance of the international community to tackle this aspect is mainly responsible for inaction which ultimately resulted in encouraging the West Pakistan military regime to go on with the atrocities which were being committed against the innocent and unarmed people of Bangla Desh.

Q.—You must have seen comments in the Press—I have in mind the British Press—which says that the sub-continent—in the political analysis of the situation—is now wide open to big power—three powers—struggle that may transcend the entire rivalry between Pakistan and India.

A.—We in India have never accepted the concept of a balance of power—a subject about which many western commentators have aired their views. It is for the people living in that region to work out their destiny and their future, and I have no doubt in my mind that with her traditions of democratic institutions, with the tradition of working out a federal democratic system, India will definitely provide the stability that is necessary. We have demonstrated even in this Indo-Pakistan conflict that we had no territorial designs against Pakistan, even though we are in full occupation of Bangla Desh still we have said from the very beginning that it is for the people of Bangla Desh to work out their future, and if the people in the various parts of the sub-continent are encouraged by the international community to decide their own future and to mould their own destiny, there will not be any scope for any outside interference. It is our earnest hope that any talk of external interference would not take any concrete shape.

Q.—Would you give us your reaction to the change of presidency in Pakistan?

A.—Mr. Bhutto is no doubt the democratically elected leader of West Pakistan, because his party did have a clear majority in West Pakistan. It is significant to mention that he was content to be Deputy Prime Minister under Mr. Nurul Amin, who was designated as Prime Minister. But there is now recognition of the change in the situation and Nurul Amin now appears to be satisfied in accepting Vice-Presidentship. This indicates that Mr. Bhutto himself realises that he is the leader of West Pakistan, rather than of the whole of Pakistan, because his party did not get a single seat in Bangla Desh. So, we will be prepared to deal with whoever may be the head of government in Pakistan and Mr. Bhutto is as good as anyone else.

Q.—When will these negotiations take place, Mr. Singh?

A.—We are prepared to start them immediately and I am not sure whether Pakistan is yet ready to do so. May be, on account of the big changes, the overhaul of their defence forces and the rest, they may take some time before they are ready to start negotiations. On our side, we are prepared to start straightway.

Q.—Do you consider the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman a condition which has to be fulfilled before you start negotiations?

A.—My own assessment is that, on the political level, things in Pakistan are likely to move quite swiftly. Whereas the military generals always had a military approach, President Bhutto is likely to make swift political moves and obviously the political move which is likely to be made is to try to persuade Sheikh Mujib, and in that connection, I think, the early release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, cannot be ruled out. We would very much like him to be released.

Q.—Does not the threat of Mr. Bhutto to fight on disturb you at all?

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A.—It is not a very happy thought that after becoming President his first speech should be that he wants to continue the fight. I do not know—continue to fight for what? And the fact that the Pakistani Delegation has accepted the Security Council resolution that was adopted yesterday, does indicate that their actual approach and response is not the same as the extremist statement by President Bhutto.

Q.—Where do you expect these negotiations would take place?

A.—Any place. We have no strong views. We are prepared to go to any place for these negotiations. We are prepared to go to Islamabad and we will welcome them if they want to come to Delhi.

Q.—Would you tell us whether you consider the assistance of a special representative of the Secretary-General useful in such negotiations?

A.—So far as the utility of the Secretary-General's representative for tackling the humanitarian aspect is concerned, it will be a welcome move. But these other political talks are a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan, and, in retrospect, let us remember that whereas the international community here in the United Nations was still struggling with the problem, the two parties did bring about a cease-fire. It shows that the two sides have a capacity to deal with the situation as it develops and also can take concrete steps, although a war was going on to conclude the cease-fire arrangements, although the initiative in this case came from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who offered a unilateral cease-fire.

Q.—To what extent do you think the Soviets control India ? I mean India's reputation of neutrality.

A.—India's reputation for being a non-aligned country has increased as a result of the Indo-Soviet treaty, because the Indo-Soviet treaty definitely recognises that India is a non-aligned country, and the U.S.S.R. first perhaps in any formal document has also admitted the validity of the concept of non-alignment as a factor for peace and stability in the world. So, the Indo-Soviet treaty in fact highlights the importance of non-alignment in the concept of international peace.

Q.—I need hardly tell you that this is not the kind of thinking in Washington.

A.—Washington have their own method of assessing situations, and I think, as time passes, the Administration in Washington will also realise that India is a country mature enough and big enough to look after its own interests and is not dependent on the particular support of any country, nor is it terribly afraid of the irritations that might be in the minds of other countries. These are things which a country like India has to take in its stride, and things will definitely fall in proper perspective as time passes.

Q.—You spoke about negotiations—bilateral negotiations. Will they be bilateral negotiations or will they be trilateral too ?

A.—There will be several points for which there will be trilateral negotiations also, particularly in relation to Bangla Desh. But for the western theatre the talks need not be trilateral, they will essentially be bilateral.

Q.—We hear, Mr. Minister, it is being said that in this problem it is inherent that the Jammu and Kashmir case may be re-opened with the possibility that old tensions may be re-awakened.

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A.:—Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. It is governed by the Constitution of India, and after the atrocities committed by the West Pakistani military regime in Bangla Desh, when they supperssed democratic urges of the people of Bangla Desh, any talk of self-determination, a concept about which Pakistan has always been stressing, becomes meaningless. At any rate, I do not see why the emergence of Bangla Desh as an independent country should have any effect on Jammu and Kashmir.

Q.—How do you assess the role of Britain and France in the Security Council?

A.—Britain and France have shown a greater understanding of the realities of the situation, and ultimately, in retrospect, their stand appears to be justified, because their main approach was that any resolution which has not got a chance of going through the Security Council is not likely to yield any useful result, and, in retrospect, this approach has turned out to be a realistic approach, and therefore we in India appreciate that they adopted an attitude where they did realise the reality of the situation. The reality was the Will of 75 million people of Bangla Desh.

Q.—Mr. Foreign Minister, to take you out of such a tense topic....

A.—It is not tense at all.

Q.—How do you feel about the new Secretary-General, as you will have to do a lot of business with him?

A.—I have known Ambassador Waldheim for a long time, and I think that it is a very good choice, and he is likely to play a very useful role in serving the international community.

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's Press Conference in London
December 23, 1971

I have no intention to take up much of your time in making an opening statement. I would like to say that the emergence of Bangla Desh as an independent country is now a reality. The quick and neat success of the Indian armed forces in Bangla Desh is a tribute not only to the Indian armed forces who were acting in self-defence when India was attacked on December 3rd by the West Pakistan army, but the solid and spontaneous support and enthusiasm of the people of Bangla Desh is also a very powerful and decisive and effective factor in the success that the Indian armed forces achieved. The civilian government of Bangla Desh has already started functioning and their civil administration will be established on the ground soon. It is the co-operation and the loyalty and support given to the leaders of Bangla Desh by the people of Bangla Desh which is the real important factor in the situation. This is a victory of the people of Bangla Desh, and the sooner this fact is realised and recognised by the international community the better. By continuing to stick to the old ideas, the international community showed great reluctance in appreciating in proper perspective the situation that was developing over the last nine months, and this factor was also responsible for bringing the situation to the point which it reached in December. If in the initial stages the international community had fully appreciated the implications of violent and fragrant violation of the fundamental freedom and values for which the United Nations Charter stands and had taken some concrete steps for correcting the situation, perhaps the story would have been different. Even now, that Bangla Desh has emerged as an independent country, is a factor which has to be realised by the international community, appreciated in its proper perspective, and if this is done, I think that the whole situation in the sub-continent will rapidly return to normalcy.

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You have already seen the resolution adopted in the Security Council, and I had some comments to make on this in a Press Conference in New York yesterday. I have nothing more to add, so I leave it to you to ask any questions you have on this or any other matter.

Before I conclude, I would like to say that we in India greatly appreciate the understanding that was shown by the government and people of the U.K. throughout this crisis that we faced. They did appreciate better than many other country the reality of the situation, and they had a more realistic approach and had a greater understanding of the issues involved, and we are appreciative of the attitude taken by the government, and I would like to add, the general attitude of sympathy and understanding shown by the people of the U.K., by the newspapers, by information media, and this we greatly value and appreciate. This has brought the people and governments of our two countries, India and the U.K., much closer to each other. There is almost complete identity of views in this respect between the two governments. I had a very useful talk with Sir Alec Douglas-Home this morning when we went over a number of questions. Our appreciation of the situation is very similar. You can start with your questions, if you like, and if there are none then I can have a holiday.

Q.—Did you have any specific proposals to make to Sir Alec Douglas-Home?

A.—No, I did not have any specific proposals to make. On my return from New York, I am spending a day here and I took the opportunity of reviewing with Sir Alec the situation as it is unfolding itself, and we exchanged views about the situation.

Q.—Are there any promising signs that the recognition of Bangla Desh may come from other quarters, notably the Soviet Union?

A.—So far it has been recognised by two countries—India and Bhutan. We hope that other countries that belong to the international community will also start dealing with Bangla Desh on a *de facto* basis to start with, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Bangla Desh government will enjoy the overwhelming support—almost unanimous support—of their people as demonstrated by the welcome accorded to the Bangla Desh leaders when they went to Dacca yesterday, and also as brought out by a welcome that was extended to the Indian army as they moved into Bangla Desh. As the control of the government gets established, which is bound to be before long, the governments will, to start with, deal with them on a *de facto* basis and a *de jure* recognition will come before long. This is our assessment. This will essentially be a matter which will be pursued by the Bangla Desh government. We recognise them as a sovereign government, a sovereign, independent government.

Q.—Do you expect other countries to follow India's lead and recognise Bangla Desh?

A.—We do not expect them to follow India's lead but by their own assessment. I am sure they will also first start dealing with the Bangla Desh government on a *de facto* basis and then they will take their time for granting *de jure* recognition.

Q.—What kind of *de facto* basis is possible immediately? Trade and all this?

A.—Trade and several other matters. In the international community trade and commerce are one. Then there are several other matters of a commercial character, even of a governmental character—communications, post, telegraphs,

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foreign exchange earnings. All these are matters, which when a country of 75,000,000 people with a civilian government representing the will and aspirations of the people exists, is bound to be recognised.

Q.—Did Sir Alec indicate to you when Britain is likely to recognise Bangla Desh?

A.—No, he did not indicate to me as to when the U.K. is likely to recognise Bangla Desh, and I did not ask this thing specifically from him. I am sure the Bangla Desh Government will get in touch with the government of the U.K.

Q.—Sir, how do you envisage your peace settlement with Pakistan especially over the Kashmir issue?

A.—Our settlement with West Pakistan can be on a realistic basis, and this realistic basis has to take into consideration the reality on the ground. The reality on the ground is, one, that Bangla Desh is a separate independent country, and two, that Mr. Bhutto is the democratically elected leader of West Pakistan. His party did not win a single vote in East Pakistan, and if Mr. Bhutto continues to stake his claim of Bangla Desh being part of Pakistan, obviously, he is likely to face more and more difficulties and complications. But if this reality is taken into consideration and if actions are taken, if not explicity at any rate implicitly, keeping this background in view that things can move towards normalcy. About Jammu and Kashmir, we have always taken the view that Jammu and Kashmir are an integral part of India, and West Pakistan has to get reconciled to this. The West Pakistan military having acted in an atrocious manner in suppressing the democratic urges of the people of Bangla Desh can have no claim, even a moral claim, to ask for having any say so far as Jammu and Kashmir are concerned. They are part of India. There is a legislature, which is in control of Jammu & Kashmir, elected on adult franchise under an autonomous election commission. I don't see what is the dispute about Jammu and Kashmir. We don't recognise any such dispute.

Q.—It is the assumption in this country that Bangla Desh and Kashmir could be exchanged. Bangla Desh has gone to India, they say, while Kashmir should go to Pakistan. Therefore, do you think there is any relation between the two at all?

A.—I don't think there could be any serious talk of this nature. The 75,000,000 people of Bangla Desh cannot be bartered away by anybody. It is their country and they have taken charge of their affairs. No other country has got the authority or moral justification to indulge in any such exercise. Similarly, Jammu and Kashmir are part of India and belong to the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are Indians. For any person to talk of exchange, as if these are two bits of real estate, is something which is totally opposed to modern concepts of countries and states. It is the people that matter, not the rivers and mountains.

Q.—How long do you expect Indian troops to stay in Bangla Desh?

A.—We would not like our Indian troops to stay in Bangla Desh even for a day longer than may be absolutely necessary. This is essentially a matter now between the Government of Bangla Desh and the Government of India. It is our expectation that the authority of the Government of Bangla Desh would be established soon, sooner than many other people imagine. This would enable us to move our troops out of Bangla Desh.

Q.—May I ask you, Sir, if any representations have been made since President Bhutto took office regarding the possible release of Sheikh Mujib?

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A.—I do not know if any other government has approached President Bhutto for release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. At any rate, we from India have not approached President Bhutto for releasing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But by the same criterion of the functioning of democratic processes which have brought Mr. Bhutto to the Presidency of West Pakistan, by the same token he should accept the result of democratic processes so far as Bangla Desh is concerned. Bangla Desh has given Sheikh Mujib a majority which is more overwhelming and decisive as compared to what Mr. Bhutto got in West Pakistan. So, by the same token, if he has any respect for democratic processes, which he says he has, the least that he should do is to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman so that he goes back to his own people and gives them the lead for establishing their government and for consolidating the people, which is a matter of prime necessity at the moment.

A questioner made a long statement about plebiscite in Kashmir.

A.—Well, after this counter Press Conference, I am tempted to ask questions, but I will resist that temptation because the issues involved today are crisp and clear. Madam mentioned about the democratic processes. The requirement of that democratic process is that Mr. Bhutto should abandon any claim about Bangla Desh, because his Party did not get any seat there, and he should recognise clearly that the people of Bangla Desh had elected these people and those people should be entrusted with the task of running their administration. When Mr. Bhutto, as the leader of West Pakistan, starts talks with us in that capacity, we will do everything possible to deal with him in the best possible and most friendly manner that we can. So far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, we will only request the lady to remember that 1971 is not 1947, and one quarter of a century has already passed and things have taken shape there with three wars in between—1947, 1965 and 1971—which have to be taken into consideration. The Will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has been ascertained from time to time. They are part of India, and any such talk of old, outmoded. Security Council formulations have no relevance at all in the context of what is happening today, and it is in that context that we should view the situation.

Q.—Isn't it a fact that the plebiscite was dependent upon Pakistan vacating the illegally occupied part of Kashmir, which was also the view of the United Nations Commission at that time?

A.—There have been lengthy debates in the U.N. and I don't want to start a debate now. The position is clear. Jammu and Kashmir is part of India and will remain part of India.

Q.—Do you expect any trouble in persuding the guerrillas to lay down their arms? It seems from the reports in the papers that the provisional government representatives delayed their arrival in Dacca because of the security situation.

A.—If we take into consideration the fact that for nine months the repression of the West Pakistan army had been unleashed in the manner it has been, the aftermath of war and assumption of authority by the civilian elected representatives, the reprisals and the unrest is, to say the least, comparatively mild. With the authority that the civilian elected representatives enjoy amongst the people of Bangla Desh, it is our expectation that the situation will return to normal very quickly. In that context, I have no doubt this specific problem of controlling the freedom-fighters is not likely to present any serious difficulties, and we can depend upon the popularity and the ideals to which the new Government of Bangla Desh adhere to, will be a sufficient guarantee against the continuance of activities of this nature. The democratic process, the Will of the people, these are the

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biggest factors, and the West Pakistan army faced their disaster because they were trying to control by military means the Will so unmistakably expressed by 75,000,000 people.

Q.—Sir, how do you see the development of your relations with the United States in the light of the shifts that have occurred in the past few weeks?

A.—The United States Government's appreciation of the situation was not correct and the postures that they adopted, both bilaterally and also in the international sphere, were based on wrong appreciation of the situation as it existed on the ground. It is our expectation that the reality will dawn upon them, just as it is bound to be appreciated by other countries, and they are not likely to persist in their attitude of biased approach. If this change comes about, there are no differences of a vital character between India and the United States of America. In fact, there are more points which can bring the countries together—democratic institutions in the two countries, freedom of press and free society. It is hoped that their own information media, their own public opinion, the academic circles and also the greater appreciation of the situation itself, the implications both in the short run and long range, these will be appreciated by the United States Government, and they should move to a more realistic attitude. We on our side are prepared to forget these irritations that undoubtedly crept in on a bilateral basis between India and the United States of America, and are prepared to co-operate for the good of the people in the sub-continent, the people of Bangla Desh, the people of India and the people of West Pakistan.

Q.—What sort of contacts do you expect between the Indian government and the Soviet Government in the foreseeable future?

A.—Our contacts with the Government of the U.S.S.R. are friendly and close and this friendship has been amply demonstrated during this period. Their stand also is based on principle, the basic principle being that by military means you cannot continue to control the 75,000,000 people. You cannot kill people and push out people and make them refugees. They took a consistent stand which we greatly appreciate and value. We hope that they will continue to bring about the same objective appraisal of the situation and will continue to see the viewpoint of the people in the sub-continent of Hindustan.

Q.—The people of Bangla Desh obviously need fairly heavy aid to keep going and to establish an administration. What financial aid is India going to give?

A.—It is correct that the government of Bangla Desh will be facing problems of reconstruction, development and also of providing sufficient aid of humanitarian character, and in this they deserve a very generous response from the entire international community. Depending on India's resources, India will also be willing to co-operate in this process of development and reconstruction.

Q.—Sir, would you care to give us your appreciation of the attitude of China and of Chinese designs as you see it in the foreseeable future?

A.—In this crisis, China's attitude is, to say the least, full of contradictions. They generally have been pursuing a policy of supporting people's movements in different parts of the world. This movement, which had the overwhelming support of the people of Bangla Desh, has not been viewed by the government of the People's Republic of China in the style in which they had been approaching similar struggles in other parts of the world. Their persistent and consistent support to the military regime of West Pakistan is a factor which made the West Pakistan military regime more intransigent. It was not in their interests either

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that the military regime has now been liquidated. This has been one of the results of unprincipled and blind support that China extended to the military regime which has faced this disaster.

Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh after return from the U.N. December 25, 1971

Following is a report on the Statement :

Several countries will soon begin dealing with Bangla Desh on a '*de facto*' basis, and this will pave the way for formal recognition of the new republic.

This was stated by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, while speaking to reporters after his return from the U.N. (*December* 25):

He said that the reality that was Bangla Desh was increasingly being appreciated by the world. Indeed, many countries at the U.N. had privately told the Indian delegation, even while fighting was in progress, " that Indian forces should accomplish their objective in Bangla Desh with speed ". The final resolution that emerged from the Security Council indirectly took cognizance of the fact that a new nation had come into being.

He warned President Bhutto that if he insisted in clinging to the notion that Bangla Desh was part of Pakistan, " he will be committing a grevious mistake and will prevent the return of normalcy to the sub-continent ". However, Mr. Swaran Singh hoped that Mr. Bhutto's threats did not represent his real attitude. The new Pakistani President had no doubt spoken of a 1000-year war, but at the same time he had accepted the latest Security Council Resolution which indirectly recognised the new situation in Bangla Desh.

" We should allow him to discover his real position, and need not take too much notice of what he says at present. He has inherited a difficult task, and I have sympathy for him and not anger ". In fact, said Mr. Swaran Singh, he would welcome Mr. Bhutto's elevation to the leadership of Pakistan " if he sheds his role as Martial Law Administrator and self-appointed President and reverts to democracy. "

If Mr. Bhutto thought that he could deceive the " freedom-loving people of Bangla Desh " by including a few Bengalis in his Cabinet, " he is sadly mistaken ". The same trick had been attempted by General Yahya Khan who named Mr. Nurul Amin as Prime Minister. Attempts to project such discredited politicians as the voice of Bangla Desh would not delude anybody in the world, " certainly not the people of Bangla Desh ".

Withdrawal of Troops

On the withdrawal of Indian forces, Mr. Swaran Singh said: " We don't want to stay in Bangla Desh a day longer than absolutely necessary ". If the international community recognised Bangla Desh, it would give confidence to the new Government and enable early pull-out of Indian troops. But the Minister made it clear that the presence of Indian troops was a matter to be settled only by the Governments of India and Bangla Desh. Not even the Security Council had laid down a deadline for troop withdrawal.

Asked about the atmosphere at the U.N., Mr. Swaran Singh said that the international community seemed to have forgotten about the atrocities committed

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by West Pakistani troops in Bangla Desh for nine months. Nobody seemed concerned with the flagrant violations of the U.N. Charter by Pakistan; they merely talked of the risk of dismemberment of Pakistan. The Indian Delegation had to repeatedly stress the background to the conflict. Gradually, there was a shift in the thinking of the U.N., and "some of the countries which continued to persist in laying the major blame on India found themselves in a hopeless minority". India's unilateral declaration of cease-fire had a good impact on the U.N. and paved the way for a new resolution which was acceptable to all.

Mr. Swaran Singh expressed India's great appreciation for the "consistent and principled stand" of the U.S.S.R. and Poland in the Security Council. He also appreciated the stand taken by the U.K. and France who refused to support any resolution which did not take into account the realities of the situation. However, Mr. Swaran Singh regretted the attitude of some Arab countries and hoped that the Arab world would ultimately grasp the true dimensions of the situation.

Interpreting the Security Council Resolution, the Minister said that negotiations on troop withdrawal in the west would have to take place between India and Pakistan. But, there was no question of negotiations regarding the east; with the surrender of Pakistani troops, there was no Pakistani military presence in that region. If Pakistani troops tried to re-enter Bangla Desh it "would obviously be an act of aggression". India could deal with such acts of aggression in a firm manner.

He said that the bravery and exemplary discipline of Indian troops in the conflict had contrasted sharply with "the unprofessional behaviour of the Pakistani forces in Bangla Desh ever since the crackdown in March last".

(**THE TIMES OF INDIA**, New Delhi—December 26, 1971)

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's interview to the Time Magazine (U.S.A.)
January 3, 1972

The Time Magazine in its issue, dated January 3, 1972, carried a report on an interview of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by William Stewart.

Following is the text :

The determined woman whose nation now dominates the sub-continent of South Asia approaches peace as she approached war with Pakistan: coldly, but optimistically. During an interview in her airy, unassuming New Delhi office, *Time* Correspondent William Stewart found Prime Minister Indira Gandhi "relaxed and smiling shyly, though looking slightly wan. She was spontaneous but totally free of wartime rhetoric". Some of her comments:

On relations with Pakistan

A stable Pakistan is in India's interests, and we want normal, friendly and enduring relations with the new government. We do not insist that Islamabad recognize the new regime in Dacca. After all, Bangla Desh is a reality; anything else is between Bangla Desh and Pakistan. But Pakistan must overcome her negative attitude towards India. Whether Mr. Bhutto's new government is politically secure enough to negotiate a satisfactory settlement is not for me to say. You heard the speech he made (in which Bhutto promised peace only if New Delhi recognised the East as still a part of Pakistan). I hope that is not all he has to say.

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On Moscow's influence

We are friends; we have always been friends. The Soviet Union recognised certain attitudes in Asia, such as racialism and colonialism. But Russia will not affect our decision making. We will not be party to any bloc.

On U. S. policy

There must be more realism in America regarding the realities of modern Asia. The turmoil that has engulfed South Asia is essentially a legacy of the big-power politics from the days of John Foster Dulles. We have never believed in balance-of-power politics; it is quite out of date. But it was that sort of politics that forces us into war, even though war was not in our national interest. We are not going to allow other countries to use Pakistan as they have before.

On the refugees

I don't see any reason why the refugees who have come to India from East Pakistan should be reluctant to go home now. They might have been inclined to stay a while ago, when the liberation of Bangla Desh still seemed impossible to them. But I'm sure that the bulk of the refugees will be returned before the end of February.

On India's stability

Not a single voice has been raised for a union of the Bengalis (meaning the Bengalis of East Pakistan and their restive neighbours in India's State of West Bengal, some of whom are remoured to favour secession from India in order to join Bangla Desh). The people of Bangla Desh went through hell to establish their separate identity. Why should they give it up?

On the cease-fire

There have been suggestions (among others, from President Nixon) that we were pressured into the cease-fire by the Russians, who in turn were being pressured by the Americans. Hah! The decision was made right here, at the moment of the surrender in Dacca. We were able to inform the Soviet Union right away only because Mr. Kuznetzov (the Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister) happened to be here. I am not a person to be pressured by anybody or any nation.

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CHAPTER X

BANGLA DESH IN THE UNITED NATIONS

I. DOCUMENTS

Extracts from U.N. Secretary-General's introduction to the Annual Report on the work of the U.N. Organisation relating to the situation in East Bengal
September 17, 1971

The civil strife which erupted in East Pakistan in March, 1971, and its aftermath, are matters of deep concern to me as Secretary-General of the United Nations. While the civil strife in itself is an internal affair of Pakistan, some of the problems generated by it are necessarily of concern to the international community. The recent events in East Pakistan, following on the cyclone disaster of last November, have resulted in extensive loss of life, destruction and disruption. The plight of much of the population is serious, and millions of people have fled to the adjacent states of India, bringing to the Indian authorities overwhelming health and relief problems and imposing an intolerable burden upon their already strained resources. International assistance on an unprecedented scale was urgently needed both for the relief of the distressed people in East Pakistan and for aid to the East Pakistan refugees in India.

I expressed my concern over this situation to President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan shortly after the events of March, 1971, and have been in continuous touch with the Governments of Pakistan and India, both through their Permanent Representatives at the United Nations and through other contacts. In these exchanges I have been acutely aware of the dual responsibility of the United Nations, including the Secretary-General, under the Charter both to observe the provision of Article 2, paragraph 7, and to work, within the framework of international economic and social co-operation, to help, promote and ensure human well-being and humanitarian principles.

It was with this latter responsibility in mind that I appealed for assistance both for the East Pakistan refugees in India and for the population of East Pakistan. In order to channel the assistance given in response to those appeals, I designated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the Focal Point for assistance to the refugees in India and assigned, with the agreement of the Government of Pakistan, a representative in Dacca in order to make as effective use as possible of the international assistance made available for the relief of the population of East Pakistan. In addition to those two emergency relief operations, the High Commissioner has initiated, with my full concurrence, an effort to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees now in India.

At its meeting on 16th July, 1971, the Economic and Social Council held a full discussion of these operations, based on the statements made in the Council by the High Commissioner and the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs.

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At the conclusion of this discussion, the President of the Council expressed full support for the action taken by the Secretary-General.

Substantial contributions have been promptly offered in response to my appeal for the refugees in India. However, the money and supplies made available are not nearly sufficient, and the Indian Government still faces the appalling and disruptive problem of caring for millions of refugees in its territory for an unforeseeable period of time.

The response to my appeal for the relief operation in East Pakistan, particularly in its initial phase, has been far from sufficient or adequate to the magnitude of the task. In this connexion, I should mention that in my dealings with the Government of Pakistan, as well as in the organisation of the relief effort in East Pakistan, I have been at pains to emphasise the necessity of being able to give to the donor countries appropriate assurances that their contributions will reach their intended destination—the people of East Pakistan.

Efforts to bring about the repatriation of refugees have so far been unavailing. Since President Yahya Khan announced his agreement to allow the East Pakistan refugees to return on 25th May, only an insignificant number of refugees have done so, and, according to Indian and other sources, the total number of the refugees in India has steadily increased.

The crux of the matter is that international and government efforts in East Pakistan are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in the region. There is a danger that serious food shortages, and even famine, could soon add to the sufferings of the population unless conditions can be improved to the point where a large-scale relief programme can be effective. Equally serious is the undoubted fact that reconciliation, an improved political atmosphere and the success of relief efforts are indispensable prerequisites for the return of any of the refugees now in India. The situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of vicious circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved.

These human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups on the sub-continent as a whole. The relations between the Governments of India and Pakistan are also a major component of the problem. The conflict between the principles of the territorial integrity of States and self-determination has often before in history given rise to fratricidal strife and, in recent years, has provoked highly emotional reactions in the international community. In the present case, there is an additional element of danger for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing and unresolved difficulties between India and Pakistan, difficulties which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago. Although there can be no question of the deep desire of both Governments for peace, tension between them shows no sign of subsiding. The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent, and this is all the more serious since refugees must cross this disturbed border if repatriation is to become a reality. Nor can any of us in the United Nations afford to forget that a major conflict on the sub-continent could all too easily expand.

In tragic circumstances such as these, it is all too easy to make moral judgements. It is far more difficult to face up to the political and human realities of the situation and to help the people find a way out of their difficulties. It is the latter course which, in my view, the United Nations must follow.

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In the light of the information available to me, I reluctantly came to the conclusion, by mid-July, that the time was past when the international community could continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions would be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster. I was deeply concerned about the possible consequences of this situation, not only its humanitarian aspect, but also the potential threat to international peace and security and the bearing it might have on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seemed to me that the tragic situation arising from these events, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems were mixed in such a way as almost to defy distinction, presented a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met.

For these reasons, I felt it was my duty, as Secretary-General, to bring this problem to the attention of the Security Council. I did so on 20th July by means of a memorandum to the President of the Council. In the memorandum, after outlining the considerations set forth above, I stated that the political aspects of this matter were of such far-reaching importance that the Secretary-General was not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the members of the Security Council had taken note of the problem. I believed, however, that the United Nations—with its long experience in peace-keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion—must and should play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy and to avert a further deterioration of the situation. I expressed the view that the Security Council, the world's highest body for the maintenance of international peace and security, was in a position to consider, with the utmost attention and concern, the situation on the sub-continent and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken. My primary purpose was to provide the basis and opportunity for such discussions to take place and to express my grave concern that all possible means should be explored to resolve this tragic situation.

At about the same time as I submitted this memorandum, which is related to a concern for international peace and security, I made a humanitarian proposal, also in the exercise of my responsibilities and within my competence as Secretary-General, aimed at facilitating the process of voluntary repatriation of refugees by establishing on both sides of the border a limited representation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. As an initial step, I suggested that such representatives should be stationed in two or three areas to be selected by the two Governments, in consultation with him. The Government of Pakistan accepted my suggestion, but the Government of India did not on the grounds that it was not preventing the refugees from returning to East Pakistan.

Recently, I also took an initiative for the strengthening of the United Nations relief operation in East Pakistan. On the recommendation of my representative in Dacca, I approved a plan to increase considerably the United Nations personnel for this operation, thus greatly improving its effectiveness. This would also put the Organisation in a better position to assure the international community, and donors in particular, that all supplies reach their destination—the people of East Pakistan. It is my hope that with this strengthening of the United Nations operation, more contributions will be obtained for the relief and rehabilitation that are so urgently needed in East Pakistan.

In a disaster of such vast proportions, the international community has a clear obligation to help the Governments and peoples concerned in every possible way. But as I have indicated, the basic problem can be solved only if a political solution based on reconciliation and the respect of humanitarian principles is achieved.

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U.N. Secretary-General's letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Yahya Khan

October 20, 1971

On 19th July, 1971, as Your Excellency will recall, I addressed a memorandum to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in East Pakistan and the adjacent Indian states. In that Memorandum, I expressed my concern at the possible consequences for international peace and security of the situation in that area of the world.

Recent developments have only served to increase my anxiety that this situation could all too easily give rise to open hostilities which would not only be disastrous for the two countries principally concerned, but might also constitute a major threat to the wider peace. I have in mind both recent indications of a worsening situation on the borders of East Pakistan and reports of growing tension on the border between West Pakistan and India and on the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir.

I wish to emphasise that I have full confidence in the sincere desire of both Governments to avoid a senseless and destructive war. I have noted the efforts of the leaders on both sides have made, in spite of the severe pressures on them, to discourage developments which might lead to open conflict. In the prevailing circumstances, however, where feelings run high and where both Governments are under exceptional stress and strain, a small and unintentional incident could all too easily lead to more widespread conflict.

The Chief Military Observer of UNMOGIP, with my full backing, is doing all that he can on the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir to ease tensions, to avert misunderstandings, to prevent military escalation and to avoid confrontations that might lead to open hostilities. On the borders of East Pakistan and on the international frontier between India and West Pakistan there is, of course, no comparable U.N. mechanism.

In this potentially very dangerous situation, I feel that it is my duty as Secretary-General to do all that I can to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster. I wish your Excellency to know, therefore, that my good offices are entirely at your disposal if you believe that they could be helpful at any time. Naturally, the Chief Military Observer of UNMOGIP will continue to do his utmost to assist in maintaining the peace in the area and of his responsibility.

I have addressed similar communication to the President of Pakistan/Prime Minister of India.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

President Yahya Khan's reply, dated October 22, 1971, to U.N. Secretary-General's letter of October 20, 1971

I have today received your message of October 20, 1971, through my Ambassador.

I fully agree with your appreciation of the gravity of situation which is worsening rapidly on Indo-Pakistan borders. I also fully share your concern for preservation of peace and prevention of a disastrous situation developing for both the countries which could only result in suffering for millions of people. Already, as a result of shelling of border villages on our side, hundreds of men, women and children have been killed and wounded and large numbers rendered homeless.

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It is a pity that at a Press Conference in New Delhi on October 19, 1971, the Indian Prime Minister has summarily rejected the proposal for withdrawal of forces of both countries from borders. The reason advanced for this is that Pakistan's lines of communications to borders are shorter than those of India. I do not wish to enter into a controversy on this point and would suggest that withdrawals of man-power along with armour and artillery may take place all along the Indo-Pakistan international frontiers both in east and west, if not to peace time stations, then at least to a mutually agreed safe distance on either side of the border to provide a sense of security on both sides. At the same time, armed infiltration and shelling into our borders in East Pakistan should cease.

I further recommend that U.N. observers on both sides of borders should oversee the withdrawal and supervise the maintenance of peace. Only the recognised border security and police forces should then remain at border posts which they have traditionally occupied.

I also welcome the offer you have made for making your good offices available and very much hope that you can pay an immediate visit to India and Pakistan to discuss the ways and means of withdrawal of forces. This, I am sure, will have a salutary and desirable effect, and further the cause of peace.

In view of the urgency and gravity of the situation, confirmed by Indian leaders on October 19th last, threatening to occupy and hold border cities of Lahore and Sialkot, a public declaration by you of your intention to visit India and Pakistan to seek a settlement of differences would be most desirable.

In conclusion, I assure you of full co-operation on the part of my country in all your efforts directed towards the preservation of peace.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's reply, dated November 16, 1971, to U.N. Secretary-General's letter of October 20, 1971

Your letter of the 20th October was received two days before my departure on a long tour abroad. It was not possible to reply until my return to Delhi. My trip gave me the opportunity of discussing the crisis in Pakistan with a number of leaders in different countries.

2. We have avoided any hasty reaction to the recent events in Pakistan which have naturally caused you and us great concern. I am sure you will appreciate our anxiety as the military authorities in Pakistan continue to pursue a deliberate policy of suppressing the fundamental freedom and human rights of the people in East Bengal and driving out millions of their citizens into India, thus placing intolerable political, social and economic burdens on us. In spite of the repeated declarations of "amnesty" and "invitations" for the return of the refugees and claims regarding the return of "normal" conditions in East Bengal made by the military regime of Pakistan, the flight of the people of East Bengal into India has not stopped and provides tragic testimony to the continuing military repression and denial of basic human rights in East Bengal. The consequences of the activities of the military regime of Pakistan threaten and distort the entire fabric of our national life and pose a serious threat to our security.

3. Consistent attempts have been made by the Government of Pakistan to divert attention from the prevailing situation inside East Bengal and its own refusal to reach a settlement with the people of East Bengal and their representatives, who were elected in a fair and free election held by the present Government of Pakistan, by projecting the issue as an Indo-Pakistan dispute. The most recent manifestation

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of this policy is the movement of Pakistani troops and armour to our borders, threatening India with total war, and simultaneously launching a vicious "Crush and Conquer India" campaign. These steps confirm our belief that Pakistan is seriously preparing to launch a large-scale armed conflict with India and that we have therefore to take all necessary defensive measures.

4. I should like to assure you, Excellency, that we have no desire to provoke an armed conflict with Pakistan. Such measures as we have taken are entirely defensive. We have been constrained to take them because of the movement and positioning for offensive combat of the Pakistani military machine. We have had to bear in mind that Pakistan has moved her forces right up to the border although the cantonments where they are normally based are only a few hours' distance from the border, while the bases of our own troops are located at several days' distance. Indeed, we waited long enough before we moved our troops to the frontiers.

5. The root of the problem is the fate of the seventy-five million people of East Bengal and their inalienable rights. This is what must be kept in mind, instead of the present attempt to save the military regime. To side track this main problem, and to convert it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute, can only aggravate tensions.

6. During these difficult months, we have taken every opportunity to advocate strongly that the problem of East Bengal can be solved only by peaceful negotiations between the military rulers of West Pakistan and the elected and accepted leaders of East Bengal. A first step towards the opening of such negotiations is the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as demanded by the people of East Bengal and their elected representatives. Instead, there is an attempt to establish phantom governments and legislatures. Indeed, I learn that fifty-five persons have been declared elected "unopposed". Such undemocratic and entirely indefensible action cannot but increase bitterness. This farcical re-election should be stopped.

7. If the military regime in Pakistan persists in its policies, the situation in East Bengal is bound to deteriorate. Yet, there is no evidence of the wisdom or the desire necessary to seek a political solution of the problem. I believe that statesman of goodwill all over the world are convinced that only such a solution could bring normalcy to that tormented region, stop the further influx of refugees and enable those now in India to return. You yourself have made several statements emphasising the need for such a settlement. It is tragic that the Pakistan Government have turned a deaf ear to all such appeals. Your offer of good offices could play a significant role in this situation.

8. It is always a pleasure to meet you and to exchange views. Whatever efforts you can make to bring about a political settlement in East Bengal, which meets the declared wishes of the people there, will be welcome, and if you are prepared to view the problem in perspective, you will have our support in your initiatives.

9. I have stated my views frankly. It would not be fair to you not to do so, for I know how anxious you are to prevent the aggravation of the grim tragedy of East Bengal. I had hoped to discuss these matters with you in New York, but was very sorry to learn of your illness. I hope that you are quite well again.

Report of U. N. Secretary-General, relating to situation in East Bengal, to the Security Council

S/10410, December 3, 1971

Recent reports received by the Secretary-General from various sources indicate that there has been a further grave deterioration in the situation along the borders

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of East Pakistan and elsewhere in the sub-continent. In view of his conviction that this situation constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, the Secretary-General feels that he should report to the Security Council on the efforts he has made so far in regard to this problem. The Secretary-General has kept the President of the Security Council informed of these efforts under the broad terms of Article 99 of the United Nations Charter, which provides that "The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". The Secretary-General feels that an initiative on this matter in the Council can best be taken by the parties themselves or by the members of the Security Council.

2. The present report does not cover the humanitarian efforts already launched by the Secretary-General to assist both the East Pakistan refugees in India and the distressed people of East Pakistan. Information on this effort was submitted to the Economic and Social Council in July, 1971, and to the General Assembly (Third Committee) in November, 1971. On 22nd November, the Third Committee unanimously approved a draft resolution whereby the General Assembly would endorse the initiatives of the Secretary-General and request the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan. At the time of writing, the General Assembly has not yet considered the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee.

3. On 20th July, 1971, the Secretary-General submitted the following memorandum to the President of the Security Council :—

"(*a*) For some months now, the Members of the Security Council, and many other Members of the United Nations, have been deeply preoccupied with developments in East Pakistan and the adjacent Indian States and their consequences, or possible consequences. I myself expressed my concern over the situation to President Yahya Khan shortly after the events of March, 1971, and have been in continuous touch with the Governments of Pakistan and India, both through their Permanent Representatives at the United Nations and through other contacts. In these exchanges I have been acutely aware of the dual responsibility of the United Nations, including the Secretary-General, under the Charter, both to observe the provisions of its Article 2, paragraph 7, and to work, within the framework of international economic and social co-operation, to help promote and ensure human well-being and humanitarian principles.

"(*b*) It was with this latter responsibility in mind that I appealed for assistance both for the refugees from East Pakistan in India and for the population of East Pakistan. In order to channel the assistance given in response to those appeals, I designated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the Focal Point for assistance to the refugees in India and appointed, with the agreement of the Government of Pakistan, a representative in Dacca, in order to make as effective use as possible of the international assistance made available for the relief of the population of East Pakistan. Both of these humanitarian efforts have been reported upon in detail elsewhere, and the Economic and Social Council held a full discussion on both operations on 16th July, 1971, based on statements to the Council by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs. I take this opportunity to express my warm gratitude to the Governments, the United Nations Agencies and programmes, and to the voluntary organizations which have responded generously to my appeals. I also wish to express my appreciation to the

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Governments of India and Pakistan for their co-operation with my representatives in the field.

"(*c*) As the weeks have passed since last March, I have become increasingly uneasy and apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. In spite of the generous response of the international community to my appeals for assistance for the refugees from East Pakistan now in India, the money and supplies made available are still nowhere near sufficient and the Indian Government still faces the appalling and disruptive problem of caring, for an unforeseeable period of time, for millions of refugees, whose number is still increasing. In East Pakistan, international and governmental efforts to cope with the results of two successive disasters, one of them natural, are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in East Pakistan.

There is a danger that serious food shortages, and even famine, could soon add to the sufferings of the population, unless conditions can be improved to the point where a large-scale relief programme can be effective. Equally serious is the undoubted fact that reconciliation, and improved political atmosphere and the success of relief efforts are indispensable prerequisites for the return of any large proportion of the refugees now in India. The situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of vicious circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved.

"(*d*) These human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups in the sub-continent as a whole, and the relationship of the Governments of India and Pakistan is also a major component of the problem. The conflict between the principles of the territorial integrity of States and of self-determination has often before in history given rise to fratricidal strife and has provoked in recent years highly emotional reactions in the international community. In the present case, there is an additional element of danger, for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing, and unresolved, differences between India and Pakistan—differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago. Although there can be no question of the deep desire of both Governments for peace, tension between them shows no sign of subsiding. The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent, and this is all the more serious since refugees must cross this disturbed border if repatriation is to become a reality. Nor can any of us here in the United Nations afford to forget that a major conflict in the sub-continent could all too easily expand.

"(*e*) In tragic circumstances such as those prevailing in the sub-continent, it is all too easy to make moral judgements. It is far more difficult to face up to the political and human realities of the situation and to help the peoples concerned to find a way out of their enormous difficulties. It is this latter course which, in my view, the United Nations must follow.

"(*f*) I do not think that I have painted too dark a picture of the present situation and of its possible consequences. In the light of the information available to me, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the time is past when the international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enough to turn the tide of human misery and

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potential disaster. I am deeply concerned about the possible consequences of the present situation, not only in the humanitarian sense, but also as a potential threat to peace and security and for its bearing on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seems to me that the present tragic situation, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems are mixed in such a way as almost to defy any distinction between them, presents a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met. Other situations of this kind may well occur in the future. If the Organization faces up to such a situation now, it may be able to develop the new skill and the new strength required to face future situations of this kind.

"(*g*) It is for these reasons that I am taking the unusual step of reporting to the President of the Security Council on a question which has not been inscribed on the Council's agenda. The political aspects of this matter are of such far-reaching importance that Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem. I believe, however, that the United Nations, with its long experience in peace keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion, must, and should, now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation.

"(*h*) The Security Council, the world's highest body for the maintenance of international peace and security, is in a position to consider, with the utmost attention and concern, the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken. Naturally, it is for the members of the Council themselves to decide whether such consideration should take place formally or informally, in public or in private. My primary purpose at this stage is to provide a basis and an opportunity for such discussions to take place and to express my grave concern that all possible ways and means should be explored which might help to resolve this tragic situation."

4. On 17th September, 1971, in the Introduction to my Annual Report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I brought this problem in all its aspects to the Assembly's attention. I concluded my report with the following observation:—

"In a disaster of such vast proportions, the international community has a clear obligation to help the Governments and peoples concerned in every possible way. But, as I have indicated, the basic problem can be solved only if a political solution based on reconciliation and the respect of humanitarian principles is achieved."

With this end in view, I have used my good offices in various ways eversince the events of March in East Pakistan. For obvious reasons, I did this with complete lack of publicity. Because of the special importance of the problem, I made an exception to this rule with regard to the case of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in connexion with which I had the following statement issued on 10th August, 1971:

"The Secretary-General feels that it is an extremely sensitive and delicate matter which falls within the competence of the judicial system of a Member State—in this case, Pakistan. It is also a matter of extraordinary interest and concern in many quarters, from a humanitarian as well as from a political point of view. The Secretary-General has received and is still receiving almost every day expressions of serious concern from representatives of Government about the situation in East Pakistan, and there is a general feeling that the

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restoration of peace and normalcy in the region is remote unless some kind of accommodation is reached. The Secretary-General shares the feelings of many representatives that any developments concerning the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will inevitably have repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan".

I had previously addressed a letter to the President of Pakistan on this subject.

5. On 20th October, the Secretary-General, having in mind the possible usefulness of comprehensive discussions with the heads of the Governments of India and Pakistan on all the aspects of the problem as set forth in his memorandum of 20th July (*see* para. 3 above), addressed identical messages to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan. The text of these messages reads as follows:

(Given earlier in this chapter on page 322.)

6. On 22nd October, the President of Pakistan replied to the Secretary-General's message of 20th October, as follows:

(Given earlierin this chapter on pages 322—323.)

7. On 16th November, the Prime Minister of India addressed the following reply to the Secretary-General's message of 20th October:

(Given earlier in this chapter on pages 323—324)

8. On 22nd November, the Secretary-General sent the following message to the Prime Minister of India in reply to her letter of 16th November:

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 16th November, 1971, in which you send me your reply to my letter of 20th October, 1971. I appreciate the thoughtful and detailed exposition of the views of Your Excellency's Government concerning the situation which gave rise to my offer of good offices, and, in particular, Your Excellency's statement that your Government has no desire to provoke an armed conflict with Pakistan.

"I am, however, puzzled by the reference in paragraph 5 of Your Excellency's letter to 'the present attempt to save the military regime' of Pakistan and by the statement that 'To side-track this main problem and to convert it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute can only aggravate tensions'. I am also puzzled by the statement in paragraph 8 that if I am prepared to 'view the problem in perspective' I shall have the support of the Indian Government.

"In view of these statements, I feel obliged to make clear to Your Excellency my intentions in offering my good offices. My letter of 20th October was deliberately written in the context of my memorandum of 20th July, 1971, addressed to the President of the Security Council which took into account those aspects of the situation which Your Excellency mentions in your letter. In fact, I had intended that this memorandum would serve as the term of reference for the exercise of my good offices.

"I had naturally intended to view this very serious situation in the broadest possible perspective and had hoped to have the opportunity to review it with

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the leaders of both Governments. It was not my intention to side-track any of the main issues, nor to confine the problem to any single particular issue, although naturally, as Secretary-General, I cannot under the Charter ignore a potential threat to international peace and security such as now seems to exist in the sub-continent.

"As Your Excellency knows, the exercise of good offices requires the assent and co-operation of all the parties concerned. Under the present circumstances, much to my regret, there does not seem to be a basis for the exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices in this infinitely serious and complicated problem."

9. On 23rd November, the Secretary-General received a further letter from the President of Pakistan as follows:

"I am addressing this message to you with a deep sense of urgency in view of the grave situation which has arisen in my country as a result of unprovoked and large-scale attacks by Indian armed forces on various parts of Pakistan.

"(*b*) On 21st November, an Indian army brigade group supported by armed helicopters entered Chittagong Hill Tracts, overran our border outposts and penetrated approximately 10 miles into our territory. The same day, another brigade group of the 23rd Indian Division, supported by the rest of the division, launched an attack in the Belonia salient of Noakhali District, pushing eight miles deep into Pakistan territory. In the Brahmanbaria subdivision also, attacks were launched by a battalion group each from the 57th Division against two of our border posts at Mukandpur and Saldanadi which were overrun. In Sylhet District Maulvi Bazaar subdivision, two battalion groups attacked and overran border outposts at Dhalai, Athgram and Zakigang. The battalion groups included two companies of Gurkhas. Another attack was launched in Rangpur District in the Bhurangamari salient where an Indian brigade group penetrated 15 miles into Pakistan territory up to Nageshwari. In Jessore District, a major offensive was launched by a brigade group of the 9th Indian Division, supported by armour and air cover opposite Chaugacha. Indian tanks penetrated about eight miles into Pakistan territory.

An Indian air attack was challenged by the Pakistan Air Force. One Indian aircraft was destroyed and we lost two. Six Indian tanks were destroyed in the engagement and eight of ours were disabled.

Intermittent shelling of Jessore air field continues.

In Mymensingh District, repeated attacks against our border outposts at Karitola have been repulsed.

"(*c*) As many as 12 Indian Divisions have been deployed around East Pakistan. In addition, there are 38 battalions of the Indian Border Security Force. The 2nd and 5th Indian Mountain Divisions which were previously deployed on the borders with China have also been moved towards East Pakistan. The 8th Mountain Division (of six brigades) has also been moved to the East Pakistan border towards Sylhet from Nagaland where only one brigade is now left.

Twelve squadrons of the Indian Air Force are now placed around East Pakistan. A sizable Indian Naval Force, comprising an aircraft carrier, frigates,

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landing ships and two submarines, is standing by, near Vizagapattam, in the Bay of Bengal posing an amphibious threat to Chittagong and Chalna ports. The approaches to Chalna port have been mined by the Indian forces with the result that two merchant ships chartered for carrying foodgrains and other essential supplies have been damaged. This will seriously disrupt food supplies to East Pakistan.

"(*d*) As Your Excellency is aware, Indian armed forces in the last few months have maintained pressure all along Pakistan's eastern borders. Apart from training and equipping rebels and launching their attacks supported by Indian Border Security Forces personnel into Pakistan territory, Indian artillery units have been constantly shelling areas in East Pakistan. But, as I have pointed out above, in the last three or four days, the Indian armed forces have turned from localized attacks to open and large-scale warfare on several fronts. They have further escalated the conflict by introducing armour and air force. Pakistan Army and Air Force units in East Pakistan have been under strict orders not to cross the frontiers, and to exercise the utmost restraint in the face of continued grave provocations.

The present situation, however, is such that the offensive launched by the Indian armed forces must be met by us with all the force at our command in the defence of our territorial integrity.

"(*e*) We were assured from time to time that India did not intend to launch open and large-scale warfare against Pakistan. It is now evident that, far from exercising restraint, India has chosen the path of unabashed and unprovoked aggression. India continues to harp on the theme that the inroads into the Pakistan are being made by the so-called 'Mukti Bahini'—a rebel force created, maintained and sustained by India. No one will be deceived by the Indian claim which stands disproved by the scale of present operations and by the equipment, including armour and air force elements, now being used.

"(*f*) Your Excellency will recall that on 20th July last you adressed an informal and confidential memorandum to the President of the Security Council informing him of the steady deterioration of the situation on the borders of East Pakistan and drawing attention to the possibility of a major conflict in the sub-continent. I welcomed your initiative and agreed to accept the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to supervise the return of East Pakistani displaced persons to East Pakistan. Since then, Pakistan has also sought the establishment of a good offices committee of the Security Council to defuse the prevailing tension in the sub-continent. I agreed at a subsequent date to a mutual withdrawal of forces from borders, but the proposal was summarily rejected by the Indian Prime Minister on 19th October, 1971. More recently, I responded positively to your letter of 20th October, in which you made a realistic assessment of the current Indo-Pakistan situation and expressed your concern at the prospect of 'a senseless and destructive war'. At that time, you offered your good offices 'to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster' and you stated that your good offices were entirely at our disposal if we believed that they could be helpful any time. I was happy to welcome this offer and to invite you to visit India and Pakistan to discuss ways and means of securing peace in the region.

"(*g*) You will see that Pakistan has consistently expressed her willingness to accept the assistance of the United Nations in the solution of the present

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crisis in the sub-continent and India has consistently rejected it. Our position continues to be the same, but I fear India is not interested in a peaceful settlement. The developing situation, as I have described, is fast reaching a point of no return. At this juncture, your personal initiative could still avert a catastrophe.

"(*h*) Conscious of your continuing concern for the well being of the peoples of India and Pakistan and the preservation of peace and stability in the sub-continent, I await your good counsel".

10. On 26th November, the Secretary-General replied to the President of Pakistan as follows:

"I wish to thank you for your letters of 22nd October and 23rd November, 1971. I have noted with appreciation your prompt response to my offer of good offices, as well as to the suggestions which I made previously. I have also noted with great interest the suggestions in your letter of 22nd October concerning other actions which might be taken to reduce tension and the threat to peace and security in the sub-continent.

"My letter of 20th October was written in the context of my memorandum of 20th July, 1971, addressed to the President of the Security Council. Within this broad perspective, I had hoped to have the opportunity to review the whole situation with the leaders of both Governments in an effort to find ways in which solutions to some of the pressing and critical problems, which both Governments face, could be found.

"As your Excellency knows, the exercise of good offices requires the assent and co-operation of all parties concerned. Under the present circumstances, to my regret, there does not seem to be a basis for the exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices. Nonetheless, I am still anxious to be of whatever assistance the parties may find useful.

"I have read with deep concern the description of the situation contained in your letter of 23rd November. I most earnestly hope that the United Nations will prove able to be of assistance to both Governments in avoiding a further escalation of violence into a senseless and destructive war.

"I note Your Excellency's statement that a personal initiative by me could still avert a catastrophe. While I am deeply anxious to do anything that I can to avert a further catastrophe, I have been obliged to conclude that I have gone, for the moment, as far as my authority under the Charter permits me, usefully and meaningfully, to go in the present circumstances. As Your Excellency mentioned in your letter of 23rd November, I have brought this situation to the attention of the Members of the Security Council, both in July, through my memorandum to the President of the Security Council, and in October, when I offered my good offices. I will, of course, remain in touch with the Representatives of both Pakistan and India concerning ways in which the United Nations may prove able to assist both in attempting to preserve international peace and security and in working out a peaceful and lasting solution to the fundamental problems which underline the present tragic situation".

11. The President of the Security Council was kept continuously informed of the action of the Secretary-General relating to his offer of good offices. Copies of all the messages addressed by the Secretary-General in this regard to the

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Prime Minister of India or the President of Pakistan were immediately communicated to the President of the Security Council for his information.

12. On 29th November, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan conveyed to the Secretary-General a message from the President of Pakistan as follows:

"I have the honour to convey the following message from the President of Pakistan to Your Excellency. This message was received yesterday and was orally conveyed to Under Secretary-General Roberto Guyer at 9 p.m. last night:

Begins:

Excellency,

As you will have seen from my letter of 23rd November, a grave situation prevails at present on the borders of East Pakistan as a result of unprovoked and large-scale attacks by the Indian armed forces. As Your Excellency is aware, while accepting your offer of good offices I had proposed a simultaneous withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani forces and suggested that this may be supervised by U.N. observers. India unfortunately did not accept the proposal. In order to obviate a threat to peace and to arrest the deteriorating situation, I now request Your Excellency to consider stationing a force of U.N. observers on our side of the East Pakistan border, immediately, to observe and report upon violations of our territory.

GENERAL AGHA MUHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN
President of Pakistan.

Ends."

13. With regard to the President of Pakistan's letter of 29th November, the Secretary-General addressed on the same day the following message to the President of the Security Council:

"As I have been keeping the President of the Security Council continuously informed of my exchanges of communications with the Governments of India and Pakistan concerning the situation in the sub-continent, I am sending Your Excellency a copy of a message which I have today received from President Yahya Khan of Pakistan. You will observe that this message contains a request to me to consider stationing a force of United Nations observers on the Pakistan side of the East Pakistan border immediately.

"In my memorandum of 20th July, 1971, to the President of the Security Council, I wrote that 'the political aspects of this matter are of such far reaching importance that the Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the Members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem'. In the context of the present military conflict, the stationing of observers by the United Nations on the territory of a sovereign State, even at the request of that state, is obviously an action for which the authority of the Security Council should be obtained. I believe therefore that the Members of the Security Council should be informed, in whatever manner Your Excellency as President might deem desirable, of the request of President Yahya Khan for the stationing of United Nations observers.

"I also feel that, in the light of its primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council

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should give serious consideration to the situation prevailing in the sub-continent. In this connexion, I would wish to add that I have been obliged to conclude that in this matter, I have gone, for the moment, as far as the Secretary-General may usefully and meaningfully go in the present circumstances ".

14. At the same time, the Secretary-General sent the following letter to the Permanent Representative of Pakistan:

" I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 29th November, 1971, in which you convey to me a message from His Excellency General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan. I should be grateful if you would inform His Excellency the President of Pakistan that I am giving careful consideration to his message, which relates to a situation of the gravest concern to me.

" I enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter which I have today addressed to the President of the Security Council on the subject of President Yahya Khan's message. Since this letter states clearly my position concerning the request which President Yahya Khan has made, I should be grateful if you would convey the substance of it to your Government ".

Report of U.N. Secretary-General to the Security Council
S/10410/Add. 1, December 4, 1971

ADDENDUM

Since the completion of the report of the Secretary-General, dated 3rd December, 1971, (S/10410), two messages have been received by the Secretary-General, one from the Prime Minister of India and the other from the President of Pakistan.

2. The message from the Prime Minister of India, which was orally delivered on the afternoon of 3rd December, is as follows:

" (*a*) Subsequent to Pakistani air attacks on Pathankot, Srinagar and Amritsar in the afternoon of 2nd December, there were three further Pakistani air attacks on the morning of 3rd December on Faridkot (Punjab), Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) and Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

" (*b*) A special session of the Indian Parliament has been convened for 4th December.

" (*c*) The Prime Minister is broadcasting to the nation at midnight tonight.

" (*d*) Pakistani sources have reported that India has launched an attack on West Pakistan. This is totally false ".

3. The letter from the President of Pakistan, dated 3rd December, was transmitted to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan on 4th December. It reads as follows:

" (*a*) I draw your attention to the following grave situation which has arisen between India and Pakistan. Today, between 1530 and 1600 hours West Pakistan Standard Time, Indian army launched simultaneous attacks on Sialkot

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and an area between Jessar bridge and Lahore and on the Rajasthan front opposite Rahim Yar Khan in West Pakistan, and on Chhamb in Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian ground force attackers were supported by the Indian air force. These attacks were preceded for the last three or four days by aggressive reconnaissance carried out by Indian aircraft over West Pakistan territory.

"(*b*) The Pakistan forces are taking necessary counter-measures.

"(*c*) The Pakistan air force late this evening took defensive measures against some of the forward airfields close to the Pakistan borders at Srinagar and Avantipur in Indian-occupied Kashmir and Pathankot and Amritsar.

"(*d*) Considerable Indian military activity has also been noticed in the Poonch and Uri sectors in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

"(*e*) Excellency, as you are aware I have done everything possible to avoid an extension of the conflict between India and Pakistan in spite of grave provocations. For weeks, the situation in East Pakistan has been a matter of deep concern. Due to open Indian aggression along the borders of East Pakistan and intrusion into our territory at several points, it has been a state of virtual war. But we have tried to contain the situation and defuse the mounting tensions as much as possible. My efforts in this direction are within Your Excellency's knowledge, the latest being my proposal for the stationing of United Nations observers within East Pakistan's borders to observe and report upon violations of our territory.

"(*f*) Now that Indian aggression has resulted in a conflagration which can have incalculable dimensions, the international community must take note of the situation. Otherwise, it can only result in disastrous consequences for peace and stability of the entire region.

"(*g*) In bringing this situation to Your Excellency's notice, it is my earnest hope that the international community will exert itself on the side of justice and peace and uphold the sacred principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations which safeguards the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations, big and small, and which forbids the use of force by one nation against another".

Draft Resolution by U.S.A. in the Security Council
S/10416, December 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

CONVINCED that hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all steps required for an immediate cessation of hostilities;

2. *Calls for* an immediate withdrawal of armed personnel present on the territory of the other to their own sides of the India-Pakistan borders;

3. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, at the request of the Government of India or Pakistan, to place observers along the India-Pakistan borders to report

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on the implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawals, drawing as necessary on UNMOGIP personnel;

4. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan and others concerned to exert their best efforts toward the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan;

5. *Calls upon* all States to refrain from any action that would endanger the peace in the area;

6. *Invites* the Governments of India and Pakistan to respond affirmatively to the proposal of the Secretary-General offering good offices to secure and maintain peace in the sub-continent;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of this resolution.

Draft Resolution by Belgium, Italy and Japan in the Security Council
S/10417, December 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the report of the Secretary-General (S/10410 and Add. 1 and S/10412) of 3rd and 4th December, 1971,

HAVING HEARD the statement of the representatives of India and Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

MINDFUL of its responsibility under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and for a cessation of all military activities;

2. *Urges* the Governments concerned, in accordance with the principles envisaged in the United Nations Charter, to intensify their efforts to bring about conditions necessary for the speedy and voluntary repatriation of the millions of refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the situation;

5. *Decides* to follow closely the situation and to meet again as soon as necessary.

Draft Resolution by the U.S.S.R. in the Security Council
S/10418, December 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED the letter of nine Members of the Security Council (S/10411) and the report of the Secretary-General (S/10410),

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Calls for a political settlement in East Pakistan which would inevitably result in a cessation of hostilities;

Calls upon the Government of Pakistan to take measures to cease all acts of violence by Pakistani forces in East Pakistan which have led to deterioration of the situation.

Draft Resolution by Argentina, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia in the Security Council

S/10419, December 4, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the report of the Secretary-General of 3rd December, 1971, (S/10410, S/10410/Add. 1),

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED at the outbreak of hostilities along the borders of India and Pakistan,

CONVINCED that hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take preliminary measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and effect a withdrawal of armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan border;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the situation.

Draft Resolution by Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia in the Security Council

S/10423, December 5, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General (S/10410 and Add. 1 and S/10412) of 3rd and 4th December, 1971,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

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MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

RECALLING the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and effect a withdrawal of armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

MINDFUL of its responsibility under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the principles of the Charter, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of this resolution;

5. *Decides* to follow the situation closely and to meet again as soon as necessary.

Draft Resolution by China in the Security Council
S/10421, December 5, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of Pakistan and India,

NOTING IN PARTICULAR that India has launched large-scale attacks on Pakistan, thus gravely undermining the peace in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent,

STRONGLY CONDEMNING the Indian Government's acts of creating a so-called "Bangla Desh" and of subverting, dismembering and committing agression against Pakistan,

Calls upon the Government of India to wtithdraw its armed forces and armed personnel sent by it from Pakistan territory immediately and unconditionally and calls upon the Government of Pakistan to withdraw the armed forces which it has sent into Indian territory for counter-attacks,

Calls upon India and Pakistan to cease hostilities and to withdraw respectively from the international border between India and Pakistan and to disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan,

Calls upon all States to support the Pakistan people in their just struggle to resist Indian aggression,

Requests the Secretary-General to submit as early as possible a report to the Security Council on the implementation of this resolution.

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Draft Resolution by Belgium, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Tunisia in the Security Council

S/10425, December 5, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments concerncd forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution;

3. *Decides* to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the area.

Amendment by the U.S.S.R. to Draft Resolution S/10425 in the Security Council

S/10426, December 6, 1971

In operative paragraph 1, *replace* the words "the Governments concerned" by the words "all parties concerned"; at the end of the same paragraph, *add* the words "and cessation of all military operations".

2. Between operative paragraphs 1 and 2, *insert* the following as operative paragraphs 2 and 3:

"(2) *Calls upon* the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

"(3) *Declares* that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole;"

3. Renumber the remaining operative paragraphs accordingly.

Revised Amendment by the U.S.S.R. to Draft Resolution S/10425 in the Security Council

S/10426, Rev. 1, December 6, 1971

1. In operative paragraph 1, *replace* the words "the Governments concerned" by the words "all parties concerned"; at the end of the same paragraph, *add* the words "and cessation of all hostilities".

2. Between operative paragraphs 1 and 2, *insert* the following as operative paragraphs 2 and 3:

"(2) *Calls upon* the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

"(3) *Declares* that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole;"

3. Renumber the remaining operative paragraphs accordingly.

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Draft Resolution by the U.S.S.R. in the Security Council
S/10428, December 6, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

3. *Declares* that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution;

5. *Decides* to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the area.

Draft Resolution by Argentina, Burundi, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia in the Security Council
S/10429, December 6, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED the item on its agenda as contained in document S/Agenda/1606,

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT that the lack of unanimity of its Permanent Members at the 1606th and 1607th meetings of the Security Council has prevented it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,

DECIDES to refer the question contained in document S/Agenda /1606 to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950.

Resolution adopted by the Security Council (Tabled by Argentina, Burundi, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia)
S/RES/303, December 6, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED the item on its Agenda as contained in document S/Agenda/1606.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT that the lack of unanimity of its permanent Members at the 1606th and 1607th meetings of the Security Council has prevented it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,

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DECIDES to refer the question contained in Documant S/Agenda/1606 to the 26th Session of the General Assembly as provided for in General Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950.

Draft Resolution by Argentina, Burundi, Cameroon, Ghana, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan and Tunisia in the General Assembly

A/L. 647, December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971.

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

RECALLING the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

MINDFUL of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

5. *Decides* to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand;

6. *Calls upon* the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

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Revised Draft Resolution by Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire and Zambia in the General Assembly

A/L. 647/Rev. 1, December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

RECALLING the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

MINDFUL of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Urges* that every effort be made to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area of conflict;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

6. *Decides* to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand;

7. *Calls upon* the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

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Draft Resolution by the U.S.S.R. in the General Assembly
A/L. 648, December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

3. *Declares* that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council and the General Assembly promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

5. *Calls upon* the Security Council to take appropriate measures in the light of the present resolution.

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly
A/RES/2793 (XXVI), December 7, 1971

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities has broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

RECALLING the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

MINDFUL of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377-A (V) of 3rd November, 1950,

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1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Urges* that every effort be made to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area of conflict;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

6. *Decides* to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand;

7. *Calls upon* the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

Report of the Secretary-General on his efforts to evacuate the United Nations and other international personnel from Dacca

S/10433, December 7, 1971

The following report concerning the Secretary-General's efforts to evacuate the staff of the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO) and other international personnel from Dacca is submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council because of the Secretary-General's concern about the safety of these personnel and the importance he attaches to this question. The evacuation operation affects some 240 international personnel, including 46 United Nations personnel, now stranded in Dacca.

2. During the latter part of November, 1971, it was decided to continue the activities of UNEPRO as long as and to the extent possible despite the continuing deterioration of the situation in East Pakistan. Non-essential personnel of UNEPRO were evacuated to Bangkok and to Singapore, which was established as a staging area for the operation, or to other neighbouring safe havens, but 47 officials remained, all of them concentrated in Dacca.

3. On 3rd December, when a further grave deterioration of the situation in East Pakistan took place, including air attacks on its main cities, it became obvious that UNEPRO was no longer in a position to undertake any useful activities under its mandate for the time being, and it was decided to evacuate 46 United Nations personnel. The forty-seventh, an official of the International Labour Office who is a resident of East Pakistan, was designated as custodian for all UNEPRO and UNICEF premises and equipment during the temporary absence of the staff (*see* A/PV. 2001).

4. Arrangements for the evacuation of these personnel were initiated by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters in New York, with the assistance of United Nations representatives in Dacca, New Delhi and Bangkok. For some time already all road and river connexions with Dacca had been severed and the

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only outlet was by air. But evacuation by air presented great difficulties as well. Dacca airport had recently been attacked by the Indian Air Force and the two UNEPRO planes there were disabled. All commercial flights to and from Dacca had been cancelled and, understandably, air companies were reluctant to arrange charter flights.

5. On 4th December, the Canadian Government agreed to make available to the United Nations for the evacuation operation a C-130 aircraft, which was standing by at Bangkok, two and a half hours flying time from Dacca. It was decided to undertake the evacuation operation on 5th December. In view of the special circumstances, it was necessary to obtain, in addition to the usual clearance from the Pakistan authorities, the agreement of both the Governments of India and Pakistan for a cease-fire, including a complete cessation of air activity in, above and around the Dacca airport area, as well as the Bangkok-Dacca air corridor. The Secretary-General initially requested the cease-fire for the period from 1030 to 1830 EPT on 5th December, with a view to making possible the unimpeded and safe arrival, loading and take-off of the aircraft.

6. By the evening of 4th December, the Pakistan Government had agreed to the Secretary-General's request, but the Indian Government was not able to make the necessary arrangements in time. It was therefore necessary to postpone the evacuation operation by 24 hours.

7. Meanwhile, the Assistant Secretary-General in charge of UNEPRO, who was among the personnel stranded in Dacca, had received numerous requests from the various Consulates to assist them in the evacuation of their officials and other nationals, including women and children. The Assistant Secretary-General, with the full approval of the Secretary-General, decided to grant their request. Thus, in addition to the 46 United Nations personnel, four officials of the International Red Cross, and 87 persons sponsored by various Consulates, as well as 80 dependent women and children, were included in the evacuation plan on 5th December. The total number of the personnel to be evacuated later increased to around 240. The enlarged group includes nationals of Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Hungary, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Nepal, Romania, Singapore, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. To accommodate the increased passenger load, the United Nations chartered an additional aircraft, a Boeing 707, from Pan American Airways. This second aircraft was scheduled to proceed to Dacca on 7th December.

8. On the evening of 5th December, the Secretary-General was informed that the Indian authorities had agreed to the requested cease-fire arrangements, but for a shorter period, that is, from 1030 hours to 1230 hours EPT on 6th December. Immediately, instructions were given to the Canadian C-130 to proceed with the evacuation operation, which would take place during the period indicated by the Indian authorities.

9. On 6th December, UNEPRO in Dacca reported to the Secretary-General that when the Canadian C-130 was 70 miles (within 10 minutes' flying time) from Dacca, the airport was attacked by the Indian Air Force and the airport defences opened intensive anti-aircraft fire. At that moment, bus-loads of personnel to be evacuated were approaching the airfield, and the passengers in the lead bus, most of whom were women and children, had to seek shelter in nearby trenches. A bomb exploded about 25 metres from them, but fortunately there were no casualties. The Canadian aircraft was ordered by the Control Tower to turn away from the airport, and it flew back toward Bangkok.

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10. The following details are from a report submitted on this incident by the UNEPRO Air Adviser:

"(*a*) On 6th December, 1971, I was at Dacca Civil Airport expecting the arrival of the Canadian C-130 305, flight number 501, which was on its way to Dacca from Bangkok on an evacuation mission. The object of the flight was the evacuation of women, children, United Nations staff and as many as possible members of other missions.

(*b*) The time of clearance obtained from the Indian authorities and the authorities of Pakistan was 1030 hours local time Dacca.

(*c*) The aircraft was in contact with Dacca approach control about 45 minutes before reaching it. The time of arrival, given by the Captain, was 1050 local time. The first attack on the airfield, by the Indian Air Force, began at 0930 LT and ended 0942 LT. The second attack lasted for 7 minutes. The bombs were dropped on the runway, hitting it at three points. At 1041 LT, during another attack, the aircraft was told by the Regional Controller of Civil Aviation that the attack was in full force and that the airfield was being bombed. The aircraft was told by him to return to base in Bangkok.

(*d*) The first attack ended with the runway damaged by the bombs only.... The craters were caused by bombs, presumably of the deep penetration type and with delayed fuses. I heard the delayed explosions occurring some time after the impact of the bombs and after the aircraft were clear of the airport.

(*e*) The second bombing attack which did damage to the runway occurred at 1310 LT".

11. Representations were immediately made on behalf of the Secretary-General to the Indian Permanent Mission to the United Nations. The Secretary-General also decided to make new arrangements for the evacuation of the stranded personnel on 7th December using both the Canadian C-130 and the Pan American Boeing 707 aircraft. A cease-fire in and around Dacca from 0830 to 1230 hours EPT and guarantees for the safe flight of the two aircraft in the air corridor from Dacca to Bangkok were requested and obtained from both the Governments of India and Pakistan.

12. On 7th December, having been informed by UNEPRO in Dacca that there were reasons to believe that the Dacca airport runway could be made sufficiently serviceable for the landing of both aircraft by 0930 hours EPT, instructions were issued by United Nations Headquarters to proceed with the new evacuation plan. The C-130 aircraft was to proceed first to Dacca and thus would have an opportunity to check the state of the runway before the arrival of the Boeing 707.

13. The C-130 aircraft left Bangkok at 0645 hours local time (2345 hrs. GMT) but had turn back before reaching Dacca. The report of the aircraft commander may be summarized as follows:

(*a*) The aircraft left Bangkok airport at 2345 GMT and proceeded according to the plan agreed upon by the United Nations. When in the Rangoon area, it was informed by Dacca air control that it would not be permitted to land at Dacca because the runway was not available. After orbiting Rangoon for one hour and twenty-six minutes, permission was finally granted for the aircraft to overy-fly Dacca airport to make a visual inspection of the runway but not to land.

(*b*) The aircraft resumed agreed upon course. At 0345 GMT when the aircraft was 21°05′ north and 91°15′ east at an altitude of 20,000 feet, the aircraft commander sighted an aircraft carrier and two escorts heading in a north-easterly direction. He noticed a fighter aircraft flying along the carrier and assumed that it was taking off to escort the Canadian aircraft. He also noticed

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a second aircraft approaching the stern of the carrier and at the same time the carrier began to smoke. By the time second aircraft had passed over the carrier, large clouds of black smoke were visible.

(*c*) The commander next noticed an anti-aircraft burst well below to the left of the aircraft which appeared to be directed at the aircraft. He heard external explosions which he concluded were directed at the aircraft. He then broadcast "May Day" and distress signals and altered the aircraft's course for Bangkok.

(*d*) At the same time, the commander received a call from Bangkok Radio relaying a message from the Air Transport Command Operations Centre ordering the aircraft to return to Bangkok immediately. The aircraft returned to Bangkok without further incidents, landing at 0615 GMT. A cursory examination reveals no damage.

14. It is relevant to note that when the incident just mentioned took place, the C-130 aircraft was well within the agreed air corridor between Dacca and Bangkok. With the recall of this aircraft it was decided to cancel the projected flight of the Boeing 707.

15. The possibility of a further attempt at air evacuation is now being actively explored. The Secretary-General is maintaining close contact with the International Committee of the Red Cross and has instructed his Representative in Dacca to examine urgently, in full co-operation with the International Committee, what practical measures can be taken for the protection of the United Nations and other international personnel there.

Letter from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the U.N., to the Secretary-General of the U.N.
A/8567 S/10440, December 9, 1971

Under instructions of my Government, I have the honour to state that, even though resolution 2793 (XXVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 7th December, 1971, fails to take note of Indian aggression against Pakistan (which has been admitted by India), the Government of Pakistan has decided to accept the call for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops contained in that resolution. Inasmuch as the resolution provides for an immediate withdrawal of the troops of each party to its own side of the border, and thus to stop bloodshed, Pakistan is willing to overlook its inadequacies at this time. The Government of Pakistan attaches due importance to the fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs of the resolution, which, besides reaffirming the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4, recall paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which read:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

* * * *

4. SOLEMNLY REAFFIRMS that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country;

5. SOLEMNLY REAFFIRMS that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention

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of the provisions of the Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State;

6. URGES Member States to make full use and seek improved implementation of the means and methods provided for in the Charter for the exclusively peaceful settlement of any dispute or any situation, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, including negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, good offices including those of the Secretary-General, or other peaceful means of their own choice, it being understood that the Security Council in dealing with such disputes or situations should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

It is the hope of the Government of Pakistan that strengthened by a pronouncement unmistakably supported by the overwhelming majority of its membership, the United Nations will now decide upon concrete and binding measures to secure and maintain the cessation of hostilities with immediate effect, the withdrawal of all armed personnel and the stationing of United Nations observers on both sides of the border to supervise the cease-fire and to oversee the withdrawal of forces.

I shall be grateful if this letter is immediately circulated as a document of both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Sd.) A. SHAHI

Letter from the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., to the Secretary-General of the U.N.

A/8580 S/10445, December 12, 1971

The General Assembly adopted resolution 2793 (XXVI) entitled "Question considered by the Security Council at its 1606th, 1607th and 1608th meetings, on 4th, 5th and 6th December, 1971", on 7th December, 1971. This was telegraphically forwarded to the Government of India direct by the Secretary-General. I have now been instructed to send the reply of the Government of India in the following terms:

"Excellency,

India's dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter is well known. It is borne out by our record over the last twenty-six years. India has not been content merely by giving verbal or moral support to the United Nations but has been in the forefront of a selfless struggle in the defence of peace, against colonialism, imperialism and racialism. Indian soliders have sacrificed their lives in carrying out missions of peace in Korea, the Congo and West Asia.

Decisions of the United Nations and resolutions adopted by its various organs and agencies have always received our most earnest and careful consideration. Consequently, the Government of India has studied with great care the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 8th December, 1971, on the present grave situation in the Indian sub-continent.

We are glad to note that the resolution acknowledges the crucial importance of the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes. It may be worth-while to recall briefly the circumstances in which these millions of refugees were driven out of their homeland.

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On 25th March, 1971, the Government of Pakistan launched an assault on the people of their Eastern Province, whose only crime was that they had voted democratically. Millions of innocent, unarmed citizens were uprooted from their homes, and hundreds of thousands were killed or maimed. However great our concern for justice and sympathy for human suffering, we could perhaps have taken a detached view, had these terrible events not occurred along the borders of several of our eastern States. More than 10 million people have so far sought shelter in our territory to escape death and dishonour at the hands of the West Pakistan army. The burden of taking care of such a large influx in so short a time has been a crushing one. Our entire administration in the eastern region is at a standstill and the daily life of the people dislocated, because of schools, hospitals and other public buildings being occupied by the refugees. Social and political tensions have been generated throughout the country and our economy has been disrupted, adversely affecting our growth. Even more serious, our security has been imperilled. Has the United Nations considered the unprecedented situation created by one Member of the United Nations for another Member?

India has always stood for total non-interference by one State into the domestic affairs of another State. However, if one State deliberately drives millions of its citizens across the territory of another State and casts upon the receiving State unconscionable burdens, what remedies are open to the receiving State which has become a victim of domestic policies of a Member State of the United Nations?

Has any country faced such a gigantic problem for no fault of its own? For nine long months India staggered under this load and exercised the utmost self-restraint. Even if other countries were not moved by the agony of the people of East Bengal or the difficulties created for India, we had hoped that their desire to preserve peace in this area would lead them to take some steps to reduce the tension.

However, India's efforts were in vain. The military rulers of Pakistan have not been able to comprehend the forces of history and the people's deep desire for justice and democratic rights. The military rulers are impervious to the fact that through their callous policies they have irrevocably alienated the people of East Bengal.

Pakistan has based its propaganda on two points:

First, it is alleged that the entire trouble is of Indian instigation. This allegation has been proved false by the democratic elections in which the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats and by the many Dacca-based foreign correspondents who have been sending eye-witness reports of what is happening there. Secondly, the whole question is projected as one of religion. It is relevant to remember that the bulk of the people of East Bengal, who have revolted against the military Government of West Pakistan, are of the Islamic faith and no less devoted Muslims. In fact, the majority of the total population of both wings of Pakistan lived in its Eastern Province.

Despite the Pakistan Government's effort to explain away their predicament as the result of alleged interference, India on her part did everything to prevent the issue from becoming internationalized, and consistently advocated a political solution between the Government of Pakistan and the genuinely elected leaders of East Bengal. If the world were anxious to treat this as an internal question of Pakistan, it should have ensured that such vast proportions of the population of East Bengal were not driven out of their homes and their homeland into our country.

When nations have talked to us of peace, they have overlooked the slaughter of men, women and children; they have forgotten the fate of 10 million refugees

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and thus totally ignored the moral and legal responsibility of the rulers of Pakistan. A call to cease-fire coupled with expressions of hope that the refugees would voluntarily return appears to India to have no purpose other than to cover up the annihilation of an entire nation. How can foundations of peace be built on such a basis? India cannot be a party to the violent suppression of the rights of the aggrieved people of Bangla Desh. If the United Nations is interested in the whole truth, the representatives of the Bangla Desh Government should be heard. Why should it depart from this tradition?

Any objective consideration would show that the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and the return of millions of refugees can be created only through the withdrawal of West Pakistani forces. It is cruel to expect that these refugees who have suffered so much at the hands of the West Pakistani forces should contemplate return to their homeland while it is still under their occupation. So far as the armed forces of India are concerned, there can be a cease-fire and withdrawal of India's forces to its own territory, if the rulers of West Pakistan would withdraw their own forces from Bangla Desh and reach a peaceful settlement with those who were until recently their fellow-citizens, but now owe allegiance to the Government of Bangla Desh which has been duly constituted by the representatives chosen freely in the elections held in December, 1970. Merely to express a wish for the return of the refugees without taking into account the necessary pre-conditions is to show a callous disregard for the immense suffering which these people have endured.

The Government of India is prepared to consider the call for cease-fire. Indeed, India concluded cease-fire agreements with Pakistan in 1948 and 1965. Neither gave assurance of continued peace. The last one of 1965, which was followed by a solemn inter-State agreement signed at Tashkent, failed to bring about the peaceful relations we so ardently desire.

India feels legitimately aggrieved that in calling for a cease-fire, the United Nations makes no distinction between the aggressor and its victims. It is, therefore, necessary to restate the facts.

On 3rd December, 1971, when Prime Minister of India was in Calcutta, the Defence Minister in Patna and the Finance Minister in Bombay, Pakistan's armed forces launched aggression against India. On that day, around 5-30 p.m., the Air Force of Pakistan made simultaneous attacks on India's airfields in the following towns: Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. The West Pakistan army opened an attack by continuous shelling of our defensive positions on a wide front including Sulaimanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors. The Government of West Pakistan has alleged that India had attacked at 12 noon, but since there was no basis whatever for their allegation they could obviously not mention the places. These are uncontested facts. India, which is exercising the inherent right of self-defence, cannot be equated with Pakistan. India is a victim of yet another unprovoked Pakistani aggression and is engaged in defending its national sovereignty and territorial integrity in the exercise of its legitimate right of self-defence.

There is one other consideration of fundamental importance which India would like to urge: International Law recognizes that where a mother-State has irrevocably lost allegiance of such a large section of its people as represented by Bangla Desh and cannot bring them under its sway, conditions for the separate existence of such a State comes into being. It is India's assessment that this is precisely what has happened in Bangla Desh. The overwhelming majority of the elected representatives of Bangla Desh have irrevocably declared themselves in favour of separation from the mother-State of Pakistan and have set up a new State of Bangla Desh. India has recognized this new State. The armed forces of the new State have long been

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engaged in a struggle against the forces of West Pakistan in Bangla Desh. In these circumstances, is it realistic to call upon India to cease-fire without, at the same time, giving a hearing to the representatives of Bangla Desh whose armed forces are engaged against the forces of West Pakistan ?

India earnestly hopes that in the light of the facts set out above, the United Nations will consider once again the realities of the situation, so that the basic causes of the conflict are removed and peace is restored. Given an assurance of a desire to examine these basic causes with objectivity, India will not be found wanting in offering its utmost co-operation."

(Sd.) SAMAR SEN

Letter from the Permanent Representative of U.S.A. to the U.N., to the President of the Security Council
S/10444, December 12, 1971

The war on the Indian sub-continent continues to rage unabated. Urgent efforts by the Security Council to effect a cease-fire and withdrawal at its 1606th, 1607th and 1608th meetings failed, thus necessitating immediate referral of the crisis to the General Assembly under the "Uniting for Peace" procedure. The General Assembly considered this grave situation at its 2002nd and 2003rd meetings and on December 7, and by a vote of 104 to 11 with 10 abstentions adopted resolution 2793 (XXVI) which *inter alia* called on India and Pakistan to institute a cease-fire and to withdraw troops from each other's territories.

One of the parties, Pakistan, has accepted the resolution. The other party, India, has not yet done so.

The United States believes that the Security Council has an obligation to end this threat to world peace on a most urgent basis.

On instructions from my Government, I request that you convene a meeting of the Security Council immediately.

(Sd.) GEORGE BUSH

Draft Resolution by the U.S.A. in the Security Council
S/10446, December 12, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and Security Council Resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

NOTING General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971, adopted by a vote of 104-11-10,

NOTING FURTHER that the Government of Pakistan has accepted a cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI), and India's failure to do so,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities continue between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

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CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

RECALLING the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

MINDFUL of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the Security Council's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of India forthwith to accept a cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI);

2. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

3. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

4. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

5. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to take all possible measures and precautions to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

7. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter and to meet again as circumstances warrant.

Revised Draft Resolution by the U.S.A. in the Security Council
S/10446/Rev. 1, December 13, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and Security Council resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

NOTING General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971, adopted by a vote of 104-11-10,

NOTING further that the Government of Pakistan has accepted a cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI), and the Government of India's letter in document S/10445,

REGRETTING that the Government of India has not yet accepted an unconditional and immediate cease-fire and withdrawal as set forth in General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI),

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GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities continue between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

RECALLING the declaration on the strengthening of international security, particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,

MINDFUL of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the Security Council's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India–Pakistan borders;

2. *Urges* that efforts be intensified in order to bring about speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to take all possible measures and precautions to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

6. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter and to meet again as circumstances warrant.

Draft Resolution by Italy and Japan in the Security Council
S/10451/Rev. 1, December 13, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971, and Security Council Resolution 303 (1971) of 6th December, 1971,

MINDFUL of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the Security Council's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

NOTING WITH APPRECIATION the reply of the Government of Pakistan to the letter of the Secretary-General concerning General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) contained in document S/10440,

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NOTING FURTHER the reply of the Government of India, contained in document S/10445,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities continue between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNISING the need to deal also, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

RECOGNISING that a lasting solution must be based on a political settlement in Pakistan which respects the rights and interests of its people,

RECALLING the declaration on the strengthening of international security particularly paragraphs 4, 5 and 6,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of all armed forces,

1. *Calls upon* all Member States, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent or to endanger international peace;

2. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to take forthwith, as a first step, all measures to bring about an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities;

3. *Urges* India and Pakistan both to carry on operations of disengagement and withdrawal so as to bring about the end of confrontation and the return to normalcy in the area of conflict;

4. *Calls for* immediate steps aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement;

5. *Calls for* the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of the East Pakistan refugees;

6. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to take all possible measures and precautions to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area and to ensure the full observation of all the Geneva Conventions;

7. *Decides* to appoint, with the consent of India and Pakistan, a Committee composed of three Members of the Security Council to assist them in their efforts to bring about normalcy in the area of conflict, as well as to achieve reconciliation in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in keeping with the aforesaid resolutions and to report to the Council;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter and to meet again if circumstances warrant.

Draft Resolution by Poland in the Security Council
S/10453, December 14, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED over the military conflict on the Indian sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

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HAVING HEARD the statements by the Foreign Minister of India and the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan,

DECIDES that:

1. In the eastern theatre of conflict, the power will be peacefully transferred to the lawfully elected representatives of the people headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who would immediately be released;

2. Immediately after the beginning of the process of power transfer, the military actions in all the areas will be ceased and an initial cease-fire will start for a period of 72 hours;

3. After the immediate commencement of the initial period of cease-fire, the Pakistan armed forces will start withdrawal to the pre-set locations in the eastern theatre of conflict with a view to evacuation from the eastern theatre of conflict;

4. Similarly, the entire West Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons willing to return to West Pakistan, as well as the entire East Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons in West Pakistan willing to return home, will be given an opportunity to do so under the supervision of the United Nations, with the guarantees on the part of all appropriate authorities concerned that nobody will be subjected to repressions;

5. As soon as within the period of 72 hours the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops and their concentration for that purpose will have started, the cease-fire will become permanent. As soon as the evacuation of the West Pakistan armed forces will have started, the Indian armed forces will start their withdrawal from the eastern theatre of military operations. Such withdrawal of troops will begin actually upon consultations with the newly established authorities organized as a result of the transfer of power to the lawfully elected representatives of the people headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman;

6. Recognizing the principle according to which territorial acquisitions made through the use of force will not be retained by either party to the conflict, the Governments of India and Pakistan will immediately begin negotiations through appropriate representatives of their armed forces with a view to the speediest possible implementation of this principle in the western theatre of military operations.

Revised Draft Resolution by Poland in the Security Council
S/10453/Rev. 1, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED over the military conflict on the Indian sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

HAVING HEARD the statements by the Foreign Minister of India and the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan,

DECIDES that:

1. In the eastern theatre of conflict, the power will be peacefully transferred to the representatives of the people, lawfully elected in December, 1970;

2. Immediately after the beginning of the process of power transfer, the military actions in all the areas will be ceased and an initial cease-fire will start for a period of 72 hours;

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3. After the immediate commencement of the initial period of cease-fire, the Pakistan armed forces will start withdrawal to the pre-set locations in the eastern theatre of conflict with a view to evacuation from the eastern theatre of conflict;

4. Similarly, the entire West Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons willing to return to West Pakistan, as well as the entire East Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons in West Pakistan willing to return home, will be given an opportunity to do so under the supervision of the United Nations, with the guarantees on the part of all appropriate authorities concerned that nobody will be subjected to repressions;

5. As soon as within the period of 72 hours the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops and their concentration for that purpose will have started, the cease-fire will become permanent. The Indian armed forces will be withdrawn from East Pakistan. Such withdrawal of troops will begin upon consultations with the newly established authorities organized as a result of the transfer of power to the lawfully elected representatives of the people;

6. Recognizing the principle, according to which territorial acquisitions made through the use of force will not be retained by either party to the conflict, the Governments of India and Pakistan will immediately begin negotiations through appropriate representatives of their armed forces with a view to the speediest possible implementation of this principle in the western theatre of military operations.

Draft Resolution by France and the U.K. in the Security Council
S/10455, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED at the situation in South Asia, which constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

MINDFUL of its responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

RECOGNIZING the urgent need to deal effectively with the basic causes of the present conflict,

RECOGNIZING FURTHER that any lasting solution must include a political settlement which respects the fundamental rights and interests of the people,

DEEPLY DISTRESSED at the enormity of human suffering that has occurred in the area in recent months and resulted in the wholesale displacement of millions of people from East Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that all necessary measures should be taken for the preservation of human life and the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to institute forthwith an immediate and durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict in the western theatre and similarly calls for an immediate and durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities by all forces in East Pakistan, to remain in effect until operations of disengagement leading to withdrawal have taken place in both theatres;

2. *Calls for* the urgent conclusion of a comprehensive political settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned as declared through their

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elected and acknowledged representatives and in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter;

3. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

4. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply fully their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

5. *Calls for* full international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes;

6. *Invites* the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to lend his good offices in particular for the solution of humanitarian problems;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of this resolution.

Draft Resolution by Syria in the Security Council
S/10456, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED with the situation in the India-Pakistan sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to peace,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

1. *Urges* the Government of Pakistan to immediately release all political prisoners so that the elected representatives of East Pakistan resume their mandate;

2. *Decides:*

(*a*) An immediate cease-fire on all fronts;

(*b*) A disengagement of all those engaged in hostilities, including the withdrawal of the armed forces under the respective command of India and Pakistan to their own side of the border and the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative with a view to:

(*a*) Supervising the orderly process of the above-mentioned operations;

(*b*) Assisting the elected representatives of East Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan to reach a comprehensive settlement, compatible with the principles of the Charter;

(*c*) Establishing the propitious conditions for the voluntary return of the refugees;

(*d*) Normalizing the relations between India and Pakistan;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council constantly informed of the implementation of this resolution.

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Draft Resolution by the U.S.S.R. in the Security Council
S/10457, December 15, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED by the conflict in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* all the parties concerned to take steps for bringing about immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities on the eastern and western fronts;

2. *Calls for* the simultaneous conclusion of a political settlement in accordance with the wishes of the people of East Pakistan as declared through their already elected representatives;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and to observe the Geneva Conventions of 1949;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution;

5. *Decides* to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the whole area.

Draft Resolution by Japan and the U.S.A. in the Security Council
S/10459, December 16, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED with the situation in the India-Pakistan sub-continent which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

TAKING NOTE of the statement made at the 1617th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India, that his country has no territorial ambitions,

1. *Demands* that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until operations of disengagement take place, leading to prompt withdrawal of the armed forces from all the occupied territories;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

4. *Calls for* international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to strengthen as appropriate the staff of UNEPRO, headed by his special representative, in order to provide all possible assistance for the solution of humanitarian problems;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of this resolution;

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7. *Decides* to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the whole area.

Draft Resolution by the U.S.S.R. in the Security Council
S/10458, December 16, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

For the purpose of restoration of peace on the Indostan sub-continent,

1. *Welcomes* the cessation of hostilities in East Pakistan and expresses the hope that the state of cease-fire will be observed by both sides, which would guarantee, without delay, unimpeded transfer of power to the lawful representetives of the people elected in December, 1970, and appropriate settlement of problems related to the conflict in this area;

2. *Calls for* immediate cease-fire and cessation of all other military actions along the entire border between India and West Pakistan and along the cease-fire line of 1965 in Jammu and Kashmir. Welcoming in this connexion the statement of the Government of India about their decision to cease-fire unilaterally and cease all other military actions in this area beginning from 1430 hours GMT on 17th Decemeber, 1971, urgently calls upon the Government of Pakistan to take an identical decision without delay;

3. *Calls upon* all Member States of the United Nations to render comprehensive assistance for the speediest cessation of military actions and to refrain from any steps which could impede normalization of the situation on the Indostan sub-continent.

Revised Draft Resolution by Japan and the U.S.A. in the Security Council
S/10459/Rev. 1, December 16, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED with the situation in the India–Pakistan sub-continent which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

TAKING NOTE of the statement made at the 1617th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India, that his country has no territorial ambitions,

1. *Demands* that an immediate and durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until operations of disengagement take place, leading to prompt withdrawal of the armed forces from all the occupied territories;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

4. *Calls for* international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect;

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5. *Invites* the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to lend his good offices in particular for the solution of humanitarian problems;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of this resolution;

7. *Decides* to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the whole area.

Draft Resolution by Argentina, Burundi, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia in the Security Council

S/10465, December 21, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING DISCUSSED the grave situation in the sub-continent which remains a threat to international peace and security,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

NOTING the reply of the Government of Pakistan on 9th December, 1971 (document S/10440),

NOTING the reply of the Government of India on 12th December, 1971 (document S/10445),

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister of India,

NOTING FURTHER the statement made at the 1617th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India containing a unilateral declaration of a cease-fire in the western theatre,

NOTING Pakistan's agreement to the cease-fire in the western theatre with effect from 17th December, 1971,

NOTING that consequently a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities prevail,

1. *Demands* that a durable cease–fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire Line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the United Nations Military Observation Group for India and Pakistan;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

4. *Calls for* international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect;

5. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to appoint if necessary a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed without delay on developments relating to the implementation of this resolution;

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7. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter and to keep it under active consideration.

Resolution adopted by the Security Council 307 (1971), December 21, 1971

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING DISCUSSED the grave situation in the sub-continent which remains a threat to international peace and security,

NOTING General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971,

NOTING the reply of the Government of Pakistan on 9th December, 1971 (document S/10440),

NOTING the reply of the Government of India on 12th December, 1971 (document S/10445),

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister of India,

NOTING FURTHER the statement made at the 616th meeting of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of India containing a unilateral declaration of a cease-fire in the western theatre,

NOTING Pakistan's agreement to the cease-fire in the western theatre with effect from 17th December, 1971,

NOTING that consequently a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities prevail,

1. *Demands* that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace;

3. *Calls upon* all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

4. *Calls for* international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect;

5. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to appoint if necessary a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed without delay on developments relating to the implementation of this resolution;

7. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter and to keep it under active consideration.

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Report of the U. N. Secretary-General concerning the implementation of General Assembly Resolution 2790 (XXVI) and Security Council Resolution 307 (1971)

S/10466, December 21, 1971

1. On 6th December, 1971, the General Assembly unanimously adopted Resolution 2790 (XXVI) in which it endorsed the designation by the Secretary-General of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee to be the Focal Point for the co-ordination of assistance to East Pakistan refugees in India from and through the United Nations system, as well as the Secretary-General's initiative in establishing the United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO). The Assembly also requested "the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to continue their efforts to co-ordinate international assistance and to ensure that it is used to the maximum advantage to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan".

2. On 21st December, the Security Council adopted Resolution 307 (1971) in which, among other things, the Council:

"(*a*) Calls upon all those concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and to apply in full their provisions as regards the protection of wounded and sick, prisoners of war and civilian population;

"(*b*) Calls for international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes and for full co-operation with the Secretary-General to that effect;

"(*c*) Authorizes the Secretary-General to appoint if necessary a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems."

3. The Secretary-General considers it appropriate to submit at this time a report on the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly in view of the recent tragic developments in the area, which brought to a temporary halt the efforts to carry out the above mandate, and which have created an even greater need for international humanitarian assistance to the people of the area. This report now also has a bearing on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 307 (1971).

4. Even before the adoption of General Assembly Resolution 2790 (XXVI), the situation in the area had undergone grave deterioration, culminating in the outbreak of large-scale hostilities between India and Pakistan on 3rd December, 1971. Immediately following the adoption of the Resolution, the Secretary-General informed the Assembly, at its 2001st plenary meeting, that the humanitarian activities of the United Nations in East Pakistan had had to be suspended, since it was impossible to move supplies in a situation of active hostilities and there was no practical possibility of ensuring the reasonable safety of the international staff; nor was he any longer in a position to assure the donors that the relief supplies would reach those for whom they were intended. The Secretary-General added in this connection that he planned to evacuate the remaining personnel of UNEPRO, but that the necessary arrangements were being made for the United Nations to be in a position to resume its humanitarian operations in the area as soon as conditions permitted, in compliance with the wish unanimously expressed by the General Assembly.

5. An account of the efforts initiated by the Secretary-General to arrange for the evacuation from Dacca of the remaining United Nations personnel, as well as other international personnel, may be found in his report of 7th December

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(A/8557/S/10433), in which he described the two unsuccessful attempts on 6th and 7th December, to evacuate these persons by means of aircraft made available to the United Nations by the Canadian Government. After a third unsuccessful attempt, on 11th December, an evacuation operation was finally carried out on 12th December by British aircraft under arrangements made by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in co-operation with the United Nations. Four hundred and thirty-seven international personnel, including ten United Nations officials, were evacuated. Thirty-seven United Nations officials remained in Dacca, headed by Mr. Paul-Marc Henry, the Assistant Secretary-General, in charge of the operation. Among these were 20 United Nations officials, including Field Service staff; 12 staff of the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), three doctors of the World Health Organization (WHO), one official of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and one representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

6. The retention of a small volunteer group of United Nations personnel in Dacca had been decided upon by the Secretary-General on 7th December, because he considered that, in the increasingly chaotic situation prevailing in the city, certain humanitarian functions must continue to be carried out by the United Nations. On that day, as the fighting increased in intensity, the Secretary-General made a statement to the General Assembly, at its 2003rd plenary meeting, in which he appealed to all the parties to the conflict, no matter what their allegiance, to take every possible measure to spare the lives of the innocent civilian population, which was afflicted and threatened by the hostilities. In this connection, the Secretary-General indicated that he was maintaining close contact with the International Committee of the Red Cross which, in its traditional humanitarian role, would endeavour to implement as fully as possible the terms of the Geneva Conventions. The Secretary-General appealed to all parties to observe the terms of those Conventions and to do their utmost to ensure that the present developments did not give rise to yet another senseless sacrifice of human lives on a vast scale. He went on to say that he had instructed his representative in Dacca to examine urgently, in full co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, what practical measures could be taken to this end.

7. The following day, the Secretary-General informed the Governments of India and Pakistan that he hoped that it would be possible to set up neutral zones in Dacca at the local United Nations headquarters and their suitable places in order to establish a base of operation for the United Nations and the International Red Cross, in pursuance of the objectives mentioned in his statement of 7th December, and also to provide a temporary safe haven for the stranded evacuee groups. The Secretary-General requested the two Governments to take all necessary measures to help the United Nations and the International Red Cross in this endeavour for the duration of the hostilities. Eventually, four neutral zones were established in Dacca under the protection of the United Nations and the International Red Cross.

8. Before the hostilities, there were 106 international personnel of UNEPRO in the area. When the situation began to deteriorate, the staff was first concentrated in Dacca; of them 69 were later evacuated, leaving 37 in the city. The evacuated staff were for the most part concentrated in Bangkok, while a small group was assigned to Singapore to establish a staging area, where supplies and equipment have been stored pending the resumption of relief operations. The group in Dacca will shortly be rotated and strengthened in order to undertake an inventory of existing United Nations assets and to reassess as soon as possible the requirements for international assistance in the light of the changed situation.

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9. Regrettably, some losses were sustained by the United Nations operation during the hostilities. The most tragic were the death of two captains of vessels transporting humanitarian supplies under United Nations auspices; four other crew members were seriously wounded. Two light aircraft under United Nations charter were destroyed at the Dacca airport. Four tugs under contract to the United Nations were sunk, and the whereabouts of another is unknown; two mini-bulkers were destroyed. The whereabouts and condition of some other vessels carrying humanitarian supplies under United Nations auspices remain to be determined. The state of United Nations vehicles and other equipment and supplies likewise remains to be assessed.

10. In Singapore, a significant amount of supplies have been stockpiled in recent weeks. These include over 35,000 tons of wheat shipped by Canada, 183 trucks and other vehicles; quantities of oil, brakefluid and tyres. In addition, various vessels carrying humanitarian supplies, including mini-bulkers, tugs and LCTs, lie anchored in the port.

11. *En route* are items purchased by UNICEF, totalling over 1 million, which are to be used in connection with the over-all relief operation. In addition, UNICEF is procuring from its own resources blankets, medical supplies and drugs, vehicles, high-protein food supplements and cloth, valued at about $ 1.5 million as an immediate action for early delivery. A World Food Programme shipment of 588 tons of vegetable oil is also on the way.

12. Commitments made by a number of donors will augment stocks already in the pipeline. These include Japanese and Australian rice, wheat from the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany and dairy products from the Netherlands. Although the above supplies are available or on the way, they are very small in proportion to the great and as yet unassessed needs of the situation. Nearly $ 95 million has been pledged by 16 donors. The bulk of this amount, $ 76.6 million, is committed for specific items, such as food, medical drugs and vehicles. The balance, which is ear-marked for operational needs, will be exhausted rapidly in the coming weeks. The financial situation is aggravated somewhat because only $ 14,547,025 of the $ 18,017,092 pledged as cash contributions has so far actually been deposited with the United Nations. It should be recalled that earlier projections of requirements were based on a purely relief operation.

13. The efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in his capacity as Focal Point, "to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India" were also temporarily affected by the outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan. After consultations with the Secretary-General, the High Commissioner announced, on 7th December, that in view of the prevailing situation shipments of relief commodities and equipment to India were being diverted for practical reasons until the situation permitted a resumption of deliveries. The situation in this respect improved rapidly and within three days the High Commissioner received reports from the Focal Point representative in New Delhi and assurances from the Government of India that conditions now permitted the resumption of the normal flow of relief supplies. On this basis, the High Commissioner announced, on 10th December, that shipments of relief commodities and equipment to India were being resumed.

14. Since the beginning of the United Nations humanitarian actions in India and East Pakistan, it has been recognized that the solution of the problem would necessarily involve the voluntary repatriation of the refugees from India, and efforts to facilitate such repatriation were undertaken by the High Commissioner. A representative of the High Commissioner as Focal Point had been stationed in

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Dacca and was a member of the United Nations team which remained in the city throughout the period of hostilities. It is anticipated that activities in connexion with the repatriation and resettlement of refugees will receive a high priority in the continuing work both of the High Commissioner as Focal Point and in the resumed activities of the United Nations relief operation in Dacca. Any indication as to the extent and nature of these activities will obviously have to await detailed consultations with the authorities concerned.

15. As soon as a more precise assessment of needs is available, the Secretary-General, in pursuance of General Assembly Resolution 2790 (XXVI) and Security Council Resolution 307 (1971), will be making further and more specific appeals for international assistance. He is also giving serious consideration to the provision in paragraph 5 of Security Council Resolution 307 (1971) concerning the appointment of a special representative to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems.

16. In concluding this report, the Secretary-General wishes to express his deep appreciation to all the personnel of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and programmes, the voluntary agencies as well as the associated personnel of the operation, who have, in the most difficult and often dangerous circumstances, tried to bring help and relief to the afflicted peoples of the area. A special tribute must be paid to the memory of those who have lost their lives and to those who have been wounded in the course of this humanitarian operation.

Letter from the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., to the Secretary-General of the U.N.

December 22, 1971

Excellency,

The Security Council has been seized with the events connected with the recent conflict in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. You are also aware that the Foreign Minister of India informed the Security Council on the 16th December at its 1616th meeting that the Government of India had unilaterally declared a cease-fire in the western sector with effect from 2300 hours Indian Standard Time. He also announced the cessation of hostilities in the eastern sector from the 16th December on the surrender of West Pakistani troops to the Indian and Bangla Desh forces on that date.

Though the response of the Government of Pakistan to this unilateral declaration of cease-fire was not available in time to be conveyed to the Security Council then, it is now known that the President of Pakistan accepted the offer of cease-fire declared by the Government of India on the 17th December.

While a cessation of hostilities has occurred and a cease-fire declared, it would be necessary to recall the event which led to the conflict in precise chronological order.

You would recall that I had conveyed information regarding Pakistan's armed aggression on India's western frontiers to you on the 3rd and 4th December verbally. Part of this information has been circulated by you to the members of the U.N. in your report No. S/10410/Add.1 of the 4th December, 1971. I notice, however, from paragraph 3, sub-paragraph (*a*) of the same document that the President of Pakistan had informed you that the Indian army had launched on December 3 between 1530 and 1600 hours simultaneously ground attacks across the international frontier of Pakistan in the Sialkot sector in an area between Jessar Bridge and Lahore and on the Rajasthan front opposite Rahim Yar Khan in West Pakistan. It is also alleged that the Indian armed forces attacked

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Pakistani forces in the Chhamb sector on the same day. This letter from the President of Pakistan has sought to imply that the attack by the Pakistan air force on Indian air fields between 1730 hours and 1800 hours on 3rd December was an act of self-defence in retaliation to the above alleged attack. I am to state that the allegation that Indian ground forces attacked Pakistan in the areas mentioned above between 1530 hours and 1600 hours (WPT) (1600 hours and 1630 hours IST) on 3rd December is completely false and baseless.

We have already informed the U.N. that Pakistan commenced a massive military build-up against India's western and eastern frontiers from the middle of October and commenced provocative military activities specifically against our border posts in the following areas:

In Krishnagar, Karimganj, Agartala, Hilli, Radhikapur, Belonia, Kamalpur and areas of West Dinajpur on the India-East Bengal border.

These incidents took place between October 14 and November 19. On November 19, Pakistani troops intruded into Indian territory in West Bengal, Meghalaya and in Jammu and Kashmir. Between November 21 and 24, Pakistan troops launched a massive infantry and artillery attack supported by armour and air force against Indian territories in the Boyra area of India-East Bengal border which compelled India to undertake for the first time defensive measures which included limited thrust into Pakistani territory. Three Pakistani sabre-jets were shot down while flying over Indian territory in the Boyra sector and two Pakistani pilots bailed out and were captured on Indian soil. The Government of India considered these as purely local actions as declared by the Prime Minister of India in Praliament on the 24th November while informing the Parliament of the military incidents at Boyra.

The Pakistani authorities, however, escalated the situation further by undertaking a massive air attack on Agartala town in the Indian State of Tripura on December 2.

Though there were frequent military provocations in the western sector Indian troops during this period kept on their side of the border under strict orders from the Government of India. However, on or about 1730 hours (IST) on December 3, the Pakistan air force carried out a massive and unprovoked air strike against several of our bases along India's western frontiers with Pakistan. The Pakistan air force struck at our air fields at Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. Simultaneously, Pakistani ground forces started heavy shelling of our defence positions in the Suleimanki and Poonch areas. They also started a ground attack against us all along the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir as well as the Punjab-West Pakistan border. The All India Radio announced the news about Pakistan's unprovoked aggression at 1820 hours on 3rd December and Radio Pakistan made the announcement that the Pakistan air force had taken defensive action against India's alleged ground attack in the western sector at about 1830 hours (IST). The Prime Minister, as well as two senior members of the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, were in different parts of India at this time, and they only returned to Delhi after being informed of Pakistan's aggression. The Indian air force went into action in self-defence at about mid-night on 3rd December and carried out air strikes against Pakistan air bases of Chanderi, Sialkot, Sargodha, Murad Mianwali, Masrur and Risa Wala in this action. The Indian armed forces also proceeded to take all necessary defensive measures against the Pakistani forces' ground attack all along India's eastern and western frontiers. It is thus clear from the above-mentioned sequence of events that it was Pakistan, and not, India that escalated and started the aggressive war on 3rd December, 1971. On the forenoon of 4th December, the President of Pakistan proclaimed that a state of war existed between India and Pakistan. On the same

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afternoon, Pakistan launched a massive attack in the Chhamb and Ferozepur sectors with air and artillery support and with armour. By the evening of 4th December, Pakistani forces had started attempting massive intrusions into Indian territories all along India's western frontiers as also along the cease-fire line in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. Since Pakistan had declared war against India and launched attacks against her in all sectors, India had to take all measures against Pakistan in order to ensure India's security and to remove Pakistan's military threat. The events that followed are known to you and have been the subject-matter of detailed discussions in the Security Council since the 4th December. The facts regarding the premeditated and planned aggression committed by Pakistan against India have been stated in detail in the statements the Indian Representative made in the Security Council on 4th, 5th and 6th December, 1971. Subsequently, the Foreign Minister of India made a detailed statement on this subject on the 12th December.

I have considered it necessary to state briefly in this letter the course of events as they occurred since I informed you orally on the 3rd and 4th of December of Pakistan's aggressive designs and activities against India. These culminated in Pakistan's proclamation of a "state of war" on the 4th of December.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Sd.) S. SEN.

Two Communications from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the U.N. received through the U.N. Secretary-General both dated December 25, 1971

The First Communication

Under instructions of my Government, I would like to bring to your immediate attention the grave humanitarian situation which exists in East Pakistan. According to a Radio Dacca Broadcast, the Governor of East Pakistan, Dr. A. M. Malik, his Cabinet Ministers, and a number of civil officials and distinguished citizens, including the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, have been handed over to the so-called 'Bangla Desh' authorities by the Indian Military Commander. As you are aware, the above-mentioned persons had taken shelter in the Hotel Inter-continental, Dacca, which was declared a neutral zone. Subsequently, under threat of attack by miscreants, the Indian military authorities had removed these persons to the Dacca Military Cantonment to provide them protection and security.

2. The latest report received from Dacca is thus extremely alarming, as the life, honour and safety of these persons is seriously endangered at the hands of the lawless elements who are armed and on the loose in Dacca and who are indiscriminately killing anyone loyal to Pakistan.

3. It will be recalled that recently, the Indian Military Commander had publicly declared that all forces, including those of the so-called 'Bangla Desh', are operating under his command. The Indian authorities are, therefore, wholly responsible for safety and security of human life, in particular of the group of persons mentioned above. The Government of Pakistan, therefore, holds the Indian Government fully responsible for the security of these persons.

4. My Government would be grateful if your Excellency would immediately take up this matter with the Government of India in order to ensure the safety and security of these persons, in compliance with the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and to arrange the necessary modalities for their early evacuation. Since these tasks are well within the terms of reference of Your Excellency's Special Representative, I would urge that Your Excellency instruct him to take an immediate

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interest in the fate of these people, and help in their early evacuation. Pending arrangements for such evacuation, their security should be ensured by placing them under the protection of the Red Cross in Dacca.

The Second Communication

Under instruction of my Government, I wish to bring to your attention a grave situation in East Pakistan which at present imperils the lives of thousands of innocent people.

2. Foreign Press despatches from East Pakistan report that the towns of Mohammedpur and Mirpur, on the outskirts of Dacca, which are inhabited largely by non-Bengalis, have been surrounded and over-powered by armed Bengali rebels, assisted by the Indian army. No food or medical aid is allowed to enter these towns, and attempts by Red Cross teams to provide relief have failed. A number of people have already been killed, and the entire population of these two towns, including women and children, run the risk of being exterminated or dying of hunger and disease unless urgent steps are taken to lift the blockade and prevent the violence directed against them.

3. Since every day is critical to prevent this human tragedy, my Government urges that the strongest possible action be taken, on an urgent and immediate basis through the modalities provided for in Resolution 307 (1971) of the Security Council, to ensure the safety and well-being of these beleagured people.

Letter from the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan to the U.N. Secretary-General December 26, 1971

I acknowledge the receipt of your communication, dated 22nd December, 1971, conveying the text of Resolution 307 (1971) adopted by the Security Council at its 1621st meeting on 21st December.

2. It is noted that the Security Council has demanded a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by UNMOGIP. I also note that the resolution has called upon all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace.

3. We have been heartened by the Security Council's call upon all concerned to take all measures necessary to preserve human life and for observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 in respect of the protection of the wounded and the sick and of prisoners of war and civilian population. The President of Pakistan has already addressed Your Excellency on the subject and emphasized the gravity of the situation in the prevailing conditions of East Pakistan. It is our hope that the resolution will strengthen your hand in devising immediate measures for the protection of human life and to bring to an end the bloodshed which is taking place there.

4. We similarly welcome the Security Council's call for international assistance in the relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety to their homes and its authorizing you to appoint, if necessary, a special representative to lend his good offices for solution of the humanitarian problems involved.

5. It must be emphasized in this connexion, Excellency, that the Government of Pakistan interprets the Security Council's resolution to be under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and that it is only the

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vacation of aggression without delay by India in East Pakistan and in all other areas of conflict including the recognized positions along the cease-fire line, as in 1965, in Jammu and Kashmir, that will restore peace and stability in the sub-continent. Pakistan expects that India will promptly respond to the demand of the international community as expressed by General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) by an overwhelming majority.

(Sd.) SULTAN M. KHAN

Letter from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the U.N., to the U.N. Secretary-General

S/10487, December 30, 1971

I am instructed by the Government of Pakistan to put on record the fact, already reported in the world press, that, on 27th December, 1971, the President of Pakistan initiated direct discussions with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, an elected leader of Pakistan, who represents the people of East Pakistan, with regard to a political settlement of the East Pakistan problem. The President stated that the talks would continue and would be guided by the wishes and aspirations of the people.

2. The Government of Pakistan considers it appropriate to declare that any act by any government with regard to a part of the territory of Pakistan forcibly occupied by a foreign power which would prejudge or prejudice the outcome of these negotiations or be detrimental to the integrity of Pakistan, would not only be a hostile act against Pakistan but also unwarranted and wholly contrary to the basic norms of international relations.

3. I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Sd.) A. SHAHI

Letter from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the U.N., to the U.N. Secretary-General

S/10490, December 31, 1971

I am instructed to convey to you my Government's serious and most anxious concern over official Indian statements, reported in the press, contemplating a so-called 'trial' of Dr. A. M. Malik, Governor of East Pakistan, his Ministers, and other high government and civilian officials in East Pakistan, as also of prisoners of war "accused of serious crimes". The statements indicate that before repatriation of prisoners of war and other detainees could take place, a list of 'criminals', prepared by the so-called "Bangla Desh Government", would be delivered to the Indian Government. It seems that these and similar statements by Indian spokesmen are meant to prepare world opinion for the intended handover of civilian officials and prisoners of war to the "Bangla Desh authorities" in Dacca.

2. My Government considers that the action reportedly contemplated would constitute a flagrant violation of India's inescapable legal obligation to observe the Geneva Conventions. It would also be a defiance of Resolution 307 (1971) of the Security Council.

3. The Geneva Conventions expressly stipulate that, in conflicts of an international character, the responsibility for the safety and security of prisoners of war and civilian persons is that of the Detaining or Occupying Power. In the present conflict between India and Pakistan, the "Detaining Power", with

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respect to the prisoners of war, and the "Occupying Power", with respect to civilian persons, is India. The so-called "Bangla Desh" authorities have no *locus standi* and cannot be allowed to render inoperative the protection which India is enjoined by the Geneva Conventions to afford to the prisoners of war and civilian persons.

4. It would be nothing but an evasion of India's obligations to afford such protection if it brought charges of the kind contemplated by it against the civilian persons or prisoners of war. The competence of Indian occupation authorities to institute penal or judicial action against the prisoners of war or civilians relates only to such offences as they may commit during the period of their captivity or of foreign occupation. They cannot be prosecuted for alleged acts committed prior to captivity or occupation unless such acts constitute crimes against the nationals of the Enemy Power (i.e. India).

5. The Government of Pakistan trusts that the United Nations will hold the Government of India fully responsible for the safety and security of the Pakistani civilian officials and prisoners of war in East Pakistan.

6. As the situation is of the utmost gravity and concern, I request Your Excellency to call upon the Government of India to ensure that the abovementioned civilian persons and prisoners of war are not subjected to so-called trials. I also request that early action may be initiated through Your Excellency's Special Representative, as requested in my letter No. 674–S/71 of 25th December, 1971, to ensure the early evacuation of these persons.

7. I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a document of the Security Council.

Please accept, etc.

(Sd.) AGHA SHAHI

Letter from the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., to the U.N. Secretary-General

S/10501, January 11, 1972

On the 21st of December, 1971, the Security Council adopted Resolution No. 307 dealing with the recent armed conflict in the Indian sub-continent. On the same day, the Foreign Minister of India made a statement before the Council giving India's views on this resolution soon after it had been adopted. In this statement, he said: "the Government of India will give due consideration to the Resolution of the Council and make further comments if they deem it necessary".

2. The Government of India have now further examined the Resolution. They have confirmed all that the Foreign Minister said on 21st of December, and have asked me to send you the following additional comments.

3. The requirement of the Resolution for a durable cease-fire has not been fully met. On behalf of the Government of India, I have already informed the Council of several breaches of the cease-fire by the Pakistani armed forces since 21st December, 1971.

In the western theatre, including the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India are willing to open bilateral negotiations with the Government of Pakistan for effective withdrawal, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces. It is our hope that the Government of Pakistan will approach the remaining problems born of the events of last year and the recent unfortunate conflict with a view to ensuring durable peace in the sub-continent.

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As regards the withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangla Desh, both the Governments of India and of Bangla Desh are seized of the matter. This is to assure you that the withdrawal of the Indian armed forces will take place as soon as the two Governments consider it practicable. I should like to repeat my Foreign Minister's assurance to the Council that the Indian troops will not be in Bangla Desh "a day longer than necessary". They are there at the request of the Bangla Desh Government.

4. The Government of India continue to refrain from any action which may "aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace". However, they cannot but note with regret that public declarations made in the recent past by some Governments do not contribute to the objective the Council has in mind. It is also to be noted that public discussion of the attitudes during the period of hostilities, as also certain fresh developments, have tended to introduce new elements of concern in the region.

5. The Government of India are fully abiding by the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

6. With the establishment of the Government of Bangla Desh, and the speedy process of restoration of normalcy in that country, the Government of India are glad to note that the Bangla Desh refugees in India, totalling nearly ten millions on the 4th December, 1971, have started to return home. Until today, over a million refugees have already returned, and it is our hope that with the proposed arrangements by the Government of Bangla Desh, most of the refugees will go back home in the course of the next two months. Such co-operation and assistance as the Secretary-General can render for the rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees will be greatly appreciated. Your Special Representative, Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, has recently visited India and Bangla Desh, and he will no doubt inform you of his views of the solution of the humanitarian problems, not only as regards the refugees, but for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devasted land of Bangla Desh, and for the adequate protection of innocent members of the minority communities both in Bangla Desh and in Pakistan. We, on our part, will do everything possible to co-operate with the Governments concerned as also with the United Nations organs for a speedy and satisfactory solution to all the humanitarian problem that have arisen as a result of the military and brutal repression of the people of Bangla Desh for nine months by the Pakistan army, and as an aftermath of hostilities.

It is requested that this letter may kindly be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

I take this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Sd.) S. SEN.

Letter from the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N. to the U.N. Secretary-General

S/10510, January 14, 1972

With referene to your notes of 26th December, 1971, and 1st January, 1972, I wish to inform you of the position in so far as it relates to my Government on the various allegations made in the letters, dated 21st, 25th and 30th December, 1971, sent to you by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan.

The allegations regarding large scale atrocities and mass murders, as well as lawless elements being on the loose in Dacca, are false and untenable. The recent international press reports from Bangla Desh testify to the wildness and

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exaggeration of these allegations. The Government of India, whose forces are at present in the area on the request of the Bangla Desh Government, are doing their utmost in co-operation with that Government to prevent the natural resentment of the people against their former oppressors from erupting into violence. Their efforts in this respect have met with much success, and full facilities have also been given to the International Red Cross to bring help and relief to those who are in need.

The people of Bangla Desh were subjected by the former Pakistan military regime and its collaborators to massive violence and all kinds of brutalities for many months. This continued unabated right up to the surrender of the Pakistan military occupation forces in Bangla Desh. Even in the week preceding the surrender of Pakistani troops, para-military forces and armed organisations like the Badar Bahini and Razakars committed mass murders, rape and looting all over the country. They systematically liquidated professional and intellectuals in the cities of Dacca, Khulna and Jessore as late as 15th December, 1971. Mass graves of these unfortunate people were discovered by the Bangla Desh and Indian forces soon after they reached these cities. It is a measure of the success with which law and order is being restored in Bangla Desh that natural local anger and resentment over these recent horrible incidents has not led to widespread violence. Instead, the consolidation of normalcy has received a powerful impetus with the return of Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to his people, and we are gratified that the Government of Pakistan have at last released him. While there had earlier been some unfortunate incidents, which received much international publicity, it is noteworthy that they were both few and isolated. Even these few incidents need be seen in the perspective of widespread public resentment following months of massive repression. Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has moreover called on the people, immediately on his return to Bangla Desh, to exercise utmost restraint inspite of their understandable grievance against those who collaborated with the Pakistan army in its campaign of genocide.

Various officials of the former Pakistani military regime in Bangla Desh had resigned and sought refuge in the neutral zones organised under the aegis of the U.N. during the course of the hostilities. After the termination of the hostilities, they were taken into custody by the joint command of the Bangla Desh and Indian forces to safeguard them from possible mob violence and reprisals. According to declarations of the Bangla Desh Government, they and others responsible for repression, brutality and genocide would be tried according to the due process of law and provided with facilities for their defence as required by law. Pending their trial they will continue to be safeguarded from mob violence and reprisals.

In this connection, the view of the Government of India is that such persons against whom there may be sufficient evidence of their having committed grave crimes such as genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity could not be given the immunity of the I.C.R.C. or neutral zones organised under the aegis of the United Nations, especially after the termination of hostilities. They are not entitled to any such immunity under any of the Geneva Conventions. The joint command of the Bangla Desh and Indian forces has the right to demand their evacuation on behalf of the Government of Bangla Desh so that they could be taken into custody pending appropriate legal action under the law of the land and under international law.

As regards the responsibility of the Government of India under the Geneva Convention relating to civilians, 1949, in the view of my Government, after the general termination of military operations since December 17, 1971, the Convention relating to civilians ceases to apply in view of the provisions of Article 6 thereof.

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The entire territory of Bangla Desh is now within the effective control and administration of the Government of Bangla Desh, which India has recognized. Bangla Desh is not an occupying power in its own territory, nor is India an occupying power in Bangla Desh. Indian forces are in Bangla Desh at the request of the Bangla Desh Government.

Subject to this general legal position, the Government of India will continue to respect all humanitarian norms and protect life and property about which it has already given unilateral assurances to all concerned. However, this responsibility has to be discharged within the practical limitations arising from the effective control of the Government of Bangla Desh over its entire territory.

Under the Geneva Conventions, whether relating to prisoners of war or relating to civilians, no immunity is guaranteed to the prisoners of wars or to protected persons from trial by competent courts for the offences committed by them prior to capture or protection. It is well known that offences, including war crimes and crimes against humanity, were committed by the occupying armed forces of Pakistan and its officials and other agents in Bangla Desh during the period of hostilities between December 3 and December 16, 1971, and in the preceding months. Pakistan being a party to the Geneva Conventions as well as the Convention on Genocide, 1948, should be aware of its responsibility as well as of the responsibility of its armed forces, public officials or private individuals for these offences whether they are committed in time of peace or in time of war. Even if it is assumed that the status of hostilities between the occupying forces of Pakistan in Bangla Desh and the Mukti Bahini between 25th March, 1971, and 3rd December, 1971, was that of a conflict not of an international character, Pakistan was still bound by the provisions of Article 3 of the Geneva Convention relating to prisoners of war as well as the Convention relating to civilians. It is clear that the obligations arising under article 3 were violated in relation to the people of Bangla Desh, and it would thus be within the sovereign right of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh to bring the guilty persons to account by trials in competent courts following fair procedures and assuring the accused full opportunity for defending themselves.

It has been alleged that the Indian and Bangla Desh forces have surrounded the towns of Mohammadpur and Mirpur on the outskirts of Dacca, to harass and commit violence against ethnic minorities inhabiting these towns. This allegation is baseless. The fact is that a large number of collaborators of the former Pakistani military regime, including members of Razakars and Badar Bahini Organisations, fortified themselves in these towns which are also inhabited by ethnic minorities. There was an imminent danger of violence from the local population against these persons who had been responsible for carrying out genocide and repression over the last nine months.

The Bangla Desh and the Indian forces cordoned these towns in order to protect the population from mob violence, and also to disarm the Razakars and Badar Bahini members. Food and medicines were and are being allowed to enter these towns through the International Red Cross as well as through other channels. The search operations undertaken in these towns resulted in the unearthing of huge quantities of ammunition, grenades, mortars, machine guns, recoilless rifles and other arms. It should be noted that the refusal of the Razakars and the Badar Bahini members to surrender to the Bangla Desh and Indian armed forces was in contravention of the instruments of surrender which the commander of the Pakistani forces signed while surrendering his troops and para-military organisations to the Indian and Bangla Desh forces on the 18th December, 1971.

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While giving the above comments, my Government is of the view that the comments of the Government of Bangla Desh must also be obtained. We note in this connection that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has recently visited Bangla Desh. We are convinced that for any fruitful discussion of such subjects the participation of the Government of Bangla Desh is essential.

It is requested that this letter may kindly be circulated as a Security Council Document.

(Sd.) S. SEN

Letter from the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N. to the President of the Security Council S/10558, March 8, 1972

I enclose the text of a statement of 14th February made by the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh (given below). This statement was issued with reference to a letter, dated 30th December, 1971, addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan (S/10487).

2. I should add that, since 14th February, when the attached statement was issued, the number of States according recognition to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh has increased from 35 and stands today at 51.

3. It is requested that this letter and its enclosure may kindly be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Sd.) S. SEN

Statement by the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh February 14, 1972

The attention of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh has been drawn to a communication, dated 30th December, 1971, addressed to the Secretary-General by the Pakistan Permanent Representative to the United Nations. It has been stated that the President of Pakistan has initiated direct discussions with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman "For political settlement of the East Pakistan problem". The Government of Bangla Desh takes serious exception to this malicious attempt by Pakistan to misrepresent the facts of the situation in the United Nations.

2. It is but one more futile effort on the part of the Government of Pakistan to shut its eyes to the realities of the events that have taken place in Bangla Desh since 25th March, 1971. The unprovoked and barbarous attack of the Pakistan army on the innocent and unarmed people of Bangla Desh on the night of 25th March, 1971, ended all possibilities for the two wings of erstwhile Pakistan to remain together in a single political entity. The elected representatives of the people thereupon declared the independence of Bangla Desh, and the People's Republic of Bangla Desh was formally proclaimed. A war of liberation was begun to oust the Pakistan occupation forces from Bangla Desh territory. On 16th December the Pakistan froces were compelled to surrender to the allied forces in Dacca.

3. During this period, the undisputed leader of the people and Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was held in illegal detention in Pakistan. The ignominious defeat of the occupation forces of Pakistan in Bangla Desh and the mounting pressure of world opinion finally forced the Pakistan Government to release him, unconditionally.

4. Since his return to Bangla Desh, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has made various public pronouncements in which he has unequivocally stated

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that Bangla Desh will remain a sovereign State and that there is no question of Bangla Desh existing within the framework of Pakistan. Addressing a public meeting in Dacca on 10th January, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that "Bangla Desh is today an independent and sovereign country, and this freedom will stay for ever". In his press conference at Dacca on 14th January, the first since assuming the office of Prime Minister, which was attended by a large number of foreign correspondents, he declared: "As regards our relations with Pakistan, I expect Mr. Bhutto to accept the reality of independent, sovereign People's Republic of Bangla Desh".

5. The Government of Bangla Desh has established its firm control over the entire territory of what was formerly known as East Pakistan. More than 35 States, including the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, India and Japan, have accorded recognition to the new State.

6. In view of the above, the statement of the Pakistan Permanent Representative to the United Nations can be motivated only by a desire to deceive the world about the real state of affairs in an effort to deny or delay recognition by other States and make it difficult for the eighth largest nation in the world to take its rightful place in the United Nations.

II. DEBATES

A. GENERAL DEBATE IN THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY SEPTEMBER / OCTOBER 1971

References to Bangla Desh—Summary

In the U.N. General Assembly, 117 countries participated in the General Debate, out of which 55 countries excluding India and Pakistan referred to Bangla Desh in their statements. These references can be classified under the following six categories:—

(i) Twenty-four countries stated that the problem should be tackled from the *humanitatrian point of view* and made no reference to political aspect of the problem:–

Argentina, Australia, Chile, China (Taiwan), Egypt, Ghana, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Madagascar, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Uruguay, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (Sanaa) and Zambia.

(ii) Eight countries stated that the primary concern should be from the *humanitarian point of view* and called for the restoration of *normalcy in East Bengal* as a pre-requisite for the return of refugees, etc:–

Afghanistan, Ceylon ("accelerated democratic and constitutional procedures"), Equador, Finland, Italy, Nepal, the U.K. ("a return to civil Government") and Yugoslavia.

(iii) Fourteen countries, apart from expressing humanitarian concern, specifically stated that a *political solution* should be evolved to meet the situation in East Bengal:–

Austria, Belgium (also added to category iv), Cyprus ("humanitarian problem has roots in political situation and the Secretary-General has put the proper emphasis on this issue"), France, Guyana,

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Ireland, Malta (referred to a solution "based essentially on political accommodation"), Mongolia ("situation in East Pakistan should be settled by political means in accordance with the interests of its population"), New Zealand ("durable, political settlement"), Norway, Poland (called upon Pakistan "to adopt measures to reach an appropriate political settlement of the crisis situation in East Pakistan"), Sweden, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

(iv) Five countries, while acknowledging the humanitarian aspect of the problem, stated that it should be settled between India and Pakistan with or without the assistance of the U.N.:—

Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Lebanon, Sierra Leone, and Belgium (Primarily added in category iii).

(v) Saudi Arabia took a pro-Pakistani stand.

(vi) Three countries made only a passing reference:- Ethiopia, Iceland and Israel.

Ten countries specifically stated that the situation in East Bengal involved human rights or took the line that the political solution in East Bengal should be reached in consultation with the elected representatives of the people. Such statements can be classified in the following two categories:—

(*a*) Eight countries specifically stated that East Bengal situation involved human rights:—

Belgium, Equador ("protest against massacres in East Pakistan which are a violation of the sacred nature of human life..."), Ireland, Malta (The refugees camps are "the direct result of political and military action" and the refugees "have their inalienable human rights"), Madagascar (called for "humaneness in the conduct of repressive operations"), New Zealand, Sweden and Uruguay.

(*b*) Four countries specifically stated that a political solution should be reached *in consultation with the elected representatives of the people*:—

France ("political solution based on the consent of the Pakistani people"), Mongolia ("settlement by political means in accordance with the interests of its people"), New Zealand and Sweden ("political solution based on the will of the people as expressed through the ballot").

Extracts from the statement of Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in the U. N. General Assembly

September 27, 1971

For India, the year 1971 opened with many promises. The economy was poised for a high rate of growth. In March, we had our general elections. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was returned to power with an overwhelming majority. Her success reflected the solid support of our people for a concerted programme for socio-economic progress. Externally, we had tried to establish warmer relations with all countries, particularly with our neighbours. The fact that Pakistan had a little earlier, in December, 1970, held its first-ever general elections was welcomed in India. The introduction of a democratic process in Pakistan would, we hoped, bring about improved relations with this important neighbour of ours. Yet the entire picture was changed overnight when the events in the eastern wing of Pakistan took a catastrophic course. An international problem of utmost gravity and concern was created. Several Governments and international authorities have

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recognized the true character of this problem. The Secretary-General, U Thant, not only has brought the situation to the attention of the Members of the Security Council, but has included his views in the introduction to his annual report. The Assembly has already heard the concern which the outgoing President, Ambassador Hambro, expressed in his speech on 21st September.

By the middle of April, it had become clear that Pakistan had no intention of abandoning its military methods, and that we would be faced with an unprecedented flow of Pakistani refugees into our country. Refugee camps had to be speedily organized, and the systematic and detailed registration of the large number of foreigners had to be undertaken. Ration cards and temporary permits for stay in India had to be issued, transport and food supplies had to be organized and medical attention had to be provided. These relief measures could, however, meet only a fraction of the needs of the refugees. We asked the international community for help, and although the response to the Secretary-General's appeal has been warm, it is but a very small part of what is actually needed. By far the largest contribution towards the upkeep of the refugees has had to be made by India from its badly needed resources. We are sheltering and looking after the refugees on behalf of the international community. We simply do not have the capacity and the resources to bear this burden. While we gave them—on purely humanitarian grounds—shelter and refuge when they were fleeing for their lives, we have made it repeatedly clear that they are with us only temporarily and must return home. This has been accepted and endorsed by the world community. It has been impossible to make any firm estimates of what it would cost us in the coming months, but on the basis of the present figure the total cost may well be more than $800 million by the end of next March.

The consequences of this massive influx—some have called it a civilian invasion —of refugees into India cannot be determined in terms of money alone. We are facing grave social, economic and political consequences. In the areas where the refugees are now living in difficult conditions in camps, all of our schools have had to be closed to find shelter for them.

All of our hospitals in these areas have had to tend to the urgent needs of the refugees, rather than to the normal needs of the local inhabitants. Prices are rising as a result of a higher demand for essential commodities. Wages are falling. Crimes of various kinds are on the increase. Local friction and tensions are not unknown. Our local administration has had to be diverted to the work of looking after the refugees, and that in turn has further affected adversely all our development projects. The fear of epidemics is ever present, even though the outbreak of cholera has been controlled.

The refugees must go back. The question simply is: How? Can anyone reasonably expect them to go back when thousands and thousands are daily fleeing from the same area? Pointless declarations and exhortations will not make them go back. On 21st May, President Yahya Khan called upon the refugees to go back, and yet, since then, more than 5 million have come into India. They will go back only when they are sure themselves that they can live in their own homeland in safety and freedom, when they are allowed to work as they wish, and when they are assured that their properties will be returned, their jobs restored and their daily lives not interfered with.

To appreciate and understand the background to this unprecedented influx, it is necessary to recall the conditions prevailing in East Pakistan throughout Pakistan's existence. Pakistan is a unique country, in the sense that two parts of it are separated by a distance of 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The majority of the people—75 million—live in the East, and the West has a total population of

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less than 60 million. Nonetheless, political, military and economic power was concentrated in the West, while the East continued to produce basic raw materials such as jute and tea, and provided the largest source of foreign exchange for Pakistan. Even the Government of Pakistan has acknowledged that persistent discrimination and exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan has taken place ever since the country became independent.

Just to give one example, in the entire civil service and in the armed forces of Pakistan, the Bengalis did not have a share exceeding 10 per cent. The East Pakistanis continued to protest and agitate against that discrimination and exploitation, and, for want of any effective remedy, their grievances accumulated.

However, after the fall of President Ayub Khan in the middle of 1969, a new situation arose. Another General—President Yahya Khan—took over, and declared that he would hold general elections for the first time, on adult franchise with representation to both wings, proportionate to their population. For the first time, the people of Pakistan saw in that democratic process a possible rectification of the injustices from which East Pakistan had suffered all those years.

The elections were held in December, 1970, after being postponed twice. The results of the elections were greeted in Pakistan as a success of democracy, as indeed it was. The broad results of the elections are worth noting. Out of a total of 313 seats, 169 had been allotted to East Pakistan. Of those 169 seats, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won as many as 167. Winning 98 per cent of the seats in East Pakistan, Mujibur Rahman gained an absolute majority in the National Assembly and would, in normal circumstances, have been in a position to form the Government and become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. For the elections, the Awami League had adopted a six-point programme to obtain specifically a greater degree of autonomy for East Pakistan with a view to putting an end to discrimination and exploitation....

Apparently, the results of the election so startled the rulers of Pakistan that they saw in them a risk to their economic, military and political domination over the Eastern Wing; this explains their swift action and their desire to continue military rule. So, on the fateful night of 25th and 26th March, the armed forces set out to crush the verdict of the 75 million Bengalis....

Before, however, the army was given the signal to let loose the reign of terror, protracted negotiations started; in the meantime, the strength of the armed forces in East Bengal was considerably increased....

What the army did, and is continuing to do, in its massive assault on the civilian population is now well known, and I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly in describing the innumerable instances of killings and atrocities. A reign of terror prevailed, and still prevails. The leader of the Awami League, Mujibur Rahman, was arrested and is still in prison. He is now being secretly tried in a military court on a charge which carries the death penalty. The freedom of the press and civil liberties were totally suppressed, and the foreign journalists were expelled. The International Red Cross was not allowed to visit the area, and all attempts were made, not always successfully, to conceal what was happening in that part of the world. Killing, raping, burning and looting became widespread. The inevitable consequences followed: the people fled from terror and violence to India, leaving behind all that they had. Their number rose from less than a million, at the end of April, to nearly 4 million at the end of May, crossed the 6-million mark before June was over, and has been rising steadily. Their number now exceeds 9 million, and the exodus still continues. This is an exodus of refugees unprecedented in history, across any international frontier.

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Pakistan's military action and the snuffing-out of all human rights, and the reign of terror, which still continues, have shocked the conscience of mankind. There is a popular revolt against these actions. Some have fled from the terror, while the others are resisting it as best they can. The hard core of this resistance was provided by thousands of men who had defected from the army and the police and various para-military organisations at the time of the military crackdown. They have been joined in ever-increasing numbers by people of all ages.

The Pakistani authorities have torn up solemn declarations and conventions to which Pakistan had subscribed. Pakistan has desperately tried to divert attention from its outrageous actions. Its actions have made so many serious inroads into much that our Charter stands for, that it would indeed be a travesty of international law and a mockery of international justice to suggest that what is involved is an internal issue. It is even less an internal issue when one keeps in mind that other nations are having to support the enormous cost of the massive exodus of Pakistani citizens into India.

Apart from accusing others for their own most unwise and deadly activities, the rulers of Pakistan have taken a number of measures which are no more than an eye-wash. How unrealistic these measures are can be judged from the impact they had on the flow of refugees. The President of Pakistan has from time to time called upon the refugees to go back; yet, the flow continues in ever-increasing numbers into India. A so-called civilian government has been formed in East Pakistan which consists of men who have no representative character whatever and who are mere figureheads, obliged to take orders from their military commanders. An amnesty is proclaimed, but Mujibur Rahman and other elected representatives are at the same time treated and tried as traitors. We witness the strange spectacle in which the party, which would have been, by right, the Government of Pakistan, has been banned and disqualified from political activities. Half the elected representatives have been disqualified from sitting in the National Assembly. In our view, the flow of refugees will not stop, nor will the refugees already in India begin to go back, until a political solution acceptable to the elected representatives of the people has been found. Secretary-General U Thant, and many other distinguished statesmen, politicians and leaders of public opinion, have consistently maintained that the problem is essentially political. As a first step towards a political solution, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, should be set at liberty without delay, and negotiations should be started with him. It has been proved beyond doubt that he alone can speak on behalf of the people of East Bengal. He, and he alone, symbolizes and represents aspiration and will of the people of East Pakistan. Apart from these actions, which the Pakistanis themselves can take, what can the international community do in these circumstances? The first and foremost action which this Assembly, and all other international organs within or without the United Nations system, can take is to impress on the military regime of Islamabad the fact that force will not succeed, and that, therefore, a political settlement between the military regime and the already elected leaders is essential. We consider it wholly shortsighted to wait until worse crises have arisen. Bilaterally, all Governments can do their utmost to ensure, by whatever means are available to them, that the military regime stops its repression, enters into negotiations with the elected leaders to achieve a political settlement with their consent, and sends the army back to the barracks. Only by these measures will the flow of refugees be stopped, and refugees already in India be able to return home. Our only fault has been that we gave temporary shelter to millions of refugees—homeless, foodless, without clothing; sick and aged, men and women, helpless children and dying infants—who were fleeing from terror, many of whom bore marks of recent army brutality. Only by the measures I have suggested can the threat of famine be alleviated and normal conditions restored.

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If these measures are not taken, and if attempts are made to divert attention by false analysis or wrong accusations, then the prospect is indeed gloomy. We here in this Assembly may argue in a sophisticated manner as long as we like, but those who have been the victims of aggression, and who are fleeing from terror and massacre, will not have such a tolerant outlook. They will not forgive us or those who did not stand by them in their hour of trial.

Statement by Mr. Mahmud Ali (Pakistan) in the U.N. General Assembly September 27, 1971

My Delegation was compelled this morning to raise a point of order in the course of the statement made by the honourable Foreign Minister of India. The greater portion of his speech was concerned with matters which lie entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of my country. In raising objection to this open intervention in Pakistan's affairs, my Delegation was guided by the principle which is stated in categorical terms in Article 2, operative paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, namely that the International Organization will not intervene in the internal affairs of Member States.

This is a principle which is unanimously accepted, and is to be found also in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and of the Organization of American States, as well as other international forums, such as the Non-Aligned Conference and the Afro-Asian Conference. We ask that this principle be upheld —not, as was insinuated, because Pakistan has something to conceal—but because the precedent set this morning by the Representative of India will make it difficult, if not impossible, to conduct international relations in an orderly and effective manner.

India has intervened in the internal affairs of Pakistan, in violation of all norms of international behaviour, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. International law places a clear obligation on all States to respect the territorial jurisdiction of other States. In December, 1965, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution, with only one vote against, entitled "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty".

Operative paragraph 1 states:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reasons whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic or cultural elements are condemned".

Operative paragraph 2 reads:

"....no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subersive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State".

Finally, operative paragraph 4 states:

"4. The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security". [Resolution 2131 (XX).]

It is noteworthy that India was a member of the Committee which prepared the Declaration.

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I am sure that all the Representatives present here are not unaware of the complexity of the issues to which we are trying to find a solution in Pakistan. The problems of reconciling conflicting economic, political, cultural and regional claims within the borders of a country are not unique to Pakistan. They are present in all multilingual, multicultural and multiracial States. Such problems are endemic in India itself, although the Foreign Minister of India has seen fit to speak of social, political and cultural conditions in my country. I do not propose to speak here of what has been going on in his country, not that there is not much to talk about. We all know, and the world knows, what has been happening to the Mizos and the Nagas in India. We all know the state of turmoil and civil strife in the Indian State of West Bengal, where it has not been possible for a democratic government to function during the last four years. We all know of the demands for recognition of their rights in South India and in the Punjab. But, I have no intention here to delve into these matters, and I certainly do not propose to use the forum of this august Assembly to make propaganda against my neighbour as, unfortunately, the Foreign Minister of India saw fit to do.

The basic factors of the prevailing situation in Pakistan are, I am sure, not unknown to the distinguished representatives here. Although these have been clouded by the storm of propaganda and vituperation of which we heard an example this morning.

The cardinal fact is that general elections were held through out Pakistan in December last. These elections were held on the basis of adult franchise. What happened thereafter was that the legitimate aspirations of the people of Pakistan for a democratic and federal type of Constitution, which would have given a full measure of autonomy to the units, were escalated into a move inspired and organized from outside for breaking up the country. Violence was let loose in East Pakistan. Massacres were perpetrated, and the lives and honour not only of those who opposed secession but of ordinary citizens were placed in jeopardy.

The President of Pakistan pursued his search for a negotiated settlement among the political parties concerned until the very last moment, when the refusal of the leader of the political party, which had won the majority of seats in the National Assembly, to participate in the work of the Assembly made it clear that the objective was not to frame a Constitution for Pakistan, but to engineer secession by violent means.

It is in these circumstances that President Yahya Khan, who had held elections in the country, was compelled to order the armed forces to do their duty, namely, to preserve the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. We found that the reaction in India was almost instantaneous. There was at the time no problem of refugees, which the Foreign Minister of India has put forward this morning as an excuse for meddling in Pakistan's internal affairs.

The Indian Parliament adopted a resolution, moved by the Indian Prime Minister herself, declaring support for the so-called Bangla Desh. A vast and orchestrated campaign was set in motion radiating falsehoods, half-truths and calumnies fabricated in Calcutta and other places in India. Accounts were published of pitched battles in East Pakistan. Tales were told of arbitrary executions and large-scale killings, and so on. It was said that University of Dacca was razed to the ground, that intellectuals had been singled out and put to death before the eyes of their families, that the port of Chittagong was in shambles.

Let me quote the opinion of an Indian newspaper on the subject.

The Statesman of Delhi wrote on 4th April, 1971, that many of the claims contained a measure of exaggeration, if not outright invention, that must have been clear even when they were made. Subsequent reports have shown that there was

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much wishful thinking, both among those who made those claims and among the listeners in India who accepted them without reservation.

The curfew was completely lifted in the city of Dacca within less than a week after the army initiated action. The University of Dacca, parts of which had been used by the secessionist elements as an arsenal for storing weapons and explosives received from outside the country, nevertheless stands intact and has been functioning normally. The intellectuals who were reported as killed by Indian publicity media are alive and leading normal lives, as was stated in an advertisement which was published in *The New York Times* some months ago.

The objective behind the Indian agitation over the events in Pakistan is transparent and, indeed, self-confessed. *The Washington Post* of 2nd April quoted an Indian officials as saying that that had not been reporting, it had been psychological warfare.

A foreign observer, Mr. Bruno D. Hammel, wrote, in the *London Times* of 17th April that the Indian Press :

> "....seems to have lost all sense of responsibility. Wanting news, one got instead a mass of hysterical rumours. Statements of fact proved, nine times out of ten, to be unconfirmed and contradictory. Any report of atrocities, so long as it was inflammatory and without evidence, was sure of space".

The Foreign Minister of India spoke of the great burden his country is bearing in having to feed the Pakistani refugees. He mentioned the number as being over 9 million. He stated that they are still continuing to cross the borders in the thousands. He asked for some $ 800 million as the cost of their upkeep during the coming six months. This figure is astounding in itself, even if one were not to question the figure of 9 million refugees put forward by India, because, if I am not wrong, the total budget of the Government of India for the current year, for running a country of 500 million people, amounts to $ 4,000 million.

It has become imperative as a preliminary to arranging for their return to carry out an impartial and accurate count of the number of people who left their homes in Pakistan and are now living in refugee camps in India. My Government has carried out a careful count, and has found that, as on 1st September, 1971, the number of Pakistanis who had left totalled 2,002,623. We are not asking that our count be taken on trust. On the contrary, we have requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to nominate any impartial agency to verify this figure. We are prepared to give such an agency every facility for carrying out a check on the spot. I should be glad to hear the Foreign Minister of India giving a similar assurance on his Government's behalf. It would also be possible for such an impartial agency to observe for itself whether the movement of displaced persons is continuing at the rate alleged by India, or whether it is continuing at all. In asking for an independent verification of the exact number of refugees, it is by no means my intention to minimize the seriousness of the human problem which a large-scale movement of people involves. It is tragic, but unavoidable, that people residing in those areas which are or may be the scene of a conflict will leave their homes to escape death or the effects of the strife. The numbers of those who are so displaced in consequence of the conflict are determined by the density of the population and by the degree of fear which is generated in the minds of the people. Such fear can be generated only when they are constantly told that they will be the victims of a planned massacre.

Such was the reaction of the Indian Prime Minister, to the appeal which President Yahya Khan made to the refugees to return to their homes, that she said, "I will not allow the refugees to go back to be butchered".

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The crux of the situation is this. Pakistan is desirous and determined to see that all those who left the country for one reason or another should return as soon as possible to their homes and occupations. Concrete measures have been taken to facilitate their return. In his appeal of 18th June, President Yahya Khan said:

"My appeal was addressed to all Pakistani nationals, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Members of the minority community should have no hesitation in returning to their homes in East Pakistan. They will be given full protection and every facility. They are equal citizens of Pakistan, and there is no question of any discriminatory treatment. I asked them not to be misled by michievous propaganda being conducted outside Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan has established twenty-one reception centres along the border to provide relief, supplies and transport to their homes to returning refugees. As a further instance of Pakistan's armistice, a general amnesty was declared for all classes of people, including military deserters, and those who had been detained in Pakistan for involvement in insurgency have been released".

In his address to the nation on 28th June, the President of Pakistan said:

"We shall gladly and gratefully accept any assistance the United Nations can extend in facilitating the move of these displaced persons back to Pakistan".

Consequently, the Government of Pakistan has extended full co-operation to the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in devising measures for resettling the refugees in their homes. A special committee has been set-up in East Pakistan to co-ordinate the Administration efforts with those of the United Nations and its Agencies.

The Government of Pakistan accepted within twenty-four hours the Secretary-General's proposal of 19th July for the stationing of representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border to facilitate the repatriation of refugees. It should be noted that India peremptorily rejected this proposal. The Government of Pakistan has also agreed that a number of United Nations personnel should be posted in East Pakistan to assist the Administration in relief and rehabilitation operations.

We have undertaken all these measures for the speedy repatriation of our citizens who are now in India, and it is worth mentioning that to the extent that these measures have become known to the refugees, the refugees are beginning to return to their homes. At the last count, approximately 200,000 had returned. The repatriation of all the refugees would be more speedily accomplished if the necessary co-operation were forthcoming from India.

The Government of Pakistan has invited the competent authorities of the Government of India to a conference where measures could be devised to fulfil this purpose. The President of Pakistan has expressed his willingness to meet the Indian Prime Minister at any time and at any place to discuss the question. However, India has so far refused to co-operate, not only with Pakistan, but also with all impartial efforts, to bring about the return of the refugees. As I have said, India has refused the Secretary-General's proposal to station representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border. It has not agreed to Pakistan's suggestion that a good-offices committee of the Security Council should be sent to help in reducing tensions between India and Pakistan. It has refused permission to the members of an Islamic Secretariat delegation to tour refugee camps in West Bengal and has refused to meet at the conference table with the representatives of my Government.

It is paradoxical that while Indian Representatives come before this forum to obtain the sympathy of Members for the plight of the refugees, India is unwilling

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to accept any constructive proposal which would enlist the help of this Organization in ending the suffering of these innocent human beings. Why is it that the Government of India found it impossible to accept the presence of United Nations observers on its side of the border, when Pakistan, which has been accused freely of perpetrating all kinds of horrors against its people, did not hesitate to permit the stationing of United Nations observers on its side of the border?

The reason for India's withholding of co-operation is obvious. India wishes to conceal from world opinion the fact that by its actions it has converted that part of the world into an area of armed conflict. Under the pretext of humanitarian assistance, India is providing arms, training and assistance to the secessionist forces who have found sanctuary in India. I shall once again cite an Indian source to explain the paradox. Speaking at a meeting in Delhi on 18th September, 1971, that is about a week ago, no less a person than the Defence Minister of India said that "the refugees could return to their homeland only when it became an independent nation". He went on to say, "that it was not conceivable that Pakistan would grant independence to Bangla Desh, but that we would have to work towards a situation in which Pakistan would be left with no alternative".

If there was any doubt about what the Foreign Minister of India meant this morning when he called for a political solution of the Pakistan crisis, this statement of his colleague of the Defence Ministry has supplied the answer.

Let me say on behalf of my country that we have no intention of allowing anyone to put our independence and integrity into jeopardy. What my country has to face today is not merely the sort of invective we heard this morning, but a well-planned military effort to break it asunder. The borders of East Pakistan with West Bengal and Assam are scenes of daily bombardment. On more than one occasion, the regular Indian troops, whose strength in the area was increased even before the crisis broke out and has been augmented to 200,000 since then; the so-called liberation forces have been trained and equipped and paid by the Indian Government.

The New York Times of 29th April, 1971, contained a report which stated:

> "The Indian roads leading north from Calcutta to points along the border already look like the supply route. Bengali trucks can be seen heading into Indian town for fresh supplies, carrying empty fuel drums and ammunition boxes. Bengali independence forces have set up camps near the Indian border posts, which probably explains some of the brief shooting incidents recently between Indian and Pakistan troops.
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> "In Calcutta, capital of the West Bengal State, there are many stories of new instances of Indian military assistance. One report is that Indian ammunition factories are turning out weapons and ammunition without Indian markings. Another is that Indian officers accompanied a large guerrilla force on a raid last week on a Pakistani army garrision".

I do not know whether the Foreign Minister of India will come back to this rostrum to deny these charges. He himself, speaking in the Indian Parliament on 20th July, declared: "India is doing everything possible to support the Liberation Army", yet he came here this morning and stated that India does not interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbours and that its actions are inspired only by the most noble and lofty motives. He portrayed India as an innocent, helpless victim of Pakistan's internal difficulties.

I dare say that this Hall of the United Nations has echoed frequently with such preachings. Allow me to say that the halo of saintliness with India is trying to hold over our head ill becomes its actual role in the present situation.

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It is not humanitarian concern for refugees which has sent Indian emissaries and propagandists all over the world in the last four months. The real motive is India's longstanding and unfulfilled wish to isolate, weaken and, if possible, to put an end to Pakistan as a nation. Mr. K. Subramanyam of the Indian Institute of Defence did not mince matters. He said:

> "What India must realize is the fact that the break-up of Pakistan is in our own interest, an opportunity the like of which will never come. If Pakistan breaks up, and we ensure friendly relations with Bangla Desh, it will solve the problem of security for India."

Another Indian political thinker saw in Pakistan's disintegration the road to Great Power status for India in this region.

The Foreign Minister of India spoke in a plaintive tone of the setback that his country's economy has received on account of the influx of refugees. As for Pakistan, let me assure him and the other representatives here that Pakistan is ready, willing, to take every one of its citizens back. If India wishes to be relieved of the burden and the problem of maintaining them as it ought to—let it give unstinted co-operation to that end.

My Government has said that it is ready to sit down and discuss with India the best manner for bringing the refugees back. My Government has asked the Security Council to assist in the task with a specially designated good offices committee. If the Government of India is unwilling, for whatever reason, to sit across the table from Pakistan, let it accept the good offices of the Security Council.

As I have said before, the Government of Pakistan is doing everything possible to bring about the repatriation of the refugees to their homes in East Pakistan. It is also fully conscious of the need to restore normalcy in the country in order to ensure the well being of the refugees as well as the rest of the people of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan, in his address to the nation on 28th June, has himself expressed the view that normalcy would not return without the full participation of the people. He has made substantial progress towards ushering in a government representative of the people. As a first step, a civil administration has been installed in East Pakistan which is headed by a prominent East Pakistani and includes permanent members of the former Awami League. By-elections to those seats, whose incumbents were disqualified for involvement in the insurgency and other crimes, have been scheduled for the month of November. A provisional constitution is being framed which will attempt to satisfy two basic imperatives: Regional autonomy and preservation of the territorial integrity of Pakistan. The National Assembly will have the power to amend the provisional constitution by a relatively simple procedure. The Foreign Minister of India described all this as "eye-wash".

If conditions in Pakistan were truly as those described by him, press censorship would not have been removed; foreign observers, United Nations personnel, the International Committee of the Red Cross, would not have been allowed into East Pakistan. If violence is continuing, it is the result of India's action in encouraging, abetting and assisting in sabotage within East Pakistan.

The borders continue to remain tense and Indian shelling and mortaring are daily occurrences.

The preservation of orderly conduct of relations among States is based on the strict observance of the principle of respect for territorial integrity of States and non-interference in the affairs of each other. India's current actions violate both these principles. Which among the States represented here is willing to condone

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external interference in its internal affairs? Which State among this Assembly is willing to overlook such interference when its design is the territorial dismemberment of another country? Is India prepared to submit to such interference in its internal affairs? Is it to be said that secession is rebellion at home but self-determination abroad?

Let me make it clear on behalf of my Government that Pakistan will take all measures to ensure the return of its displaced citizens to their homes. We are determined to live as a nation, one, whole and free, and in peace with other peaceful neighbours. But Pakistan is also determined not to allow anyone to put in question its territorial and national existence.

If a conflict between India and Pakistan is to be avoided, the international community must impress upon India the serious implication of its policies and call upon it to eschew these policies.

Mr. President, in a press conference on 22nd September, you stated:

> "This refugee problem is a humanitarian problem. We must solve it. The entire world must help to solve it. But, if you look at it from a political point of view, if you bring it to a debate, then there will be no end. The question is how to solve it quickly. That is why, in this case, I believe, it is much better that we have behind-the-scenes discussions. We must persuade Pakistan and India to get together and see how they can limit the political problems".

It should be apparent, from the willingness which my Government has shown to co-operate in finding means to reduce the present tensions between India and Pakistan and to bring about the repatriation of refugees, that we fully share your view.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to express Pakistan's readiness to go along with all such reasonable suggestions to solve the question of refugees.

POINTS OF ORDER MADE IN THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY
September 27, 1971

(A) First Point of Order—Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi (Pakistan)

The Foreign Minister of India has for the last ten minutes been delving into the internal affairs of Pakistan. He has talked of the characteristics of our country. Everyone knows that the two parts of Pakistan are divided by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. He has talked about elections in Pakistan. He has talked about the distribution of resources between parts of Pakistan.

Is it permissible to delve into the internal affairs of States and look into the disparities that exist in every single country—every single Member State—represented here? I want a ruling from you, Mr. President, whether the Foreign Minister of India is in order in going at length into the internal affairs of Pakistan.

(B) Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in reply to Pakistan's First Point of Order

I do not think the comment made by the Representative of Pakistan calls for serious notice. What he says is that the Indian Foreign Minister is describing what is known to others. Then, certainly, there can be no grounds for a point of order if one is describing something which is known to others.

What I am trying to give this august Assembly are the circumstances that led to that unprecedented influx of 9 million refugees into Indian territory. Members

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must have noticed that the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the activities of the United Nations, has devoted as many as fourteen paragraphs, covering several pages, to highlighting, in a very lucid manner, the various aspects—humanitarian and political—of the problem of the influx of the refugees. It is noteworthy also that the Representative of Pakistan did not care to point out, as is customary in such cases, the particular provision, either in the Charter or in the Rules of Procedure, under which he was raising his point of order.

I am not asking this august United Nations General Assembly to intervene—if he had Article 2 (7) in mind. I am saying that this is a problem, unprecedented in history, in which 9 million refugees have crossed over into Indian territory, and I am asking: Is the International community interested in knowing what the root-cause of that is, and what should be the direction in which the efforts of the international community should be directed to find a satisfactory solution of this tragic problem? If I may say so, to treat this matter by point of order in a lighthearted manner is inconsistent with the international community's responsibilities—first, to find out and analyse what are the root causes of these most tragic happenings in that part of the world, and then, to direct its attention to finding a satisfactory solution. I thought that while dealing with a problem of such magnitude, this Assembly would be interested in knowing the relevant facts of the situation, so that it might be properly appreciated and attention might be directed to finding a satisfactory solution.

I am the last person, I would assure the Assembly, to interfere in internal affairs, but to give a description of the circumstances which led to the uprooting of 9 million people is certainly neither an interference in internal affairs nor any comment on what is happening in the country itself. One has to understand properly the circumstances of the situation in order to come to the right conclusion. Therefore, while appreciating the anxiety of the Representative of Pakistan, I have carefully avoided referring in any manner to matters which might be barred either by any provisions of the Charter or by any Rules of Procedure. If anything, we should concentrate on the basic problems, rather than be involved in a procedural debate which is pointless.

(C) Second Point of Order—Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi (Pakistan)

The Foreign Minister of India wanted to know under what Rules of Procedure I had raised the point of order. Let me say quite simply that the Rules of Procedure are subordinate to the rules of the Charter of the United Nations, and nothing within the domestic jurisdiction of a State can be discussed in this Assembly. The point of order that I raised was that the Foreign Minister of India was delving into the internal affairs of Pakistan.

It is not the concern of the international community whether one Member State has one kind of social system or another, whether the regime is democratic or autocratic, parliamentary or presidential, whether there is a lack of balance in development between one wing and the other, whether the demands of the six points amounted to secession or regional autonomy. Those are all matters within the internal jurisdiction of Pakistan. Therefore, I again appeal to you, Mr. President, in the interest of a serene and orderly debate, to advise the Foreign Minister of India to confine himself to the international aspects of the situation. He would be in order if he referred to the observations of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report. They concern the international aspects of the situation; they do not concern the matters the Foreign Minister is raising, which are internal affairs exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan.

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(D) Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in reply to Pakistan's Second Point of Order

I am sorry that the Representative of Pakistan in his wisdom has chosen this path of raising objections after every sentence or after every paragraph of my speech before this Assembly. I am not discussing the internal affairs of Pakistan, and I am not interested in the internal affairs of Pakistan; but it would be a truism to say that the conduct of internal affairs by any country, if it results in the uprooting of 9 million people who cross over to the adjoining territory, should be a matter of concern to the international community, which should be concerned about the circumstances that created a situation in which the conduct of internal affairs in that country compelled 9 million people over a period of a little more than six months to cross over into the territory of India. Now, if a strict interpretation were accepted under which conditions in Pakistan could not be mentioned, then we would virtually come to the ridiculous position that a refugee who left his village in East Pakistan should not be described, and the conditions prevailing in that part should not be taken note of, and only when he crossed into Indian territory should we start mentioning him. I am sure that would be neither the correct spirit nor the correct manner in which we should deal with such serious matters. I am fully conscious of and have regard for the principle of co-existence. We are not interested in whether there is a presidential system or a military system or a military rule in Pakistan. That is entirely its concern. We have learned to live in a spirit of co-existence with whatever may be the social or economic system prevailing in any part of the world, and this applies particularly to our neighbours. But when, while dealing with their own affairs, within what they describe as domestic matters, they create a situation where 9 million people are shoved on to us, then surely the international community would like to know the circumstances in which these people have left their country. They have not left their country of Pakistan as tourists to do sightseeing in India. It is a very serious matter. Therefore, we should view this problem in the proper perspective. The international community will never be able to understand unless it knows the circumstances that prevail in that unfortunate country, where 9 million people, its own citizens, had to cross and come over to Indian territory. I am not interested in its internal set-up, but I am interested in putting across to the international community the circumstances which led to the creation of conditions that compelled these unfortunate men, women and children to leave their homes and hearths.

(E) Point of Order—Statement by Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia)

This is a solemn Assembly and should not give rise to laughter. I thank the Representative of Pakistan who ceded his turn to me.

If I have asked for the floor it is because if what has been happening continues we shall have a lot of disorder and then there will be more friction and more tension, which is undesirable at this stage of the general debate. Of course, freedom of speech is granted to all of us; however, since this question of East Pakistan, in so far as it affects India, is still under review by the Secretary-General and by others, such as the High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, I think that a formula should be found forthwith for not engaging in any further points of order which will exacerbate the tense relations that unfortunately prevail between two sister States, Pakistan and India.

I thank you, Sir, for not having ruled on this subject, but I would appeal to the Foreign Minister of India to consider a suggestion that may get us out of this impasse. I glanced at the prepared texts of his speech, which has been

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distributed, and found that there are still four more pages on this question, and I am sure that these pages will elicit more points of order. What is written cannot be unwritten; it has already been distributed. But would the Foreign Minister of India consent to skip reading those four pages from the rostrum and proceed with the rest of his speech, taking into account that what he has already said has been recorded and that what he still has to say in those four pages has been distributed. Otherwise, I believe that we shall get nowhere and, as I said, we should proceed calmly with our deliberations, and in particular with the general debate which precedes our deliberations. So, I hope that the Foreign Minister of India will accept this solution, and that the Representative of Pakistan will overlook the fact that the speech of the Representative of India has already been distributed, and, as a compromise, perhaps will overlook immediately what is written in those four pages, and will perhaps satisfy himself with this solution. Otherwise, I think, that we shall have pandemonium here, which is not desirable at this stage of the general debate.

(F) Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in reply to Saudi Arabia's Point of Order

The suggestion made by the Representative of Saudi Arabia—who perhaps has a longer association with the United Nations than almost any one of us—has been listened to by me with great care. I was thinking that perhaps he had some point of order which came in the way of my proceeding with my speech, but instead of that, I find that he has appealed to me and placed me in the embarrassing position of being called upon to make my comment upon his appeal. I would appeal to him, and also to other representatives, to judge for themselves who is responsible for creating an atmosphere of tension. We have the accepted procedure that any points, which might be mentioned by any leader of a delegation, can be replied to substantively and also that another viewpoint can be presented before this august Assembly. But instead of adopting that usual procedure, efforts have been made to obstruct me when I am actually delivering my speech before the Assembly.

The situation is such that I would be failing in my duty if I were to respond —much as I would like to—to the appeal made by the Representative of Saudi Arabia. I owe it not only to my country, I owe it not only to the 9 million refugees, but, I believe, I owe it to the international community to tell them these things in the frankest possible manner, while trying always to remain within the procedure and the provisions of the Charter in making my presentation.

I believe, I have used my words carefully. I have not indulged in rhetoric. But I am sorry that I shall have to crave the indulgence of this august Assembly, and of you, Mr. President, to permit me to place before you in a dispassionate manner the facts which have led to this unprecedented tragedy. It is not pleasant for me to mention these facts, but the situation is so grave, and the consequences that might flow from it so serious, that I would be failing in my duty, as I said, not only to my country and to the refugees, but to the international community, if, simply for the sake of preventing objections from being raised, I were not to proceed with giving the facts to the international community. If the facts are wrong, the Representative of Pakistan has the right to make his statement and to say that the particular facts I mention are incorrect. Therefore, I would request him, and also the Representative of Saudi Arabia, to permit me to present these facts, which are of the utmost importance in an issue that, I think, has resulted in the most tragic events in recent memory.

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Statement by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh in the U.N. General Assembly September 28, 1971

Last evening, as I was listening to the statement made in the exercise of the right of reply by the Pakistan delegation, I wondered how many times that delegation would have interrupted me had I made the same statement on the ground that I was discussing its country's internal affairs. You Mr. President, had allowed that delegation ten minutes; the statement lasted twenty-eight minutes, in reply to my statement on East Pakistan, which would have taken no more than fifteen minutes but for the interruption. I leave the Assembly to decide whether that was a proper exercise of the right of reply, particularly as some additional subjects were raised. I, therefore, feel that I should answer some of Pakistan's allegations.

Among the calumnies uttered on behalf of Pakistan was an attack on the Indian press and broadcasting system. I quite appreciate the difficulty Pakistan has in understanding freedom of the press. In India, we do not control the press or radio commentators, and they are to write and comment what they like. Our Government is constantly facing criticism by the press. We rejoice in it and take pride in it; that is as it should be.

In the context of the civil war in Pakistan, when all deliberate attempts were made to hide what was happening, is it unusual that the Indian press, or press elsewhere, should occasionally go wrong on details? The broad picture is clear enough, and if we were to depend on newspaper cuttings for fortifying our point of view in this Assembly, I could produce any number of excerpts for that purpose. In fact, we have circulated to different delegations a thick book of over 700 pages containing documents and excerpts from newspapers. Even that is but a fraction of what is available to us. It is extraordinary that the much-malinged press of India should be quoted by Pakistan in an attempt to support some of the statements made here.

Yesterday, I stated:

> "If these measures are not taken and attempts are made to divert attention by false analysis or wrong accusations then the prospect is indeed gloomy".

I regret to say that the statement by Pakistan last night was nothing but a series of false accusations and a complex of wrong analysis.

It is usual for the Pakistan delegation to express irritation whenever turth is made known on developments in East Pakistan. Everyone is aware that after an election in 1950 in East Bengal, when Mr. Fazlul Huq came to power, he was imprisoned in a few months' time and the army took over. At long last, some sort of a constitution was passed in Pakistan in 1956, and general election was declared to be held in 1958, but before any such election could be held, the democratic aspirations were again crushed. Governments were dismissed, legislatures were dissolved and President Ayub Khan seized power in October, 1958. Since then, there has been an army rule. As a result of popular demand, a Constitution Commission, headed by the then Chief Justice, was formed, but its recommendations were not accepted. These are broad facts on the crushing of the legitimate aspirations of the people for a democratic way of life. That army rule made the more populous East Pakistan an inferior partner. As a result of the popular upsurge in 1969, President Yahya Khan felt compelled to declare a general election, which ultimately took place in December, 1970. That Assembly was summoned on 3rd March, 1971, and was suddenly cancelled when it was found that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had obtained 167 seats out of 169. As a result of the cancellation of that National Assembly, the people of East Bengal rose up.

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It was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who decided to hold the first-ever national election in Pakistan on the basis of adult franchise and proportional representation between the two wings. Again, it was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who had permitted the Awami League to fight the elections on the basis of its six-point programme, which was a programme for greater autonomy, and not for secession.

It was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who undertook portracted negotiations with the political parties. It was, again, not India, but the President of Pakistan, who postponed elections twice and did not call the National Assembly into session, even after the election results had been declared and the date for convening of the Assembly fixed. It was not India, but President Yahya Khan, who broke off the negotiations and asked the army to crush the Will of the people. Can it be seriously suggested that the resistance to that armed terror and brutality was foreseen and organised by India in co-operation and consultation with President Yahya Khan?

At the time of the election, relations between the two countries were filled with difficulties: there was no trade, very little travel, and many other difficulties. In these circumstances, to accuse India of having influenced 75 million people in East Pakistan on the way they express their will through elections is indeed flattering, but wholly absurd.

But we are not interested in these turns and twists of Pakistani polities. What we are interested in is that as a result of the action of the armed forces with its attendant inhuman cruelties and repression, a situation was created in which the people of East Bengal had no option but to resist that repression and declare independence. We are not only interested but greatly concerned by the massive influx of refugees into our territory and by the problems this enormous foreign populations in India has created for us.

As I have already said, we have had the most meticulous registration of the refugees, the total figure of whom has been the basis of all international action. We have been giving these figures regularly over the months and no one had questioned them, not even Pakistan. Suddenly, on 2nd September, a letter was sent to the Secretary-General and released to the press, giving the refugee figures which, according to Pakistan, came to only over 2 million. No explanation was given as to when those statistics were collected or who collected them, or how. There has been no census in East Pakistan in recent years, but it seems that it was possible to count people who have fled and do not exist. That requires an extraordinary skill. It is well-known that the country side of East Bengal is not under military control; and yet on a rough examination of the figures sent to the Secretary-General, we find that the district of Patuakhali has sent only 2 refugees —if Pakistani figures are to be accepted—and Chittagong Hill District exactly 6,000. These figures and statistics speak for themselves.

It is also not to be forgotten that in the middle of July, Pakistan sent some relief estimates to the Secretary-General, and the demands were based on a total refugee population of 2 million. Now, of course, the so-called meticulous investigation has established the figure of at exactly 2,002,623. Even eye-wash can have a margin of 1 per cent error.

But there is a deeper purpose behind all this, and that purpose is to involve India in some way or other. Even Pakistan has been concerned by the reaction of the international community to what has been happening in East Pakistan, and it was essential for it to divert attention and to try to turn this problem into an Indo-Pakistani dispute. I must firmly and categorically state that this is not—I repeat, not—an India-Pakistan problem, and we have

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no intention of turning it into one. The problem has been created by the military regime of Pakistan alone, and it must be solved by that regime. It has two courses open to it: either, by military methods, to inflict further death and devastation on the people of East Bengal; or, by peaceful political means, to find a political solution. Military means are foredoomed to failure and even peaceful political means will not succeed unless the wishes of the people, as expressed through their elected representatives, are fully accommodated. That is the sum and substance of our position.

No one wishes the break-up of Pakistan, but no one wishes to see East Bengal turned into a colony to be held by military means. And if the present policy of the Pakistan Government continues, that break-up means to us inevitable. Such a situation would not only affect the 75 million people of East Pakistan, but many others in addition. It is to avoid that situation that we have urged a political solution; we have no wish to interfere in the internal politics of Pakistan. We have enough problems of our own. Furthermore, if the present trend is not reversed, the refugees will continue to come to India in ever-larger numbers, and if famine overtakes that unhappy land of East Pakistan the situation will get entirely out of control.

Much has been said about Indian co-operation in bringing normalcy to East Pakisan. India has nothing to do with the conditions there, and if indeed normalcy is desired, it is entirely open to President Yahya Khan to enter into negotiations with the Awami League, and particularly with its leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The Pakistani Delegation has suggested a dialogue between President Yahya Khan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Apart from the fact that India cannot speak on behalf of the Awami League or the people of East Bengal, I wonder why the President does not wish to speak to their leader himself. On the one hand, Pakistan falsely accuses us of interference in East Pakistani affairs; and on the other, it invites us to do exactly the same thing. The purpose behind all this is, of course, to turn the problem into an India-Pakistan dispute, divert world attention from what is happening in East Pakistan and try to rule that area by force of arms.

It is in that context that gimmicks such as the Pakistani suggestion for a good offices committee to go to both countries should be viewed. What would such a commission do in India? If there is any function such a commission could perform, it would be to bring about negotiations between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We shall certainly not have any objection to a commission of that type going to Pakistan.

Similarly, the proposal to have a few additional United Nations men on our side is not comprehensible to us. As many as over 2,000 foreigners—including many international civil servants, politicians, members of parliaments, journalists and public figures—have visited the refugee areas; several United Nations Agencies visit the areas regularly. Here, now, I invite any of the representatives present to come and see those areas for themselves. But what we will not acccept is an equation with Pakistan. The argument that our taking a few more men will persuade Pakistan to accept a larger number of men is unrealistic and ineffective. It would be wrong for India to be a party to any measure which gives the illusion of action—in full knowledge that it will not have the slightest impact either on the flow of refugees still coming into India or on the return of those who are already with us.

Lastly, the movement which has built up in East Pakistan, by the Pakistanis themselves, in their own country, is a force to be reckoned with. Neither India

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nor Pakistan can effectively seal the border. In any event, most of the resistance is taking place in the interior of East Pakistan. After the massive massacre and the extinction of all human rights, we have undoubtedly expressed sympathy and support for the people of East Bengal.

We have always been in the forefront of liberation struggles everywhere, and is it possible for a country like India to be indifferent to what has been happening to the repressed 75 million people at India's very doorstep, and to the increasing number of people fleeing from terror and violence? It is not merely the armed resistance in the countryside which is significant: one has to look also at the massive support which the Awami League enjoyed just before the military crackdown. Civil servants, police, bankers, judges, shopkeepers, tax collectors—all gave allegiance to the non-violent movement undertaken by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in March last. The Chief Justice of East Pakistan refused to administer the oath of office to the Governor, General Tikka Khan. Hundreds of people have defected, including ambassadors, civil servants and diplomats. Law and order has broken down. In those circumstances, is there any hope of the refugees going back in conditions of safety and honour unless a political solution is found and normalcy returned?

Since we see no signs of such a solution being worked out in the immediate future by the Pakistanis themselves, it is our hope that persuasion, bilateral or international, will prevent any worsening of the conditions in East Pakistan. It is with this background that we should examine some of the quotations cited out of the context by the delegation of Pakistan.

We do not speak in anger or even in sorrow; we speak in utter despair. On whether this Assembly can or cannot find in time a just and peaceful solution to this problem, depends the future of millions and millions of people. But perhaps there is till time to pursue a wiser course and reverse further genocidal activities.

Statement by Mr. Mahmud Ali (Pakistan) in the U.N. General Assembly
September 29, 1971

It is with the utmost reluctance that I have asked to be allowed to speak again in the Assembly. I sincerely hope that we can put an end to polemics and concentrate instead on practical aspects of the issue, namely, how to bring the refugees back to their homes.

We had expected that in his reply the Honourable Foreign Minister of India would give us the benefit of his Government's views on how best to achieve this end. Instead, he thought it helpful to give the Assembly a lecture on Pakistan's failings. We all have our short-comings, and the history of my county's attempts to find a lasting and just solution of its constitutional problems is no secret. Our aim has always been to establish a system of government which would be based on the Will of the people and would reconcile the various geographical, political and cultural factors. We are determined to proceed along that road. If I may say so, the benefit to India also lies in the success and not in the failure of our efforts.

The Foreign Minister of India questioned the accuracy of the number of refugees estimated by Pakistan. He thought it strange that two persons had left from one district and 6,000 from another. It was precisely because such questions were bound to be raised that my Government has proposed that the Secretary-General of the United Nations might arrange an independent verification of our count. But the Representative of India did not offer to submit his country's meticulous registration of the refugee influx to a similar scrutiny.

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Why should the Indian Government expect every one to accept without question its figure—a figure which is constantly spiralling without reference to reality? I do wish to suggest that while the international community has a moral responsibility to alleviate the suffering of the refugees until their return is effected, it is also its duty to make sure that the aid provided for them is not misused for other purposes.

India objects to the stationing of United Nations observers on its side of the border on two grounds. Firstly, that it is unnecessary because so many individuals have visited the area and have seen the refugee camps. This is a specious argument. On the Pakistan side, too, we have had visitors. Furthermore, there has been for the last two months and more no censorship whatsoever in any part of Pakistan. Nor do restrictions of any kind exist on the movement of press representatives within Pakistan. Nonetheless, Pakistan did not hesitate to accept the stationing of observers. The international community to which India has appealed is entitled to receive a similar token of confidence from India.

It is indeed shocking that the Foreign Minister of India should call the proposal for a good offices committee of the Security Council to bring about a reduction of tension between India and Pakistan a "gimmick". Is it not true that on 20th July, the Secretary-General addressed a confidential memorandum to the Members of the Security Council, bringing to their attention the deteriorating situation between India and Pakistan? Did he not draw their attention to "border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage that appeared to be becoming more frequent"? Did he not warn that a major conflict on the sub-continent could all too easily expand?

It was in that context that Pakistan expressed its readiness to co-operate with the Security Council to avert the threat to peace in the sub-continent and the danger of a wider war. And yet, the Foreign Minister of India sees fit to call the proposal for a good offices committee a "gimmick".

The Foreign Minister of India said that his country did not wish to be "equated" with Pakistan in this matter. Now, what does that mean? The expression is either meaningless or based on the assumption that India in some sense enjoys a status superior to that of Pakistan as a Member State of this Organisation. That is an untenable argument. The Representative of even so great a power as the Soviet Union reminded this Organisation yesterday that all Member States of this Organisation enjoy equal status.

I would ask my colleague from India to put aside false pride and come down to the earth of reality. Surely, no one will think the less of India for accepting that United Nations observers be stationed within its territory.

The Foreign Minister of India was equally cavalier with Pakistan's offer to sit down with representatives of his Government to work out ways of bringing the refugees back. I am quite sure that neither he nor his Government has misunderstood what Pakistan has offered. We have not asked India to help Pakistan in solving its internal political problems. Whether we negotiate with this or that person or this or that party in Pakistan, is the concern of Pakistan alone. The only matter which concerns India is the presence of a large number of Pakistani citizens on its soil and how to send them back home. It is to discuss this problem that, in my Government's view, Representatives of the two countries should meet either by themselves or under some impartial auspices.

The Foreign Minister of India said Pakistan is trying to turn its internal difficulties into an Indo-Pakistan problem. Things have taken this turn only because

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of the presence of Pakistani refugees on Indian soil and the help and assistance which India is giving to secessionist elements.

I stated the other day that this help included the arming and training of secessionist elements, and also the participation of India's own forces in operations across the Pakistan borders. This august Assembly must have noted that the Foreign Minister of India passed over this charge in silence. In fact, he said that borders between India and Pakistan cannot be effectively sealed, and I take that as a reaffirmation of the pledge which he gave in the Indian Parliament that his Government would give every possible help to what India describes as "liberation forces". I am not aware of any borders which are closed by the actual raising of barbed-wire fences. Borders are kept peaceful by the policies and the actions of the Governments concerned. I would ask the Foreign Minister of India to reflect upon the implications of stating that the borders between India and Pakistan are to be treated as an exception to the general rules of international conduct, and whether that is the best way to promote peace and stability between our two countries.

I have not come here to score debating points. The situation in the sub-continent has become tense as a result of happenings on the borders of the eastern part of Pakistan and India. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has drawn attention to the danger to peace if the situation is not remedied quickly. My Government has given proof of its desire to find a settlement with India, not—let me repeat—over Pakistan's internal problems, but over the only problem which is a concern and a burden to the Indian people, namely, the refugee problem.

Yesterday, there was a call by the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. for proceeding with caution and statesmanship in dealing with the present situation. We welcome that appeal and hope that the Government of India will pay heed to it. Yesterday, also, I heard well-intentioned advice from a number of friendly countries on the need to find a political settlement to the problem. If they will permit me to answer them from this rostrum, that is precisely the objective and the goal towards which the President of Pakistan is moving and which he is determined to attain, notwithstanding all obstacles and difficulties.

The Foreign Minister of India himself recounted the steps President Yahya Khan has taken to this end, namely, the holding of general elections, acceptance of basic demands of the people and negotiations with leaders of political parties. The process has been interrupted, but not terminated. Its culmination will be a free and democratic and united Pakistan, willing to live in peace and friendship with all countries. Peace and stability in the sub-continent would be strengthened and the sufferings of the refugees would be more quickly ended if the Government of India could reconcile itself to this prospect, instead of seeking to create, as the Defence Minister of India said in New Delhi last week, a situation in which Pakistan would have no alternative but to break up.

Extracts from statement of Mr. Mahmud Ali (Pakistan) in the U.N. General Assembly October 5, 1971

At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, we in Pakistan inherited barely one-fifth of the area and were placed at a disadvantage in many other respects. Nevertheless, we accepted an award delimiting the boundaries of Pakistan and India, even though it was unjust to us. We envisaged the closest co-operation with our neighbour, India. Our independence was not more than two months old when India completely violated the basis of partition—the independence settlement of 1947—and sent its army to occupy a Muslim-majority area, Jammu and

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Kashmir, and to crush a popular liberation movement against the despotic ruler of that State. India had been enabled to do so by the departing Imperial Government. It had been provided with its only, and previously unused, passage to Kashmir when some Muslim-majority areas of the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab were unjustly awarded to it. We protested India's entry into Kashmir, which was colonialist in its nature and so repugnant to the spirit and basis of India's independence and our own. We were assured by India that the occupation was temporary, that the accession to India of the ruler of Kashmir, who had been denounced by his people, was provisional, and that the people of Kashmir would be allowed to determine their own future through an impartial plebiscite. Later, when the dispute was brought to the United Nations, this solemn pledge given by India was translated into an international agreement. Both India and Pakistan accepted United Nations resolutions providing for the self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir through a free plebiscite. To this day, that agreement remains unimplemented. To this day, India has not terminated its occupation of the bulk of Jammu and Kashmir. The dispute has twice led to hostilities between India and Pakistan. It has caused a strain and a friction in our relations which harm us both. In spite of the heavy toll taken by the dispute, India does not even now agree to resolve it in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

In the part of Jammu and Kashmir which it occupies, India maintains a puppet regime and penalizes any one who demands that the resolutions of the United Nations regarding Jammu and Kashmir be implemented. The renowned leader of the Kashmiri people, Sheikh Abdullah, was imprisoned for nearly fifteen years and is now barred from entering his homeland. A ban has been imposed on popular parties, including the Plebiscite Front, whose aim is self-determination for Jammu and Kashmir. The torture of political workers, the repeated firing on public assemblies, the constant harassment and victimization of patriotic citizens, are gruesome features of life in Indian-occupied Kashmir. A million refugees have fled the terror and oppression there. India refuses to establish conditions which would enable them to return.

Another very clear example of this mentality has been furnished by the way India has handled the dispute about the equitable sharing of the waters of the Ganges, which flows through both India and Pakistan, with Pakistan the lower riparian. It has completed the construction of a barrage near a place called Farakka, in the State of West Bengal in India. That project is designed to divert the waters of the mainstream of the river, the Ganges, through a feeder-canal to another river flowing entirely through India. The result will be that in the long dry season every year the barrage will have little or no water below Farakka for use in East Pakistan, thereby causing grave and permanent damage to the economy of that region. According to the assessment of our own and international experts, this Indian project will adversely affect the ecology and agriculture of seven districts in East Pakistan involving a total of 3.6 million acres of land. It will seriously affect navigation in the Ganges and its many spill-channels and distributories. It threatens an inflow of sea-water, thereby reducing agricultural production, municipal supplies and industrial use of water and depleting fisheries and forest resources, especially in the Sunderbans. Moreover, reduced flow in the Ganges in Pakistan, down stream from Farakka, will silt up the river-bed and increase the hazards of flood in the rainy season. All these factors together are expected to affect the livelihood and vital and legitimate interests of as many as 25 million people, or roughly one-third of the population of the eastern wing of Pakistan.

It is ironical, but not surprising, that at the same time that India professes grave concern for the people of East Pakistan, it plans and executes projects aimed at causing their economic ruin. India does offer to negotiate on this

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issue with Pakistan, as indeed it offers to negotiate on many other issues; but when such negotiations take place, as in this case, India prevaricates and uses various devices to avoid facing the real issue.

I have mentioned these two major causes of the friction between India and Pakistan. Without this friction, and without the pervasive background of India's constant attempts to weaken and isolate Pakistan, the present India-Pakistan situation involving a threat to the peace would be totally incomprehensible. Had Indian rulers not been hostile to Pakistan, would they not find it unnatural and repugnant to try to take advantage of their neighbour's internal difficulties? Would they not scrupulously refrain from interfering in our affairs? What is happening today on the borders of my country and our neighbour India, is not mere border skirmishes; it is armed intervention by one country, a Member of the United Nations, India, into the territory of another Member of the United Nations, Pakistan.

India has been engaged for the past few months, and is engaged now, in a clandestine war on Pakistan. At a time when, regardless of the nature of the military action taken by the Pakistan Government in its own territory, India could have no conceivable fear of invasion, it has concentrated a large number of its forces, some 200,000, and its machines of destruction on the borders of East and West Pakistan. It has been engaging in incessant shelling and mortar-fire against East Pakistan. It regularly sends its own armed personnel into my country to cause death and destruction. It harbours, trains, finances, equips and encourages—sometimes even forces—the dissidents to undertake acts of sabotage and to cripple the economy of East Pakistan. In short, India is at the moment carrying out acts of war against my country, and the only reason why the situation has not been escalated is that the Government of Pakistan has exercised the utmost restraint.

The resort to shelling, mortar-firing and other warlike actions against Pakistan have become a regular feature of the tension built up by Indian armed forces along our borders. Let me cite two concrete instances of recent occurrence to give the Assembly an idea of what we are confronted with at present.

Indian artillery fired nearly one thousand shells on five closely-located border villages in Sylhet district on the night of 29th September. The villages battered by Indian shelling were Mantala, Kamalpur, Jaipur, Armnagar and Harashpur. Twenty-eight villagers, including twelve women and eight children, were killed, while thirteen others were wounded. Among the casualties, was a party of Telephone Department employees who were repairing a tele-communication line. Communication lines, it must be mentioned, are particular targets of Indian attacks. After shelling, Indian armed personnel attempted to infiltrate into these areas. The Pakistan Army combed the area and recovered 3 light machine-guns, 145 boxes of small-arms ammunition, 100 steel helmets, 40 mines, some wireless sets and 387 grenades.

India is also trying to create famine conditions in East Pakistan by aiding and encouraging the destruction of lines of supply for transportation of food-grains into Pakistan. As a result of operations against saboteurs who damaged the American food-ship *Lightning* at Chalna anchorage recently, Pakistan authorities have apprehended frogmen trained in India and launched near Chalna and Chittagong ports for sinking ships bringing foodgrains to East Pakistan. The frogmen were given limpet mines by India and trained in their use. By indulging in sabotage of food-ships, India is trying to create conditions of famine for 75 million people of East Pakistan to fulfil its own political objectives. If the international community is genuinely concerned about possible food shortage in

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East Pakistan, it has an obligation to prevent India from indulging in activities which, if unchecked, cannot but endanger the sustenance for the people of East Pakistan.

It is now for the world community, and for the United Nations in particular, to prevent another conflagration which would be catastrophic for South Asia.

Secretary-General U Thant, on 20th July last, sent a memorandum to the President of the Security Council drawing his attention to the threat to the peace which has arisen in the sub-continent. The Secretary-General, *inter-alia*, emphasized that he had become increasingly apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. The Secretary-General said:

> "In the present case, there is an additional element of danger, for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing, and unresolved, differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago".

About the actual situation on the border, he said:

> "The situation on the borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent...."

And he recognised the threat to peace, indeed to world peace, by stating that:

> "No one of us here in the United Nations can afford to forget that a major conflict in the sub-continent could all too easily expand."

In short, U Thant has clearly defined the situation as a threat to the peace and urged the Security Council to consider with the utmost attention and concern the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken.

As I mentioned in my statement in exercise of the right of reply on 29th September, my Government has expressed its readiness to co-operate with the Security Council and has welcomed the proposal for a good offices committee of the Council to help reduce the tension between our two countries. I reiterate that readiness here.

India, of course, takes an opposite view. Its Government contends that it is not an India-Pakistan problem. They would have the world believe that everything that has happened has been due to Pakistan's actions only, and that India has been merely a passive victim, burdened with a huge influx of refugees. But what are the facts? The facts about Indian intervention are patent and I have already mentioned them.

The world has heard a lot about East Pakistan in recent months. Much of what has been said has come from outsiders. Not all of them have to test their statements against realities. Many among them moralize and assume lofty postures. But, if I may strike a personal tone, I come from East Pakistan. Unlike the distinguished Foreign Minister of India, I cannot afford the luxury of mis-statements and propaganda. From this Assembly, I will go back to East Pakistan. I have to live and suffer and strive and build among my people there. I do appreciate whatever humane concern, unmixed with sordid political motives, exists anywhere for the people of East Pakistan. At the same time, I deplore that the situation in our homeland has been so distorted in the world's eyes, its causes so misrepresented, the sequence of events so disfigured, that it has

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been made to appear as if there is a war between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Let an East Pakistani voice rise from this rostrum reminding the world that the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan are brethren, joined in an imperishable union, and that when the two undertook together the enterprise of building a federal State, it was an unfettered act of self-determination on the part of each. The people of East Pakistan have not regretted, and do not regret, that choice. True, we have problems relating to regional autonomy, to a distribution of national resources based on justice, to the removal of disparities between the different regions. Which State, which large or multilinguistic or multiracial State, is free from such problems? Let not one such State gloat over the problems of another. We, in Pakistan, have undergone a most traumatic experience. We have endured a situation of extremity. We have gone through an ordeal. But through it all, we have realized that the fragmentation and fission of our Statehood, the break-up of our unity is, and can be, no more a solution for us than it is for others.

It has been a great misfortune that, in our case, these problems led to a violent upheaval. Why this happened cannot be understood without some basic facts about Pakistan's national existence and its relations with India being kept in mind. But it is fantastic to suppose that the conflict was due to East Pakistan's demand for autonomy being suppressed. Are the people of East Pakistan less than independent in a united Pakistan where they are in a majority, and can dominate the Central Government? A majority has, or can acquire, the power to right wrongs and to correct imbalances. It is unthinkable for a majority to want to secede. By definition, a demand for secession is a minority's demand. Since, I repeat, the people of East Pakistan are not a minority or a small ethnic group within Pakistan, it follows that the secessionists among them do not represent the people at large. Being secessionists, they are a self-confessed minority. Their own position proclaims their isolation from the people. Such isolation can be due either to a total failure of statesmanship, or to a collusion with a foreign power which wishes the disintegration of the State. In the case of the secessionists in East Pakistan, it was due to both.

The relationship between the upheaval in East Pakistan and India's actions is immediate. For months, Indian war material had been steadily passing into East Pakistan from across a border which, traversing rivers, hills, forests and swamps, could not be fully guarded by the limited number of Pakistani troops. When the crisis approached, India sundered the air communications between East and West Pakistan by banning the overflights of Pakistani aircraft across Indian territory. It did so in reprisal against the hijacking of an Indian plane to Pakistan. But, as has been judicially established, this hijacking was engineered by Indian intelligence itself, wanting to create a pretext for India to ban the overflights. The ban is illegal and contrary to India's international obligations. Yet, even now, despite international efforts at conciliation, India refuses to lift it. When the crisis mounted, and Pakistan was passing through its severest test, India massed its troops along our borders, both in East and West Pakistan.

Faced with this threat from outside, combined with an insurgency in the country, the Government of Pakistan had no choice but to use all means to save the country from anarchy, dismemberment and inevitable Indian domination. I ask the distinguished Representatives assembled in this hall, faced with similar circumstances, what would any other legal Government do?

Conflicts of the kind which we have suffered in East Pakistan are a supreme tragedy. But world opinion is not yet fully aware of how it has been caused and intensified by foreign interference. Had India's concern with the plight of the displaced persons been purely humanitarian, it would have followed a different line of policy. It would have done its utmost to convey the appeal of the Govern-

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ment of Pakistan to the displaced persons to return to their homes. It would have co-operated with us and with the United Nations in a common effort to accomplish this objective. It would have entered into a neighbourly dialogue with Pakistan. Here was a situation where, if no power politics was involved, the interest of both India and Pakistan demanded that the displaced persons be enabled to return to their homes.

It therefore causes us the profoundest regret that, both by its incessant propaganda and its action, India is inhibiting the return of the refugees. By engineering border conflicts, mortar-fire and shelling, India makes it impossible for our nationals to cross the border. It uses their presence within its borders for recruiting from among them the so-called volunteers for secessionist forces.

It is this policy of the Government of India which has so far defeated our efforts to bring back the refugees. The declaration of a general amnesty, the repeated appeals of the President of Pakistan, the acceptance of the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of the presence of his Representatives in East Pakistan, the establishment of reception centres and the provision of facilities for the re-settlement of the returning refugees—by every feasible means we have demonstrated that we are anxious for our nationals to return. On 19th July, Secretary-General U Thant proposed to both India and Pakistan that a limited number of the Representatives of the U.N.H.C.R. be posted on both sides of the border to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees. We unhesitatingly accepted this proposal. India, however, rejected it.

The ostensible reason which India cites for its refusal to allow the return of the displaced persons is that conditions are not secure for their return. In the first place, India itself makes the conditions insecure. Secondly, what India means by "secure conditions", as the distinguished Foreign Minister of India made amply clear before this Assembly, is a political solution which would be in accordance with its dictates. The Prime Minister and other leaders of India have publicly declared that they will agree to the return of the displaced persons only when the so-called "Bangla Desh" emerges; in other words, when East Pakistan secedes and passes under Indian tutelage.

Could there be a more blatant interference in the internal affairs of one State by another? Only last year, India joined all of us in voting for the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which solemnly affirmed the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principles of non-interference, as the basis of relations among States, irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development, or political, economic and social systems, and declared that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever.

The issue that is posed by India's interference is not of concern to Pakistan alone. It concerns all nations that wish to preserve their sovereign status and territorial integrity. If the principle of non-intervention is set aside or compromised, every nation, smaller or weaker than its neighbour, will be open to the latter's inroads. I therefore appeal to this Assembly to exercise its powers of persuasion on India to desist from its interventionist course. For our part, we are determined to resist India's encroachments and achieve the political solution which we sorely need for our own survival.

Let not India pretend that it has not also created some other problems in the sub-continent. India is engaged in efforts to subjugate the Nagas—a proud, non-Indian people—who have borne untold hardship during their long resistance to Indian rule. In India's own territory, there are situations which are the direct result of the exploitation and suppression of the smaller linguistic and ethnic

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groups in India, notably the Dravidians, the Sikhs and the Bengalis, but we do not make them a cause for interfering in India's affairs. We only wish that India realized, as we do, that anarchy and fragmentation are a danger as much to itself as to us.

If I may sum up the India-Pakistan situation, it is a situation of a patent threat to peace which needs to be removed if the peoples of the two countries are to resume their struggle to achieve higher standards of life in larger freedom. We do not consider the Indian people as our enemy. Indeed, we feel that, by its unrelenting hostility towards Pakistan, by perpetuating a climate of tension in our region, the Indian Government is committing treason against its own people. We wish that the Indian Government realized that a strong Pakistan is a guarantee of peace in South Asia. Similarly, we wish all the great Powers to recognise that attempts to weaken Pakistan and to isolate it, will undermine the balance of power and stability in the region and will promote a hegemony that will be inimical to peace.

Statement by Mr. S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., in the U. N. General Assembly (in exercise of his right to reply to Pakistani Statement)

October 5, 1971

On the last day of September, when we could have exercised our right of reply, we did not do so because Pakistan said nothing new except to make yet another attempt to involve India in a problem which is entirely of her making. Today, we are exercising our right of reply merely because this attempt has become desperate and gone further, and many issues with which this Assembly is fully familiar have been revived in order to divert attention from a problem which has aroused international concern and opinion and which has affected the lives of millions of people. We do not believe that this kind of diversion in a tragic situation is either responsible or helpful. The Pakistan Delegation has blamed India for all of Pakistan's woes and difficulties. Let me assure the Assembly that very seldom has Pakistan displayed any candour or any honest desire to solve many of its problems.

I would like, however, to remind the Assembly of our position on two or three important problems to which reference has been made. As regards Kashmir, we have repeatedly stated that the only problem is the question of withdrawal by Pakistan from the occupied part of Kashmir and we are always ready to enter into negotiations with Pakistan to bring this about. As regards Farakka Barrage, not only much negotiation and technical talks have taken place but when we were searching for some agreement, the tragic developments in East Bengal have practically put a stop to these negotiations. However, it is becoming clear now that the whole hue and cry by Pakistan on Farakka Barrage was only to encourage anti-Indian feeling in East Pakistan. This policy too has collapsed. We do not deny that we have law and order problem in our country, but we do not try to solve them by launching genocide.

Many lurid details have been given about border incidents. This morning, the Pakistan Delegation took the trouble to have a Press Conference on the basis of some incident which is reported to have taken place on September 29. At that time, I did not have the details, but I sent a telegram to Delhi and I have their reply. This telegram reads:

"No such incident has taken place on September 29. In fact, it is West Pakistan's armed forces that have been shelling our territory and killing and injuring people on our side over the last several weeks. The allegation made

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by Mahmud Ali is obviously an attempt to justify Pakistan's shelling of our territory and an excuse to start an aggressive war against India. India has been exercising the greatest restraint possible in the circumstances. This has been appreciated throughout the world. It is Pakistan that should be asked to exercise restraint and not to continue indiscriminate massacre of the people of East Bengal."

On the other hand, I can inform the Assembly that we have complained to Pakistan on more than 400 violations of our eastern borders by Pakistan. I was also interested to note that Pakistan Delegation did not care or dare to give the details of the activities of the resistance forces deep inside East Pakistan.

The fact is that it is not India which has had any doubts about the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan, but it is Pakistanis themselves who have not accepted Pakistan as it is constituted or the policies they have pursued. They failed to keep the many pledges to their own people and they are facing the consequences. There is no use blaming India for this.

We are always willing to co-operate with Pakistan in solving all bilateral problems. Last year, and for many years in this forum, Pakistan has brought up many bilateral issues, but when we suggested bilateral talks there was no response. Today, Pakistan asks for bilateral negotiations on a problem which is entirely Pakistan's own making and which they rightly claim to be a problem between East and West Pakistan. We do not wish to come into it. We cannot come into it, and we should not come into it. Those who believe that Indian co-operation in this field is necessary, should realise that while co-operation with a neighbour is always to be welcomed, no one can expect India to co-operate with Pakistan in a partnership to continue massacre, to tolerate extinction of human rights, to make a mockery of self-determination (of which Pakistan never tries of speaking in relation to Kashmir), and in perpetrating massive brutalities.

What has the Pakistani delegation said here today to encourage the refugees to return home or, more important, to stop the 33,000 refugees coming to India everyday? Nothing. This is a degree of concern for their fellow citizens of which over a million have been massacred in a most atrocious manner. This is in conformity with the concern they showed to the people who died in the cyclone in East Pakistan last year. This callousness of human worth must be in the mind of the many whom Pakistan has tried to dupe by loud proclamations on fundamental rights and value.

The Spokesman for the Pakistani Delegation makes some special claims simply because he happens to come from East Pakistan. I too was born and brought up in East Pakistan. Not only I, but most of his countrymen in East Pakistan, will disagree with him both about his facts and his analysis. However, I should like to leave it to his conscience.

Mr. President, these are not matters for politics or debate. We have no wish to enter into a controversy with Pakistan on these matters. This is an international problem of vast magnitude and anguish. If Pakistan wishes to begin even the beginning of a solution, the first step must be to start negotiations with the elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. In our view, any attempt to divide the patriotic elements in East Pakistan not only be self-defeating, but will create many more difficult problems. The Pakistan Delegation blames India for all the resistance that the Bengalis are putting up against their oppressors. The fact, however, is that this resistance is organised by the East Pakistanis themselves, and they are determined to fight for their survival and for their human rights. Nothing that the Government of India can or cannot do will change this process. The only way this can be changed

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is by political accommodation between the oppressor and the oppressed. I regret to say I did not see a single word in the Pakistan delegation's speech to encourage this.

Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi (Pakistan) in the U.N. General Assembly
October 12, 1971

The Representative of India, while making his statement in exercise of the right of reply, at the 1953rd meeting on 5th October, put forth two propositions with which my Delegation would entirely agree. The first, referring to Pakistan's internal situation, was that India, to use his own words, "cannot come into it and should not come into it". The second was that the problem of the return of displaced persons to their homes in East Pakistan is of such anguish that it is not a matter for polemics or debate.

If the Representative of India had sustained these propositions, we would have seen the beginning of a process whereby the tension in the India-Pakistan sub-continent could be dispelled. This would make a just and durable solution of our own internal problems vastly easier.

Is it not, therefore, extremely unfortunate that, far from sustaining these propositions, the Representative of India proceeded to destroy them at every turn. On the one hand, he said that India does not and should not interfere in Pakistan's internal problems. But straightaway, he asked that the Government of Pakistan should enter into negotiations with the same group that wanted to break the national unity of Pakistan. Is this not clear interference by one State in the affairs of another? Governments of States which wish to maintain normal relations, do not even comment on one another's internal problems. But here, one State demands that a certain internal situation of another State be resolved in a certain way.

Then again, on the one hand, Ambassador Sen said that the problem of the return of displaced persons is of extreme anguish. On the other, he did not hold out the slightest promise of India's co-operation towards accomplishing the objective of the return of this mass of unfortunate people to their homes, in full security of life, property and honour.

Let us be clear on this point. Everyone agrees that the only humanitarian solution of the problem caused by this tragic exodus of people is that they should be enabled to return to their homes. Since they are at present on Indian soil, I ask: how can this be done without India's willing co-operation? Yet, there was nothing in the statement of the Indian Representative which could be construed as an offer to co-operate towards this humane and urgently necessary end.

To make the return of the refugees conditional on a political change in Pakistan, is not only to interfere in Pakistan's affairs but also to play with the present plight of this large number of human beings. The Representative of India charged us with callousness. But how can one describe the attitude and the policy on the part of India which is responsible for obstructing the return of the refugees?

In our statements made from this rostrum on 27th and 29th September and 5th October, my Delegation has described in detail the various measures taken by the Government of Pakistan to assure the refugees that they have nothing to fear on their return. The Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have both offered to help in this endeavour. Is it not time that India reacted positively to the constructive proposals that have been made?

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On its part, Pakistan has succeeded in bringing back about 200,000 of the displaced persons. I am in a position to report to the Assembly that a number of the returning refugees have assured the Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who personally visited many areas in East Pakistan, that their properties had been restored to them and that they were living in conditions of security. These included members of the minority community. My Government affords full facilities to the Representative of UNHCR to meet the refugees on their return.

We are not here engaged in a debating exercise, but in trying to see how situations of great peril can be resolved. In our main statement of 5th October, we cited concrete instances of the clandestine war at present waged by India against Pakistan. Ambassador Sen dismissed them in a casual and almost light-hearted manner. Then he said that India has made more than 400 complaints about the violation of its eastern border. Regardless of the basis of these complaints, is this not an evidence of the seriousness of the situation? It is not enough to make complaints; one should be prepared for them to be examined. If India wants these complaints to be examined, is it not necessary that the Security Council should consider the international situation? As we stated, we have expressed our readiness to co-operate with a good offices committee of the Security Council. But it is India which is obstructing the means by which the situation can be defused. Can it be denied that a threat to peace exists today in the India-Pakistan sub-continent? Addressing the nation earlier today, President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan stated:

> "She"—referring to India—"has shelled and continues to shell a number of areas in that wing"—that is, the eastern wing of Pakistan—"with her artillary and mortars. The world is gradually coming to know that all major sabotage activities like the blowing up of bridges and disruption of communications in East Pakistan are being conducted by the Indian infiltrators in the name of the secessionists. Frogmen and saboteurs trained and sent by India attempted to damage foodships in and around our ports in the eastern wing, but have been dealt with by our armed forces. By such acts, India's aim cannot be anything else but to create famine conditions and to starve the people of East Pakistan".

In spite of these clearly war-like acts and the massing of Indian troops on our borders, Pakistan maintains a policy of peace. As the President stated today:

> "It is our sincere belief that whether it be for the creation of a climate conducive to the return of the displaced persons or for the normalisation of the situation, it is essential that India and Pakistan should work out ways and means to reduce tension and allow normalcy to return at the earliest".

Certainly it was not in a spirit of responsibility that Ambassador Sen ridiculed the report quoted by us of nearly a thousand shells fired by Indian artillery on border villages of East Pakistan during the night of 29th September. After himself changing "nearly" to "exactly", he put the question, who counted them? But Indian Representatives do not pause to put the same question to themselves when they make wild allegations that a million people were killed in East Pakistan.

Ambassador Sen quoted a frivolous remark of the *Manchester Guardian*, but let me remind him that the same newspaper in its issue of 9th July published a report from its correspondent, Martin Woolacott, to the effect that in regard to:

> "the awful arithmetic of the killing in East Bengal, it can be taken as obvious that in every category there has been an exaggeration".

Woolacott's careful estimate was that about 20,000 people were killed by the secessionist elements and about 30,000 casualties resulted, following the army action on 25th March. To quote him:

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"The military action itself no doubt killed far fewer than the propagandists from the other side claimed".

In his statement of 5th October, the Chairman of my Delegation alluded to his coming from East Pakistan because he was citing his direct acquaintance with the mind of the people of the eastern wing of our country. I regret that Ambassador Sen should have thought it fit to allude to his own origin also. Surely, as a Representative of India, he cannot by virtue of his birth alone claim direct acquaintance with conditions in any part of Pakistan.

Finally, the Representative of India tried to make light of the issues between India and Pakistan which have prevented the establishment of normal and good neighbourly relations between us. He would not like to hear about the problem of Jammu and Kashmir which is a problem involving millions of human beings. He said that India is always willing to co-operate with Pakistan in solving all bilateral problems. In the first place, the problem of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely bilateral: the United Nations is also a party to it. Secondly, even if we disregard that consideration for a moment, is it not most extraordinary that India should express its willingness to negotiate a settlement of this problem and, in the next breath, assert that the only thing to negotiate is the withdrawal by Pakistan from Azad Kashmir. In other words, they invite us to make a gift to them of even that part of Kashmir which escaped Indian occupation.

To say that we raise these issues in order to divert attention from the problem created by the situation in East Pakistan, is wholly contrary to facts. The latter problem arose only this year, and we fervently hope it will be solved soon. The problem of Jammu and Kashmir has been in the forefront of India-Pakistan relations since 1948.

Pakistan, more than any other country, is aware of the urgent necessity of a political solution of its problems. Our only plea is that we be allowed to work it out without outside interference. The President of Pakistan, in his address earlier today, announced concrete measures whereby democracy will be restored in the country.

I cannot leave this rostrum without seeking to dispel a certain misunderstanding about the situation in East Pakistan which has appeared in the statements made by one or two delegations during the general debate. This misunderstanding seems to be related to the principle of self-determination. Pakistan, as much as any other country and more than some, believes in and steadfastly adheres to this principle. The principle is applicable to all peoples living under colonial rule or alien subjugation or in territories whose disposition is yet undetermined. It would be a travesty of this principle, however, if it were to be invoked in the case of racial, ethnic or linguistic groups which compose the populations of multi-racial or multi-linguistic States which have already exercised their right of self-determination. Endless fragmentation, especially of newly independent States, would then result. In the case of Pakistan, its sovereign Statehood was established by the same act from which India derives its independence. Both States are multi-lingual. Pakistan consists of the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Sindhis, the Pathans and the Baluchis; these five ethnic and cultural groups are the main components of our nation and not one of them is subordinate or inferior to the other. References which were made to the Pathans and the Baluchis are not in conformity with historical and legal facts. And let me say finally that with our neighbour Afghanistan we desire nothing more ardently than relations of brotherhood and mutual respect.

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Statement by Mr. S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the U.N., in the U.N. General Assembly

October 13, 1971

I was prepared to exercise the right of reply last night, but the hour was late and there were 10 speakers who exercised a similar right.

I spoke briefly on the evening of 5th October. It had taken Pakistan nearly seven days to conceive and deliver its reply. Such a long period of gestation for a reply is unusual, if not unknown, in the plenary sessions of the General Assembly. But then, it was not merely a reply but in many respects a full but stale statement, timed to coincide with what President Yahya Khan had to say yesterday and with various other publicity efforts. I was astonished that so much nervousness should be displayed about facts and so many bald assertions made without foundation. When, on 5th October, I spoke as a Bengali, I was simply sharing impressions on the basis of my experience. I am grateful to the representative of Afghanistan for having demolished some of Pakistan's bald assertions.

In his broadcast yesterday, he (President Yahya Khan) gave some details of his plan, the substance of which he had announced on 21st June. That plan was described by informed opinion as a " pathetic sham ".

If General Yahya Khan had any intentions of transferring power to the elected representatives, he could have done so earlier this year, and again he could have done so yesterday.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan of West Pakistan, a most distinguished soldier, has declared that the election results are already pre-determined; and Mr. Miraj Mohd. Khan, a leader of the People's Party led by Mr. Bhutto, has refused to go with his party's delegation to East Bengal for he found that the power there is shared by reactionaries, murderers and people without political support. Of course, given the press censorship, we cannot supply full texts of these statements, but we can draw some conclusions from the nature of Government which has been established in East Pakistan. One gentleman of this Government, known as "Minister ", lost the elections by 46,186 votes. His name is Mr. Abul Quasem. Another " Minister ", Nawazish Ahmad, lost his election by 96,007 votes. Still another, Mr. Akhtaruddin Ahmad, lost by 39,681 votes. Yet another, Maulana A. K. M. Yusuf, lost by 44,590 votes. Need I go on?

The Representative of Pakistan kindly agreed with me that these tragic problems are not fit for debate or polemics, yet his whole statement was nothing but a series of polemics. He says that the present problem is of recent origin, while the bilateral problems between India and Pakistan have existed for many years. I do not expect that the international community would be at all unhappy if India and Pakistan solved all their bilateral problems. We offered to do so time and again, but without response. It was not we who brought up Kashmir in the Assembly, but the Representative of Pakistan.

I have already commented on these diversionary tactics Pakistan uses. May I simply say that we should like the well-established principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by force to be applied to Kashmir, as much as to any other place.

Pakistan accuses India of creating tension on the border and of supporting the freedom-fighters inside East Bengal. I would, in this context, read out what the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington had to say on 15th August, 1971, on the A.B.C. Television Network. Incidentally, the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington is the brother of the Representative of Pakistan here. He said:

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"There were at least about 160,000 armed personnel who defected on account of Awami League propaganda. The army was asked on the 25th of March to go and deal with these 160,000 armed people."

Who are those people?

In the same interview, the Pakistan Ambassador answered:

"There were not only East Bengal Regiment; there were East Pakistan Rifles; there was a border military force; there were armed police".

From where did they get their arms?

The Ambassador said:

"These weapons came from looting of armouries and government stores and from the armouries of reserve police and so on, weapons that had been collected by force, by militant student bands who were going and knocking at the doors of the houses and asking people to deliver their guns and whatever sporting rifles—guns and rifles—they had. These were not collected from the East Pakistan rifles. We wish we had taken the trouble to disarm them before".

That is the reality of resistance within East Pakistan—a resistance inspired by years of discrimination and exploitation, and which was the direct result of ruthless and massive military action with unparalleled atrocities, total extinction of human rights, and a full-fledged campaign of genocide.

I repeat what I said before: we must not, shall not, and cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. At the same time, Pakistan must not interfere in our internal affairs.

What has happened is that by Pakistan's brutal and preposterous actions, India has been faced with a refugee population of 9 million people, with consequences on the social, political and economic structure which are well known to the Assembly.

I would have been more comforted, if the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had himself given a report on the plight of those refugees and on the alleged return of some of them to Pakistan. It is extraordinary that the Pakistani reported figure of 200,000 had remained steady for at least one month or more. We are, of course, not privileged to go inside Pakistan and collect statistics, but let not the Representative of Pakistan have any grievances about such authoritative statements as are available to us.

Similarly, it should be easy for Pakistan to say what happened to the 471 complaints we made. We presume they should know. We have replied to all the complaints brought to our notice.

Yesterday, Ambassador Shahi dismissed a *Manchester Guardian* comment as frivolous. That is his privilege, but I shall now supply some figures from the *Christian Science Monitor* given in its article, "The Agony and the Danger", of 31st July. It says:

"The estimates of people killed, not counting"—I repeat: *not* counting—"those who died of famine and cholera, have ranged up to a million".

International press estimates of the number of people killed up to mid-August by the army varies between a minimum of a quarter million to a maximum of 2 million persons. Is it, therefore, an exaggeration to say that the armed action has resulted in at least a million deaths?

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I have already referred to the type of election which is being worked out for bringing about normalcy in Pakistan. In this context, a report has been received by Mr. Paul Marc Henri, the United Nations Administrator for Relief in East Pakistan, prepared by United States Aid Mission experts. Parts of that report have been made available to the *Sunday Times* of London; and in its 10th October issue, William Shawcross, describing the conditions in East Pakistan, says, "The infra-structure of the country has totally collapsed".

Mr. Victor Powell, of the Consortium of British Relief Charities, who returned from Dacca last week, has estimated that only 20 to 30 per cent of all industries in East Pakistan are working. "There are still reports from East Pakistan", says Mr. Shawcross, "of how the Government and army commandeer food trucks and boats and use hunger as a political weapon".

If all this is not enough, it has been made clear in the United Nations report that that Government will allow United Nations Agencies to work only on post-cyclone relief projects that were begun before the spring civil war. Officially, they are not allowed to give relief to those affected by the war rather than by the floods.

In the north, there was no flooding, and it is there, as a result, that starvation is likely to increase; because, so far, the Pakistan Government has forbidden access, except to permanent missionary bodies.

In addition, the Assembly is aware of the large number of Pakistani diplomats, including several ambassadors, who have defected. The latest is the Pakistan Ambassador to Argentina, Mr. Momin. Are these the kind of people who will be influenced by the bogey of Indian propaganda? No one can be more blind than the man who refuses to see.

Another development in Pakistan, which is of intense international concern, is the reported sentence of death on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. It would be good to hear a denial of that report. If anyone has seen him during the last six months, we do not know him; all we know is that his British lawyers were not allowed to see him, and we are certain that Pakistan would not have allowed any outside judge—even of the International Court—to be present at the trial. Anyway, newspaper reports indicate that the trial is over.

Pakistan objects that any suggestion of political settlement with the elected leaders in an interference in Pakistan affairs. We in India have been burdened with over 9 million refugees as a direct consequence of Pakistan's military action. Is it, in these circumstances, unreasonable or illogical to suggest the kind of solution which, in our view, should be arrived at in order to persuade the refugees to go back home?

Is it unreasonable or illogical to recommend a political solution to bring about the kind of confidence that is a pre-requisite for the return of the refugees? Is it illogical or unreasonable to suggest that, unless the refugees have a degree of security and hope for peaceful existance on their return home, they will be reluctant to go back? If these are illogical and unreasonable suggestions, I am glad to see myself in the company of a large number of delegations, foreign Governments and numerous official and non-official organizations. If a country resents this kind of suggestion, how can it in the same breath ask for co-operation in solving a problem which is essentially of its own making?

Besides, what relief can we promise to the East Bengalis when we did nothing when their friends, relatives and fellow citizens were being killed, their women raped, their houses smashed, property looted, children burnt, and their crops destroyed?

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We have no intention of doing so, in spite of an invitation. All we can say is that this problem can be solved only between the rulers of Pakistan and its elected leaders, and we are disillusioned by the attempts to bring about a so-called normalization.

It was only the other day that two Members of Parliament of the Netherlands had their invitations withdrawn, simply because they would not accept Pakistani figures for refugees. Senator Kennedy's case is much too well known, and I do not wish to dilate on it.

The problem has been created by the campaign of genocide, and Pakistan must settle it in consultation and co-operation with its own people. There is undoubtedly tension in the area, but that too is the direct consequence of Pakistan's actions. Tension will disappear and refugees will go back whenever Pakistan chooses the wise course towards a political settlement. Unless that is done, all this public agitation for Indian co-operation is nothing but mere eye-wash.

In fact, in spite of Pakistan apologists, the President of Pakistan has made it quite clear that he would not meet the Indian Prime Minister. Even in these days of permissiveness, I cannot bring myself to repeat the words the President used about our Prime Minister. The curious will find it in *Le Figaro* of Paris. That particular article was reproduced in *The New York Times* about two weeks ago. Apart from insulting the person, whom Pakistan would have us believe the General wishes to meet, he says bluntly: "I will not meet her". So much for seeking co-operation.

There are many instances in history when States have deliberately, and as acts of policy, promoted external tension in order to solve their domestic difficulties. Nothing is easier, and nothing is more dangerous. That is what Pakistan is trying to do today.

A great crisis has overtaken Pakistan as a result of its own acts in using military force and repression against the people of East Pakistan in a situation which called for conciliation and compromise. To deflect the criticism of its own people and of the international community from this crisis, a campaign is being mounted against India. But that will not resolve the crisis.

The solution of the crisis lies between the Government in West Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan. If India advocates this, it is because what has happened in Pakistan is of extreme concern to the international community, and particularly to India. Because of its geographical location, India has to bear a heavy and continuous burden. While we speak of the return of the refugees, would it not be pertinent to ask why more and more of them are still coming? Because the house is on fire, and the fire cannot be put out by bullets. It is not a question of our leaving Pakistan alone, it is the people of Pakistan who are steadily coming towards India.

Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the many Delegations that have spoken with sincerity and sympathy about the grave difficulties which we face. I should like to thank them publicly, and I should also like to state that we have appreciated the concern which they have shown for a problem created by Pakistan, but whose consequences affect us all.

Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi (Pakistan) in the U.N. General Assembly
October 13, 1971

During the general debate, my Delegation has stressed several times that we are not here to match arguments and score debating points. We regard the

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present India-Pakistan situation as too serious, and the imperative of peace too compelling, to allow us exercises in debate.

The reply just made by the Representative of India to what I said yesterday, contains several misstatements and repetition of old charges which we have already refuted. No one in the Assembly, I am sure, enjoys a series of replies and counter replies which fail to advance the cause of peace, or to bring about a clearer understanding of a situation which involves a threat to peace. Nevertheless, in view of the earlier intervention of the Representative of India, I am duty bound to my Government to make a reasoned and dispassionate presentation to correct the picture that he has painted.

First of all, the Representative of India seemed to be aggrieved that I exercised my right of reply yesterday, that is seven days after his—the Indian—statement of allegations against us. I should like to assure him that we always believe in taking a pause and reflecting on any charges that may be made, so that we do not make impassioned replies, that we do not generate heat, but serve to enlighten this General Assembly. It is for that reason that we thought we should make a considered reply rather than the type of statement that we heard a moment ago from the Representative of India.

I was also greatly surprised when the Representative of India said that the points that had been made by me in the India-Pakistan exchanges were demolished by the Representative of Afghanistan. I am loath to infer from this that there has been any collusion between India and Afghanistan.

We have heard for the umpteenth time that the Government of India does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, and yet the Representative of India launched into a veritable tirade over the internal development of Pakistan. He quoted certain political leaders of Pakistan about the nature of the Constitution or the political plan that has been put forward by President Yahya Khan. Is comment on the internal constitutional developments of a country not within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of a State? While he quotes from the Pakistan press about what the political leaders of Pakistan have to say in exercise of the free expression of opinion which obtains in my country, yet he does not give credit to my Government that these critical opinions about the Government—which are not only critical, but very strongly critical—are in fact published. He still derides the situation in my country and states that we do not know that this is all they have said because there is censorship in Pakistan. If there were censorship, these critical comments against the Government by the political leaders of Pakistan would not have seen the light of day.

The Representative of India was good enough to inform this General Assembly about the relationship between me and the Pakistani Ambassador in Washington, and to quote from what Ambassador Hilaly stated in a television interview as to how the insurgents and the secessionist elements obtained arms. He was speaking of the situation between 1st and 25th March, 1971, when the loyalty of large sections of the East Pakistani police, the para-military forces and the East Pakistani regiments were subverted. The loyalties of these elements of our armed forces from East Pakistan were subverted and they were incited to loot the armouries and the shops which sold arms and ammunition. Obviously, being para-military forces and members of the regular armed forces of Pakistan and East Pakistan, they were armed with weapons, and when they defected and rose in rebellion against the Government, they used these weapons against the Government's forces. But that is not the end of the story. There has been infiltration of armed Indian elements into East Pakistan over a long period. The fact that arms and ammunition are being collected and sent by India into Pakistan is a fact of public

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knowledge. No attempt has been made by the Indian officials over the last few months to deny that they are supplying and arming the guerrillas. Only today, we have had a desptach in the *New York Times* from Sydney Schanberg, who is the *New York Times* correspondent based in India, about trainload after trainload of arms going to Calcutta for arming these insurgents so that they can step up their raids into East Pakistan.

I can quote many correspondents from 25th March onwards, correspondents of world famous newspapers—The *Times of London*, the *Daily Telegraph* and others—who have sent dispatches to their editors about the extent of the involvement of India in the arming and training and unleashing of these insurgents, with the support and with the assistance of the Indian armed forces.

We hear a great deal from Indian Representatives about the need strictly to observe the Principles and Purposes of the Charter, the Principles of Strengthening International Security, the Declaration on Principles of Friendly Relations, the Principles on which aggression should be defined, and we know that Indian Representatives have themselves taken an active part in formulating defintitions of aggression, not definitions of international conduct, stating that the arming and inciting of guerrillas and sending them across international borders to carry out raids and sabotage are acts of aggression. But this is precisely what they are doing in regard to Pakistan; yet they say that they do not wish to interfere in our internal affairs.

It is always most painful to have to enter into any argument as to the awful arithmetic of death or the number of casualties. The Representative of India has persisted in stating that the casualties number "from a quarter of a million to two million". Now, is it responsible to make such a statement—to take the liberty of giving a margin from a quarter of a million to two million, as if they are just figures or just inanimate units, and not living human beings? If we consider the laws of our own countries, every single death is investigated as the highest crime, and a country is most concerned and exercised over even a single casualty. But the Representative of India comes here and charges Pakistan with causing by the federal action against secessionist elements the death of between 250,000 and 2,000,000 men, women and children.

What can one say of the requirements of veracity and precision when they make such allegations? Let me say that those figures which are always quoted by India and which have found their way into the world press have all emanated from Indian sources, from the secessionist elements that have spread rumours and tried to defame the image of Pakistan. Members are all aware of the cyclone that occurred last November. At that time, certain charges were made by political parties in East Pakistan engaged in elections that the Government of Pakistan had not sufficiently mobilized all the resources to bring help to the survivors of that flood. Those political parties which made the charges against the Government did not deflect a single worker of their parties for the sake of humanity and relief to their own kith and kin. They were engaged in electioneering, compaigning and taking out processions, and yet they charged the Federal Government of Pakistan with the responsibility; and let me tell the Assembly that they charged the Government of Pakistan with responsibility for genocide.

Apparently, in this war of words, people have lost their sense of reality, words have lost their meaning. Not a single survivor of that cyclone died as a result of neglect. The casualties that took place were due to the flood; they all happened in the cyclone, within twenty-four hours, and yet the Government of Pakistan was accused by those political parties—which later on betrayed their secessionist colours —of genocide.

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Let me also tell the Assembly that between 2nd March and 25th March, the Awami League took a series of actions to set up a parallel government and defy the authority of the established Government. They issued directives to Government employees not to attend offices; they raised the flag of rebellion; they gave directions to courts and to commercial houses; they gave directives that no taxes should be paid to the Central Government, and it was they, the secessionist elements, which started the killing of innocent citizens. Those facts have been documented. When the armed forces, which were standing as spectators in order not to be accused of interfering in the political process, were at length ordered to suppress the killings, and when, as a result of their action, not more than two or three dozen people were killed, they were accused of genocide. The cry of genocide against the Government of Pakistan started even before 25th March when the army took action to suppress the killing of innocent people in East Pakistan who were not of the same political persuasion as the secessionist element.

Those are recorded, documented facts, and yet there has been a suppression of information. Those facts have not been allowed to find their way into the world press. Yet the Pakistan Government is accused of censorship and suppression.

However, let me tell you that the figures of death quoted by the Representative of India have all emanated from Indian sources. Those correspondents have been fed with those stories. I do not wish to dwell upon this further, but if I am challenged I am ready to present further evidence before you. I have already stated that the insurgents and the secessionists—apart from those armed elements of our armed forces and para-military forces who stole arms from the armouries and who looted arms and ammunition shops—were supplied and armed by India, and I have drawn the Assembly's attention to an article in *The New York Times* of today.

In regard to the question that the Representative of India has raised about an alleged death sentence having been passed on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, there is a news item in *The New York Times* today which states that a diplomatic defector from a Pakistan Mission made this statement on the authority of information that had been given to Pakistan Missions abroad before he defected. Let me here make a categorical statement: neither my Mission nor any such Mission has received any information from my Government about the question of a sentence passed on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Therefore, any defector from this Mission, who goes and states to the press that a sentence of death has been executed, is not speaking the truth, and I would wish that the Representative of India had exercised due care and caution before he came to fling this charge at us.

I will also tell this Assembly that certain diplomatic defectors have circulated memoranda and letters to the correspondents here saying that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is dead. What purpose is served by circulating such wrong statements and falsehood is beyond our comprehension, but, at least, we would hope that Representatives of sovereign States would exercise greater responsibility than pamphleteers and propagandists in making charges and innuendoes against other Government.

Let me pass from replies to these charges, which are painful to me as to all of you, to something more constructive. Let me avail myself of this opportunity to renew the offers made by the Government of Pakistan to arrest the deterioration of the present India-Pakistan situation and for the creation of a climate of confidence conducive to the return of the displaced persons.

These are our offers:

Firstly, to have the number of persons, who were displaced from East Pakistan and went to India, ascertained by an impartial international agency, so that the controversy regarding the numbers of refugees who have left East Pakistan may be finally laid to

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rest. Considering the wide disparity existing between the number calculated by us and that alleged by India, only an impartial agency could arrive at an assessment which would be beyond challenge.

Secondly, we offer to arrange the stationing on both sides of the border between East Pakistan and India of Representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to facilitate the return and rehabilitation of the displaced persons. That is a proposal which was made by the Secretary-General, and it is clear that a measure of that kind would go a long way in improving the climate and establishing confidence. My Government affords all facilities to Representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to visit areas of East Pakistan where refugees are returning, and to meet them. On the other side of the border, however, a curtain has been drawn which hampers the return of the refugees.

Thirdly, we offer to invite a good offices committee of the Security Council to confer with the Governments of both India and Pakistan regarding how the present tension between the two countries can be dispelled, to bring about the return of the displaced East Pakistanis from India in conditions of full security.

Fourthly, we are ready to work out with India, in bilateral talks at any level, ways and means by which the repatriation of the refugees could be accomplished and the threat of an armed conflict removed.

Rather than prolong polemics, which merely add to bitterness, we would hope that the Government of India will not reject these offers. I know that it can say "they have been made before and we have turned them down", but we would appeal to it to reconsider its rejections, because these are constructive offers and could bring about a true amelioration of the situation, so that we can contribute to the minimization of the aims demanded by both humanitarianism and peace, and I appeal again to the Representative of India not to belittle these offers.

B. DEVELOPMENTS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL—DECEMBER 4 to 6, 1971

STATEMENTS BY INDIA, PAKISTAN AND PERMANENT MEMBERS

Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi, Representative of Pakistan
December 4, 1971

I thank you, Mr. President, and the Members of the Security Council, for inviting the Pakistan Delegation to this Council meeting to be heard.

This meeting of the Security Council is being held in one of the most extraordinary situations in the history of the United Nations. A Member State of the United Nations, India, has not only launched aggression on the territory of another Member State, Pakistan, but has openly demanded that Pakistan dismember itself and give up that part of its territory which contains the majority of its population.

This is not just an allegation that I am making before the Council. The world knows about the statement of the Prime Minister of India, made on 1st December, that Pakistan should withdraw its troops from its eastern part. The world also knows that Indian troops entered the territory of Pakistan and have been there since at least 21st November. The two facts are undeniable and are acknowledged by India.

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These are the two cardinal facts of the situation on which its consideration by the Security Council has to be based. Nothing like this has happened before in the contemporary age.

There is no other example of a Member State of the United Nations which has recognized and had normal diplomatic relations with another Member State demanding that the latter withdraw its troops from its own territory and thus yield possession and control over it. India has not only made the demand but, in pursuance of it, has escalated its aggressive activities to bring about the disintegration of Pakistan. A challenge was thus hurled at Pakistan, and Pakistan has decided to meet it resolutely.

From this point of view, the situation that has been brought before the Security Council is not one which involves Pakistan alone. It involves every State that believes in the principle of territorial integrity of States, which is fundamental to the Charter of the United Nations. It concerns all who are in danger of being overrun by larger, more powerful and predatory neighbours.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, I can pledge that we will not surrender. Whatever tomorrow may bring, it will not be capitulation by Pakistan. Our freedom is too precious for us to bargain it away. Our stake in our national integrity is so great that we cannot possibly falter or fail. However, should the Security Council temporize with the situation, should it equivocate, should it become paralysed, should it fail to suppress the aggression, one thing will certainly happen. The Charter of the United Nations will have been shattered. The basic understanding behind the very functioning of the United Nations will have been demolished. A damage will have been done to the international order symbolized by the United Nations which can never be repaired.

Since it is India which, after having resorted to large-scale use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of Pakistan in total violation of the United Nations Charter, is now talking of defending itself against Pakistan's full-scale attack, the sequence of events of the past two weeks, since 21st November, needs to be kept clearly in mind.

Pakistan's eastern province has been under a massive attack, since 21st November, by India's regular troops, tanks and aircraft. The attack was launched simultaneously at half a dozen points along three sides of India's land frontier around East Pakistan.

The Indian attack was unprovoked; it was on a large scale; it was co-ordinated; it was preceded by heavy artillery fire; and it was made under air cover. It was definitely not, as the Indians initially tried to maintain, only a stepping up of activity by the secessionist guerrillas. In the engagements that have taken place between the Pakistani and Indian armed forces, several of the Indian army units have been identified through Indian soldiers killed or captured.

On 21st November, the Indian armed forces launched the following attacks: On the south-eastern sector of East Pakistan, an Indian army brigade group, supported by armed helicopters, entered the Chittagong Hill Tracts district of East Pakistan, overran our border outposts and penetrated approximately 10 miles into our territory. To the north of this sector, another brigade group of the 23rd Indian Division, supported by the rest of the Division, launched an attack in the Belonia salient of the Noakhali, district of East Pakistan, pushing eight miles deep into Pakistan territory. In the Brahmanbaria sub-division, to the north-west of Belonia, attacks were launched by a battalion each from the 57th Indian Division against two of our border posts at Mukandpur and Saldanadi which were overrun. Further north, on the eastern front of East Pakistan, the Indians

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made repeated attacks against our border outposts at Karitola in Mymensingh—also known as Mominshahi district. These attacks were repulsed. In the north-east corner of East Pakistan, two Indian battalion groups attacked and overran our border outposts at Dhalai, Atgram and Zakigang in the Maulavi Bazar sub-division of the Sylhet district. These Indian forces included two companies of Gurkhas. In the north-western area of East Pakistan, the Indians launched another attack in the Rangpur district. This was in the Bhurangamari salient, where an Indian brigade group penetrated 15 miles into Pakistan territory up to Nageshwari. In the south-east sector—completing the three-sided front—in the Jessore district, a major offensive was launched by a brigade group of the 9th Indian Division, supported by armour and air cover, opposite Chaugacha. Indian tanks penetrated about eight miles into Pakistan territory. An Indian air attack was challenged by the Pakistan Air Force. One Indian aircraft was destoryed, and we lost two over Pakistan territory. Six Indian tanks were destoryed in the engagement, and eight of ours were disabled. The Jessore air field was shelled by Indian artillery. All these attacks were synchronized and launched at widely separated parts of the frontier on 21st November last.

As many as 12 Indian divisions were reported on 21st November to have been deployed around East Pakistan. In addition, there were 38 battalions of the Indian Border Security Force. The 2nd and 5th Indian Mountain Divisions, which were previously stationed in India's North-East Frontier Agency, were also moved towards East Pakistan. The 8th Mountain Division, consisting of six brigades, was brought to the East Pakistan border towards Sylhet from Nagaland, where only one brigade was left. Twelve squadrons of the Indian Air Force were placed around East Pakistan. A sizable Indian naval force comprising an aircraft carrier, frigates, landing ships and two submarines was standing by near Vizagapatam, in the Bay of Bengal, posing an amphibious threat to Chittagong and Chalna ports. The approaches to Chalna port were mined by the Indian forces. As a result, two merchant ships, chartered for carrying food-grains and other essential supplies, were damaged, seriously disrupting food supplies to East Pakistan.

That was the position on 21st November. Since then, the Indian armed forces have continued their aggressive actions against Pakistan, including the crossing of our international borders and hostile action on our soil. In the past two weeks, the Pakistan armed forces have continued to resist Indian aggression in all the sectors.

To understand the nature of the present hostilities, it is necessary to bear in mind the details of the fighting that preceded and culminated in the full-scale war on 3rd December.

I shall refer first to the Jessore sector. On this south-western front of East Pakistan, since 21st November, the Indians have used tanks and heavy artillery fire. Some of the attacks were in brigade strength. The Indians had some successes against thinly-held Pakistani positions, and captured Chaugacha, six miles inside our territory, and also Jiban Nagar. Their attacks were blunted in the Buinda, Simulia, Krishanpur, Jamalpur and Nabagram areas. Indian casualties in the Jessore sector were estimated at about 150 killed and over 500 wounded. Several Indian tanks were destroyed. Units of the Indian armed forces, identified in the Jessore sector, included those belonging to the 14th Punjab Regiment and the 1st Jammu and Kashmir Battalion of the 350th Brigade of the 9th Indian Infantry Division.

In the Dinajpur-Rangpur sector, Indian pressure on this north-eastern front was concentrated for several days in the Hilli area of Dinajpur district. Other

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areas in which fighting took place were Pachhagarh, Nageshwarj, Aurpara, Bantara and Mirzapur.

Indian tanks and aircraft were used in these attacks. Units of the Indian armed forces identified in the Dinajpur-Rangpur sector included the 165th Mountain Brigade of the 10th Indian Mountain Division, 4th Rajput Regiment, the 7th Marhatta Light Infantry and the 9th Indian Mountain Division.

The Sylhet sector, which is in the north-east, was subjected to heavy Indian pressure from the very first day of the attack against East Pakistan. Heavy fighting continued near Atgram, two miles inside Pakistan, and at Zakiganj, Radhanagar, Kanairghat, Gauripur, Chanderpur, Lakshmipur, Latumura and Shamsher Nagar. Indian casualties were estimated at over 225 dead and a hundred wounded. Indian units identified in the Sylhet sector, included the 4th Kumaon of the 81st Mountain Brigade and the 85th Indian Border Security Force.

In the Comilla sector, the Indians in this part of East Pakistan exerted pressure on Kasba, Akhaura, Angadar Bazar, Phataba Nagar, Gazipur, Chuddagram and Morachale. In one battle alone 197 Indian soldiers, belonging to the 19th Punjab Battalion of the 57th Indian Mountain Division, were killed. Other Indian army units identified in the Comilla sector included a Dogra battalion, raised in Jammu. Elements of a new Indian division have been moving into this sector in the last few days.

In the Mymensingh district, also known as Mominshahi, on the eastern front of East Pakistan, Indian forces, including a battalion of the 13th Guards, fought in the Kamalpur area. Fresh Indian troops arrived in this sector on 2nd December.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which is the south-eastern segment of the East Pakistan front, the fighting has been mainly in the Chota Harina area. The 9th Gurkha Battalion was identified as being in action in this area.

That is a brief record of direct Indian aggression, in the last two weeks, against the eastern part of Pakistan, and of the continued presence of Indian armed forces inside our borders on that front. Thus, the fact is established beyond denial or dispute that the Indian army, backed by its air force, has been committing aggression against Pakistan from at least 21st November. Governments which have their own independent means of information about developments in the India-Pakistan sub-continent have been aware of these unprovoked large-scale armed attacks.

On the afternoon of 3rd December, India opened new fronts, this time against the western part of Pakistan. This action was launched by India's ground forces operating under air cover, and followed four days of aggressive aerial reconnaissance by the Indian air force over West Pakistan. Early in the afternoon, the Indian army moved towards border posts manned by the Pakistan Rangers. On being challenged, the Indians opened fire with small arms, wounding our men. The Rangers fired back on the Indians in self-defence. Incidents took place simultaneously in the Shakargarh salient, Kasur, Hussainiwala, and Rahim Yar Khan, opposite the Rajasthan province of India.

Indians also mounted a military action in the Poonch area in the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir. Two hours later, the Indians began major attacks with massive artillery support. Those major attacks were directed towards Chhamb in the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir, and across the international frontier in the Sialkot area, also in an area between Jassar Bridge and Lahore, and on the Rajasthan front opposite Rahim Yar Khan. The Indian army attack was supported by the Indian air force.

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In the face of this obviously pre-planned and large-scale offensive along a 500 miles front, the armed forces of Pakistan could not but fight back. The air force, therefore, struck the forward airfields, close to the Pakistan border, at Srinagar and Avantipur in Indian-occupied Kashmir and at Pathankot and Amritsar.

The perfidious nature of the Indian aggression is clear from the outright and irresponsible falsehood which was perpetrated by India. The falsehood lay in India's denial that its forces were involved in the serious fighting which began in the territory of Pakistan on 21st November. On 22nd November, a spokesman for the Defence Ministry of the Government of India stated: "Our troops are under strict instructions not to cross the border".

That statement was made when those troops had already crossed the border, and when fighting was taking place inside the territory of Pakistan. On 24th November, however, a Reuters dispatch reported as follows:

> "An Indian Government spokesman admitted today that Indian tanks had crossed the border into East Pakistan last Sunday (that is, 21st November), when they destoryed 13 Pakistani tanks. The spokesman said that the Indian forces had acted under modified instructions which allowed them to cross the frontiers in self-defence. He confirmed that 'our (that is, Indian) tanks have been in action in self-defence on Sunday'. Asked whether they had gone into East Pakistan, he replied, 'Naturally; they had to cross the border'".

I would appeal to you, Mr. President, and to the Members of the Security Council to keep this square contradiction between a denial and an admission of the same fact on the part of India clearly in view.

When it had to admit that it was directly participating in the fighting in Pakistan territory, India cited the right of self-defence. But since when is it permissible under the Charter of the United Nations for a Member State which is not attacked to enter the territory of another Member State in the name of self-defence?

It would be fantastic to allege that Pakistan, which is one-fourth India's size, whose armed forces are vastly outnumbered by India's in both man-power and equipment, and which at present is grappling with a severe internal crisis, launched—or even contemplated—an armed attack on India in November. The territory of Pakistan in the east is surrounded on three sides by India and separated by the whole width of northern India from our territory in the west. The direct air link between the two parts of Pakistan was severed in February this year by the Indian Government through an illegal act banning the overflight of Pakistan's aircraft. Moreover, only a small part of our army is stationed in the east. In the face of these facts, what could be more mythical than a plan of armed attack on India by Pakistan in November? Indeed, hardly any situation is conceivable where the plea of self-defence would be more grotesque.

It was, of course, to be expected that India should have contrived an excuse for launching an armed attack on Pakistan by alleging that Pakistan's forces intruded into Indian territory at a certain time and place. When listening to these allegations, regardless of their falsehood, the Security Council has to bear in mind the principle that a State which is the victim in its own territory of subversive and/or terrorist acts by irregular, volunteer or armed bands organized by another State, is entitled to take all reasonable and adequate steps to safeguard its existence and its institutions. This principle, recognized in international law, has been well stated by Member States of different continents and political alignments in their proposed definitions of aggression. Pakistan by no means exceeded

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this right in suppressing armed and terrorist bands which aimed to bring about a dismemberment of the State.

The facts of the situation prior to 3rd December which are beyond controversy are:

Firstly by, Pakistan has been the victim of acts of sabotage, subversion and terrorism committed by armed bands organized by India.

Secondly by, these acts have involved incursions into Pakistan by those bands operating from Indian territory and having their bases in India.

Thirdly by, even the most elementary considerations of internal security for Pakistan demanded the capture or expulsion of those bands from Pakistan.

I can state with a full sense of responsibility that at no time and place did the armed forces of Pakistan stationed in the east take any steps beyond those which were adequate to safeguard the borders of the State and to maintain internal security in Pakistan.

Even if it may be assumed, contrary to the facts, that some excess in the form of a local encroachment across the border might have occurred somewhere, there was no warrant for India's claim that the invasion of Pakistan was justified by recourse to the right of self-defence.

No less frivolous and unwarranted was the Indian claim that Indian attacks on Pakistan were justified because they were in support of insurgent forces in Pakistan. Even if these insurgent forces were not stationed in Indian territory and were not operating from it, the acknowledgement by India that it was giving them arms and other support would amount to an admission not only of interference in the affairs of Pakistan but also of indirect aggression. Since the incontrovertible fact is that these forces are trained, organized, financed, given arms and equipment and furnished bases by India, and that their operations are directed by India, they are nothing but irregular Indian forces. Their continuing sabotage and incursions, accompanied and supported by the military activity of the regular Indian armed forces, constitute aggression by India as much as does an assault by an unmixed regular Indian force.

I need hardly cite any evidence here of the fact that the insurgent forces are organized, supported and directed by India. The fact is self-admitted. On 20th July, the Foreign Minister of India stated in the Indian Parliament that—

> "India is doing everything possible"—I repeat "everything possible"—
> "to support the liberation army".

The situation which has been brought before the Security Council is, as I submitted at the outset, one of a breach of the peace. This is but a culmination of a series of menacing acts of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs committed by India. The nature of Pakistan's internal crisis is outside the Security Council's concern. I shall not walk into the trap laid by the New Delhi Government, which seeks to justify its interference and aggression by dwelling on Pakistan's internal crisis. I hope and trust that the Security Council will similarly guard against the debate ranging over areas outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The Security Council is concerned with international peace, not with the internal peace and political life of a Member State. Whatever be the private evaluations of the happenings inside Pakistan, whatever judgement may be made by individuals and groups of the rights and wrongs of the situation in Pakistan, there can be no valid ground for India's interference in it.

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One principle is basic to the maintenance of a peaceful world order, and it is that no political, economic, strategical, social or ideological considerations may be invoked by one State to justify its interference in the internal affairs of another State any more than they can be cited as a ground for aggression, direct or indirect. We all know the many Declarations of the General Assembly which have affirmed this principle. I shall not refer to all of them here because recognition of this principle and its incorporation into the law of the United Nations is not dependent on those declarations. It is enough to refer to the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty adopted by the General Assembly in 1965. [*General Assembly Resolution* 2131 (*XX*).]

Operative paragraph 1 of that Declaration states:

> "No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned."

Operative paragraph 2 states:

> ".... no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

Operative paragraph 4 states:

> ".... the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security."

I may recall here that India was a Member of the Committee which prepared that Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States. It is well known that India has been prominent at the United Nations for its advocacy of the principle of non-interference. What has motivated this advocacy is ill concealed, and we in Pakistan know it very well. Oblivious of the fact that Jammu and Kashmir is not, and cannot, be recognized as part of India unless an impartial plebiscite in that State returns a verdict in favour of it accession to India, India has vainly sought to close all avenues for Pakistan giving moral and political support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination. But I shall leave that aside for the moment. What is interesting is that India's motivation has been strong enough to prevail over its relations even with those Powers with whom it professes to be friendly. Speaking at the 1441st meeting of the Security Council on 21st August, 1968 which had developments in Czechoslovakia on its agenda, the Indian Representative read the statement made that day by the Prime Minister of India. Here is part of that statement:

> "Non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful co-existence. We have always believed that international relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big and small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to its own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice whenever these principles have been violated."

That was the statement of the Prime Minister of India against interference in the internal affairs of other States.

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In startling contrast to those pronouncements, India's interventionist role in Pakistan's affairs has been blatant from the beginning of this year. This role has preceded and caused Pakistan's internal crisis. The object has been nothing else than to ensure that the outcome of political and constitutional developments in Pakistan should be the dismemberment of Pakistan.

To avoid undue length, I shall only briefly list these major acts of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by India:

Firstly, even before elections were held in Pakistan in December, 1970, a pipeline for the supply of arms and ammunition by India, to certain elements which were plotting the disintegration of Pakistan, had been set up.

Secondly, in February, 1971, India engineered the hijacking to Pakistan of one of its aircraft flying from Jammu and Kashmir. The hijackers were Indian intelligence agents. From this incident, India obtained a pretext to ban the overflights of Pakistani aircraft from West Pakistan to East Pakistan over Indian territory. This ban was totally illegal, but it cut the direct air link between the two parts of Pakistan. Indian official sources even said that the restoration of the air link would be viewed with deep misgivings by the people of East Pakistan.

Thirdly, immediately after the negotiations towards a political consensus in Pakistan with regard to the future constitution of the country broke down, the Indian Parliament adopted a resolution pledging support to one of the parties. I put it to the members of the Security Council here: would any of your Governments ever think of such action in relation to an internal crisis in a neighbouring country?

Fourthly, the upheaval in East Pakistan was accompanied by, and gained in malignancy from, the propaganda barrage unleashed by India. It was the vastly exaggerated and sensationalized reports published by the Indian press and picked up by foreign news media which produced the panic in East Pakistan that resulted in a large-scale exodus.

Fifthly, India exploited the refugee problem for military, political and diplomatic purposes. Militarily, it created from among the displaced persons an irregular army. Politically, India cultivated the belief among the displaced persons that they would go back not to Pakistan as constituted, but to a new sovereignty in East Pakistan. There are on record numerous statements to this effect made by Ministers of the Indian Central Government. Diplomatically, India made use of the refugee situation for its campaign to secure the stoppage of all economic assistance to Pakistan.

Sixthly, whatever the nature of the crisis in Pakistan, it posed no military threat to India. But India immediately massed a force of over five divisions on or near the borders of East Pakistan soon after the internal crisis broke out. What other motive than that of intimidating Pakistan and encouraging saboteurs and subversionists could have moved India to make this demonstration of its military might at the time that the garrisons in East Pakistan were hard pressed in overcoming armed insurgency?

This is a mere summary of India's interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, which has now culminated in aggression on Pakistan's territory. There is only one result of the internal crisis in Pakistan which is truly international in its nature, and we readily acknowledge it to be so. That is the problem of a large number of people who left East Pakistan and are at present on Indian soil. But this problem, while international in nature, is not political. It would have been a political problem if Pakistan were to deny the right of these uprooted people to return to their homes, to be restored their properties and to live in

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their own country in perfect security of life and honour. Since, far from denying their right, Pakistan is most anxious to receive them back, since Pakistan has welcomed the assistance of the United Nations in facilitating their voluntary repatriation, since Pakistan is anxious to arrange this rehabilitation as speedily as possible, the problem is purely a humanitarian one. It is a problem which can be solved with compassion and understanding. It is a problem whose solution demands co-operation between India and Pakistan and of both countries with the United Nations. Of all problems, it is the one with which playing politics is totally indefensible.

But that is what India did. In fact, by blocking the return of the displaced persons to Pakistan as constituted, India tried to link the fate of this mass of human beings with the dismemberment of Pakistan.

It is being said that a climate of confidence is necessary for the return of the displaced persons. The statement is unexceptionable, if the phrase "a climate of confidence" is understood in its normal sense. The Government of Pakistan has done its utmost to restore such a climate. Would these efforts not have been much more effective if India also had co-operated? Would India's co-operation with the United Nations not have greatly strengthened the Organization and its presence in East Pakistan? Would this not have furnished another element of reassurance and thus itself contributed to restoring the climate conducive to the repatriation of the refugees? I leave it to the Members of the Security Council to judge how vastly different the present situation would have been but for India's intransigence.

In short, the present situation, now gravely threatening international peace and security, is nothing but an outcome of India's sustained hostility to Pakistan. This hostility did not begin with Pakistan's internal crisis. It merely found in that crisis a potent means for the execution of its designs, an occasion and opportunity unlike any that had been presented before. The Head of the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses stated:

"What India must realize is the fact that the break-up of Pakistan is in our own interests, an opportunity the like of which will never come".

An Indian political publicist, Mr. S. Swamy, wrote in *Motherland*, New Delhi, of 15th June:

"The break-up of Pakistan is not only in our external security interests but also in our internal security interests. India should emerge as a super-power internationally and we have to nationally integrate our citizens for this role. For this, the dismemberment of Pakistan is an essential pre-condition".

Yet another publicist, Mr. J. A. Naik, saw in Pakistan's disintegration the road to great power status for India in the region. The consensus at a political symposium held in New Delhi, as reported in the *Hindustan Times* of 1st April—that is, immediately after the outbreak of the internal crisis in Pakistan—was that India must "make best of what was described as the opportunity of the century".

Lest it be thought that these are merely the pipedreams of political theoreticians, let me quote here some official pronouncements made from India. Addressing the Rotary Club in New Delhi on 11th August, as reported in *The Statesman* of New Delhi the next day, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister of India, said:

"Bangla Desh has got to become a reality and it will become so, otherwise there would be an imminent danger to India". This clearly means that India

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considers the preservation of Pakistan's territorial integrity as an "imminent danger" to it. In fact, the Prime Minister of India said on 1st December that the presence of Pakistan troops in East Pakistan—that is, in Pakistan territory—constituted a threat to India's security.

On 18th September, as reported in *The Statesman* of 19th September, the Defence Minister of India further said:

"It was inconceivable that Pakistan would grant independence to Bangla Desh, but we would have to work towards a situation in which Pakistan will be left with no alternative."

What that situation would be was spelled out by the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, to which I referred a moment ago. Its Head, writing in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* of 15th August under the heading "Must we go to war?", stated, "A war with Pakistan would be a brief affair". In the event of such a brief war, the sequence was visualized as follows by the Indian Institute for Defence Studies, and I am sure the quotation will be interesting to the Members of the Security Council:

"There is no doubt that the Security Council would meet to call upon both nations to end the fight. Whether the fight should be ended immediately or continued for a period of time is a matter for India to consider. At this stage, it should be India's endeavour to get Bangla Desh as one of the recognized parties to the dispute. In fact, that is the appropriate way to win international recognition for Bangla Desh. It should be made clear that the cease-fire cannot be signed in the Bengal sector unless the Bangla Desh Commander is recognized as an independent sector commander for the purposes of cease-fire, and the Bangla Desh Government is recognized as a party to the dispute as a whole."

The paper from which that quotation was an excerpt was fully reported in *The Times* of London on 13th July. Again, there is no room for doubt that this thinking was consistent with official policy.

In October, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Indian Defence Minister—and I apologize for quoting him and again and again, but though his volubility furnishes some useful material it cannot be supposed that he does not express the thinking of the Government of which he is a prominent member—stated that any war with Pakistan would be fought on its soil and India would not vacate the territory occupied during the conflict. He added, "We shall go right up to Lahore and Sialkot and shall not come back whatever be the consequences".

It is thus clear that it was India's belligerence which gave a dimension to Pakistan's internal crisis that it would never have had otherwise. To say this is not to make light of our domestic situation. The crisis we have faced this year has been a supreme tragedy for our country. But may I not ask this: have not other nations—nations which are models of cohesion now—gone through similar traumatic experiences in the past? One difference is that they escaped the distortions of international publicity to which Pakistan has been a victim. Another and much greater difference is that they did not have a hostile and bigger neighbour that had first fomented their civil strife and exacerbated it and then committed aggression, as India has done in our case.

The Secretary-General rightly pointed out in his memorandum of 20th July, to the President of the Security Council that—

"....the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing and unresolved differences between India and Pakistan—differences which gave rise to open warfare only six year ago".

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The India-Pakistan question has been on the agenda of the Security Council since 1948. The outstanding dispute between the two countries relating to the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is one which has been discussed at more than a hundred meetings of the Security Council and has been the subject of as many as 22 resolutions and two statements of consensus of the Security Council. Let me make it clear that there will never be real peace between India and Pakistan—and I use the word 'peace' in the sense of something more than an absence of fighting—unless this dispute is resolved in accordance not with India's or Pakistan's wishes, nor with the interests of any foreign power or group of powers, but with the Will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. An international agreement exists—concluded under the auspices of the United Nations—that the disposition of the State should be determined by an impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. India has persistently refused to implement that agreement. The strain thus caused in relations between India and Pakistan has never been relaxed during the last 23 years for the simple reason that while the rest of the world may at times forget the Kashmir dispute, neither the people of Kashmir themselves nor their brethren the people of Pakistan can ever be oblivious to it, even if the dispute is nothing but a manifestation of India's chauvinism and its refusal to arrive at an equitable settlement with Pakistan that would establish good neighbourly relations between the two countries on a lasting basis.

The root cause of the hostilities between India and Pakistan is therefore not the occurrences of this year, but the policy so far pursued by Indian rulers—the policy of denying Pakistan's international rights and refusing to resolve outstanding issues between the two countries according to the recognized means of pacific settlement. Normalcy in relations between the two neighbours in South Asia will come not by waving a magic wand, nor with declarations, nor with No-War pacts, but with the readiness of both parties to resolve situations of friction and to settle disputes in the only way that can be done—namely, employing the means listed in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

How anxious Pakistan has been to avert the eruption of hostilities is amply borne out by the fact that the Government of Pakistan responded affirmatively to every proposal that would bring about the peaceful resolution of the present India-Pakistan situation. The President of Pakistan some months ago declared his readiness to meet with the Prime Minister of India anywhere anytime. The response from India was totally negative. On 20th November, the President of Pakistan extended his hand of friendship to India. India's answer was the major armed attack on Pakistan launched the next day.

Lastly, the Security Council is aware that on 20th October, the Secretary-General addressed a letter to the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India in which he said:

"In this potentially very dangerous situation, I feel that it is my duty as Secretary-General to do all that I can to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster. I wish Your Excellency to know, therefore, that my good offices are entirely at your disposal if you believe that they could be helpful at any time."

The President of Pakistan promptly welcomed the offer, and invited the Secretary-General to visit India and Pakistan to discuss ways and means for the withdrawal of forces of both sides from their borders. But what was India's response? The Prime Minister of India answered the Secretary-General's letter on 16th November, 27 days later in a situation of daily increasing tension, and in her letter made the allegation that Pakistan was "seriously preparing to launch a large-scale conflict with India".

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Now, if that allegation were correct it would have been all the more reason for India to invite the Secretary-General to visit the sub-continent and help to defuse the situation. But the Prime Minister of India laid such conditions on the exercise of his good offices by the Secretary-General as would make him far exceed his competence. She demanded, politely but unmistakably, that the Secretary-General "view the problem in perspective", and that he interfere in Pakistan's affairs by making "efforts to bring about a political settlement in East Pakistan". Needless to say, the message was that the Secretary-General is welcome if he executes India's political designs; otherwise, not.

For some weeks, the refrain in Indian pronouncements was that Pakistan was planning a large-scale conflict with India. But, in October, the President of Pakistan suggested a mutual pull-back of the forces of both countries from their borders. If the Indian leaders believed in their own propaganda, they would have welcomed the offer. But the Prime Minister of India summarily rejected it on the grounds that Pakistan's lines of communication to the borders were shorter than those of India.

Wishing to avoid controversy, the President of Pakistan modified his earlier suggestion and said that if withdrawal to peace-time stations was not possible then at least the troops, along with armour and artillery, could be pulled back to a mutually agreed safe distance on either side of the border to provide a sense of security to both sides.

Could anything be more fair? Could any guarantee better prove Pakistan's desire to avoid war with India? In brief, the present situation confronting the Security Council is one in which one Member State resorted to every means, including the classical form of aggression, namely, an armed attack, to break up another Member State. Since India's aggression could have succeeded unless it was firmly opposed, Pakistan could not abdicate its right to take appropriate counter-measures. It is now for the Security Council to find the means to make India desist from its war of aggression. Only those means devised by the Security Council which are consistent with our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and with the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of Member States, will command my Government's support and co-operation.

Before I end, I feel compelled to make a few observations on the debate which arose in this Council from the proposal of the Representative of the Soviet Union to invite the representatives of a so-called entity. The Representative of India was out of order when he intervened on this question because only Members of the Security Council can participate in a procedural debate. Rule 39 of the rules of procedure was quoted in favour of extending the invitation. But let me remind the Security Council that the rules of procedure must be subordinate and subservient to the Articles of the Charter of the United Nations, and one of the fundamental principles of the Charter is that of the territorial integrity of Member States. Any move under rule 39 of the Council's rules of procedure which runs counter to this fundamental principle of the Charter is outside the competence of the United Nations and of the Security Council, because the Security Council must interpret its rules in consistence with the fundamental provisions of the Charter.

The proposal to invite the so-called delegation in question is only seemingly innocent. We have been told that the Council would benefit from the information that may be given in regard to the deteriorating situation leading to the armed clashes between India and Pakistan.

But with regard to such information, all Members of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly and of the Non-Governmental organizations have been deluged with material submitted by the so-called representatives of a particular

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entity, and so much has appeared in the press that no further purpose could be served by giving it official recognition and circulating its documents to the Members of the Security Council.

I said that this proposal is only seemingly innocent, because fundamentally it would mean that at one stroke, by seating such so-called representatives, the Security Council would have struck at the territorial integrity of a Member State, and sought to dismember Pakistan by according this kind of recognition.

What is this entity on behalf of which the Representative of India has circulated a document, and which it now demands be seated at this Council table and be given a hearing? It is a group of men contrived, organized and established by India, a country which has carried out subversion, has aided secession and rebellion against Pakistan, has engaged in aggression against Pakistan, and is now at war with Pakistan. And, this group of men have their seat in Calcutta. We know that right here in New York, there are a number of organizations and entities which claim to speak in the names of certain legitimate Governments, or so-called legitimate Governments, and they deluge us with material and request us to have it circulated as official documents of various organs of the United Nations. Should we begin to adopt this practice of complying with their request in contravention of the principles of the Charter?

It has been contended that the letter of the nine Delegations asking for a meeting of the Security Council refers to "....the recent deteriorating situation which has led to armed clashes between India and Pakistan" (S/10411). What is the situation which occasioned the request for this meeting by the nine Delegations? The situation in Pakistan was brought to the attention of the Members of the Security Council by the Secretary-General in his memorandum of 20th July, and again in November, the Members of the Security Council refused to meet on the basis of the information that was supplied by the Secretary-General when he was in fact, though not explicitly, exercising his functions under Article 99 of the Charter. For, there is no other provision of the Charter under which the Secretary-General can bring a situation affecting peace and security to the knowledge and attention of the Members of the Security Council. The situation, which occasioned the letter from the nine Delegations, is that which erupted yesterday because of full-scale hostilities between India and Pakistan. I would submit that the Security Council should interpret this document strictly, and not with retrospective effect, because it had not thought it fit to meet to consider the situation when certain aspects were brought before the Members of the Security Council by the Secretary-General.

Finally, we believe that the refugee problem is a humanitarian one. We are ready to do anything that the international community requests us to do on the basis of a humanitarian approach to ensure the repatriation of these refugees in conditions of honour, security of life and restoration of property. And to say now that in a situation in the sub-continent, when the flames of war threaten to envelop 700 million people, the refugees who are in India should be accorded a kind of representation in and before the Security Council, is something which is so unprecedented that the Security Council would have to ponder deeply the consequences of its actions. I would make an appeal that the Security Council act with every sense of responsibility and respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter. And should a dangerous precedent be set, then Pakistan would have to reappraise seriously its co-operation with the Security Council and the United Nations.

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Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Representative of India
December 4, 1971

I am grateful to the Council for the invitation to India to participate in this important debate, but I should like to make it quite clear, at the beginning, that we are not here under Article 31 of the Charter. We are here under rules 37 and 38 of the rules of procedure. This point is most important for us, and I shall elaborate on it somewhat.

We have heard a long statement from the Ambassador of Pakistan, which tells the story from 21st November, and quickly—and I thought rather casually—brushes aside much that has happened before. We do not represent a military regime, and I do not wish to go into many military details now. But I would, however, suggest that it is neither right nor proper that we should start our discussion on any particular date. The history which lies behind this great tragedy has been reported by many people, but I shall only quote a few paragraphs from the Secretary-General's report, which is part of the agenda item. The Secretary-General says:

> "7. It is for these reasons that I am taking the unusual step of reporting to the President of the Security Council on a question which has not been inscribed on the Council's agenda. The political aspects of this matter are of such far-reaching importance that the Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise courses of action before the Members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem. I believe, however, that the United Nations, with its long experience in peace-keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion, must, and should, now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human tragedy which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation". (S/10410)

Therefore, the first problem we are facing, the particular situation we are confronting today, has a long history behind it. This history is essentially a history between the West Pakistan regime and the people of Bangla Desh. Therefore, without the participation of the people of Bangla Desh, it would be impossible for us to obtain a proper perspective of the problem.

The Ambassador of Pakistan brushed aside these people as groups of either refugees or rebels. They are nothing of the sort. They are the elected representatives of 75 million people. There is neither normalcy nor peace in East Pakistan, and as a result, we have suffered aggression after aggression. Now, in order to come to a solution which would be acceptable to the Council and acceptable to those who are responsible for running the country, it is essential, in our opinion, that the Representatives of Bangla Desh should be present here. I am most grateful to the Representative of Italy for having mentioned that I was perhaps out of order in bringing up this question, but as the Representative of Pakistan has already pointed out, this is a substantive matter.

Now, the Ambassador of Pakistan starts the story from 21st November. I have here a report which has just come in: Security Council document S/10412 of 4th December. Paragraph 4 of that report states the following:

> "4. On 3rd December 1971, the Chief Military Observer, on the basis of reports from United Nations Military Observers, reported as follows (all time indications WPT)"—which I believe is West Pakistan Time—
>
> "(*a*) Srinagar airfield bombed at 1745 hours on 3rd December.
>
> (*b*) United Nations Military Observers at Field Station Punch reported at 2020 hours that Pakistan troops had crossed the cease-fire line at the

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Punch crossing point....at 1910 hours. At 2140 hours, the station reported that shelling had commenced from the India side of the line toward the Pakistan side, and at 2256 hours it reported that the area of Punch was under fire from Pakistan artillery.

(*c*) Field station Kotli reported at 2145 hours that small-arms fire from Pakistan pickets towards Indian pickets had commenced at 1930 hours and was continuing.

(*d*) Field Station Jammu reported at 2245 hours that heavy artillery fire from both sides had commenced at 2215 hours and was continuing.

(*e*) Field station Sialkot reported at 2250 hours that rounds of artillery were landing in their vicinity.

(*f*) Field station Rajouri reported at 2250 hours that they had been informed by the local military authority that fighting was taking place along the cease-fire line from Punch to Naushera.

(*g*) The Chief Military Observer considers that hostilities along the cease-fire line have commenced, and he will instruct the Military Observers to remain at their stations."

Therefore, to begin with, the whole picture given by the Ambassador of Pakistan is a build-up for military action. Now, he asked the question, why is it necessary for Pakistan to take military action against India, which is so much more powerful, has a more numerous population, and so on? The answer to that question is very simple. Pakistan, for the last 23 years, has not been broken up by India. Pakistan has been ruling its own people by military might, and at one stage, when they had the opportunity to express what kind of government they want, the Pakistan military machine was put into operation to suppress the wishes of the people. So, it is not India that is breaking up Pakistan; it is Pakistan that is breaking up Pakistan itself and, in the process, creating aggression against us.

The first stage of this problem was that when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the elected leader of Pakistan, held his election on the basis of a six-point programme, there was not a single complaint, even from the military rulers of Pakistan. They accepted that programme, and, as a basis of it, the elections were held. When the elections were held and it was found that Sheikh Mujibur's party had won 167 seats out of a total House of 300, what was the response of the Pakistani military rulers? They negotiated all over the place. Nothing was known of these negotiations until Mr. Bhutto produced his book, which is now known as *The Great Tragedy*.

I shall not weary the Council by reading this book, but it will show what machinations, what intrigues, had gone on in order to hold East Pakistan by force. We had repeatedly told United Nations Members, bilaterally and in various United Nations forums, that one cannot hold 75 million people by force of arms. Did anybody listen then?

We are most grateful that the concern of the Council has been shown over the recent events, but it still is a matter of great surprise and infinite regret to us that when so many men, women and children were butchered, raped, massacred, no action was taken. We cannot forget this background, if we are to consider the problem seriously.

After the elections were held, Mujibur Rahman was then described as a future Prime Minister of Pakistan. Today, he is rotting in gaol. No one knows what has happened to him. I have not met any man, woman or child who can

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come here and say "I have seen Mujibur Rahman in person". After that, military repressions were unleashed in a manner and in a way which would shock the conscience of mankind. Villages were burnt, children killed, women raped. And those of you who have seen the films of these incidents can bear testimony to them.

It is not good enough to say that Pakistan has gone through a great tragedy, and, therefore, we must all sympathize with it and forget these incidents. These incidents happened and, as a result, 10 million people came to India as refugees.

Now, was that not a kind of aggression? If aggression to another foreign country means that is strains its social structure, that it ruins its finances, that it has to give up its territory for sheltering the refugees, if it means that all its schools have to be closed, that its hospitals have to be closed, that its administration is to be denuded, what is the difference between that kind of aggression and the other type, the more classical type, when someone declares war, or something of that sort? But that is not enough. The Ambassador of Pakistan gives details that we went into Pakistan territory after 21st November. We did; I do not deny it.

We did this because we had no option. The Pakistan army put its cannons on the frontier and started shelling our civilian villages. They have been accustomed to killing their own people. I do not believe that is their privilege. I think this is a barbaric act. But, after having killed their own people, they now turn their guns on us. Eight hundred and ninety complaints of border violations have been made to Pakistan since 25th March. What was the response to these? They rejected them all. They continued to shell our villages, kill our civilians. What is the remedy left to us? To kill their villagers with guns on our side, or to go and silence their guns? We decided to silence their guns, to save our civilians.

Pakistan made a great rhetorical statement that it had not taken any military actions, that President Yahya Khan offered to withdraw, and so on and so forth. What are the facts? Pakistan moved its troops to the frontier long before we did. We responded by moving our troops. Pakistan declared a national emergency on 23rd November, 1971. We declared it on 3rd December, 1971. Pakistan has launched a campaign of "crush India", "conquer India", and has engaged in a completely orchestrated campaign of war mentality. As a response, we have said that we are not going to start a war; we shall not fight a war; but if anyone starts a war, we shall defend ourselves.

The question arises: Why is Pakistan doing all this? The answer again, as I said, is simple; but I had to give this little background. After having failed totally to suppress the Bengali rebellion, as they call it—the Bengali liberation front, as we call it—they have to find some device to justify their peculiar dilemma. They have sought to justify this dilemma by making rather fantastic proposals for inviting India to join and co-operate with them in repressing and punishing the Bengalis. In other words, we should enter into a partnership with Pakistan for carrying out the unspeakable deeds that they are perpetrating against the Bengali people. Well, we refused. We still refuse.

Then, there was a great hue and cry to internationalize the problem: diplomatic moves, various moves in the United Nations, through these proposals for observers, and this, that and the other—all designed to make it into an Indo-Pakistan dispute. Once it is turned into an Indo-Pakistan dispute, people will forget what the Pakistan army is doing in East Pakistan. They can go on burning their villages, raping their women and so on. People will then forget and say that it is an Indo-Pakistan dispute. It is extraordinary, therefore, to find that today, when pressure for action is so great in some quarters, this background is forgotten.

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Here we have three or four main factors, none of which has been properly considered by the Security Council. What happened to the campaign of genocide? Did the United Nations respond? What happened to the total elimination of all democratic rights? Did the United Nations respond? What happened to the millions of people who had been driven from their homes and who are creating such a burden on India? Was any solution found? After this position has been reached, a large number of appeals are made. All kinds of unreal statements of "normalcy" having returned to Pakistan are put out. To what extent normalcy has been restored can be judged by the fate of the United Nations relief programme in East Pakistan itself. Time and again, assurances were given that this relief equipment—trucks, vehicles, boats—would not be used by the Pakistan Army. But, this is precisely what has happened. Time and again, assurances were given that relief operations would reach the victims for whom they were intended. Only the other day, Mr. Paul-Marc Henry explained in great detail before the Third Committee that this was almost impossible. So, there is no normalcy; there is only butchery. As a result of butchery, more people have come over to our areas.

Much has been said about the return of the refugees. It would be interesting to know why the refugees are still coming if such normal, heavenly conditions exist in Pakistan. They are coming because they are being terrorized, they are being butchered. That is why they are coming. And we cannot take any more. We have told the international community time and again that we have come to the end of our tether. The situation is intolerable. We cannot go on paying $3 million a day to look after the refugees. And still they come—not because we are looking after them well; in fact, we are looking after them extremely badly with our limited resources. There are bad sanitary conditions and many other evils. The refugees are living in most horrible conditions. Nonetheless, they come. Nobody wants to leave his home to live in such conditions unless there are compelling reasons to do so. These compelling reasons are the brutalities of the Pakistan Army, the denial of the rights of 75 million people, the total negation of everything that human life stands for, the deliberate attempt to hold under colonial rule 75 million persons whom they have exploited for 23 years. I have all the statistics here. I shall make a fuller statement to establish all these points. There is complete domination, complete subjugation, complete military butchery. Against that the people revolted.

We hear a great deal about the revolutionary doctrine: peoples' rights. I do not know how these revolutionaries will behave when Bangla Desh becomes independent, as it certainly will. It will become independent, not merely because India helps it—India will continue to help it—but because the spirit of man in 75 million persons cannot be crushed. They have tried everything. They have tried military means. They have tried fictitious administration. They have tried phantom elections. They have put out bulletins, declarations. Nothing has any effect.

Now, the Security Council is meeting and we are regaled with a long tirade about Indian wickedness for breaking up Pakistan in our selfish interests, to become a great power—quotations from various books and jurists and academicians. They have broken themselves up. We are facing the consequences.

The only question now is: How do we stop this? It is not a Pakistan Representative that we have heard today; it is half a Pakistan Representative that we have heard today. The other half is waiting somewhere in the wings to be called. If the Security Council, in its wisdom, does not do it, the situation will not get better; it will get worse.

Much has been said about a cease-fire. I have looked at some of these documents floating around about a cease-fire. A cease-fire between whom and

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whom? Shall we release the Pakistani soldiers by a so-called cease-fire so that they can go on a rampage and kill the civilians in Dacca, in Chittagong, and in other places? Is this the kind of cease-fire we desire? Are the soldiers meant to fight and die for whatever cause they believe in, whether it is the cause of civilization or the cause of darkness, or are they to be relieved from this particular duty for which they have taken an oath so that they can go and butcher women and rape young girls of 19, 17, 15, 13, 11 and even less?

I hear some jocular comments from the gallery. Perhaps we are privileged to hear this humour, but I do not find it humorous at all. The Pakistani Delegation has probably arranged all this. Thank you.

I do not find it at all humorous that women should be raped. And, this raping is not because of lust, but because of a deliberate campaign to humiliate people. In our part of the world, if a woman is raped it has various social consequences of a most unbearable nature, and many people, rather dramatically perhaps, say that it is better to be killed than to be raped. The Pakistan army knows that, and this campaign of rape is on a systematic basis so that the people of East Pakistan can be humiliated.

This is the situation in which Pakistan finds itself. How to extricate itself? The only way to extricate itself is to involve India, and this has been done, as I said, first through refugee aggression, and now through military aggression. We have suffered at the hands of Pakistan four aggressions, and we are not going to take it any more. I wish to give a very serious warning to the Council that we shall not be a party to any solution that will mean continuation of oppression of East Pakistani people, whatever the pretext, whatever the ground on which this is brought about. So long as we have any light of civilized behaviour left in us, we shall protect them. We shall not fight their battle. Nobody can fight other people's battles. There are great powers seated around this table that have found out to their own cost that people cannot fight other people's battles, that they have to fight them themselves. But whatever help we can give, whether in the form of aid to the refugees, in the form of medicines, or in any other form, we shall continue to give it. Secondly, we shall continue to save our own national security and sovereignty. If Pakistan, by bombing our villages, by raising a hue and cry of internal interference or crossing the fronteir, believes that we shall just quietly and take all these killings, I think they should think again. We will not permit our national security, our safety or our way of life, to be jeopardized by any of these means. Let there be no doubt about that.

I should also make it quite clear that this build-up of military attack has been accompanied by the most absurd statements. Pakistan now comes up and says, "Why do you not shake hands and be friends?" Yet, President Yahya Khan made a statement in *Le Monde* of Paris in which he described our Prime Minister in such offensive terms that, in spite of all my bad training, I cannot bring myself to say those words. This is the kind of people we are dealing with. They have neither a solid base, nor any civilized standards, nor any political wisdom at all.

Pakistan is saying: "We offered to have observers. We offered withdrawal", and so forth. Why are the situations first created and then all these offers made? But about one thing that they could do, not a word is said. They could come to a political settlement with the elected leaders. That could be quite peaceful. But no, that is not to be done. All our friends tell us that great pressure has been brought to bear on President Yahya Khan to come to a political settlement. And, what is the result? Nil, absolutely nil. The great General does not listen to the other great generals, perhaps.

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So, there is no way open for Pakistan now except to heat up the military situation—which it has done, as I explained, first on the eastern front by bombing our villages, and on the western front by a wanton attack on our cities, by suddenly, on the second night, sending several planes. The Ambassador of Pakistan says, "We bombed only a few cities and villages near the frontier". But they came as far and as deep down as Agra—300 miles.

Is that a picture of premeditated armed intervention on the part of India? Would the Prime Minister of India go to Calcutta to see the refugee camps, if she was thinking of launching an attack on Pakistan on that day? If the Security Council believes that, let it believe it, but I would warn again that nothing will stop us from protecting our own territory, integrity and sovereignty, and our national security and our human values.

Without taking too much time, I wish to say that I hope I shall be able to reply to all the little details which the Pakistan Ambassador gave; but today, I want to put this broad picture in front of the Security Council and to hear what the others have to say before I come back again. My purpose is, again, to say that the main parties to this dispute, whether militarily, politically, civilly or any other way we look at it, are East Pakistan and West Pakistan—East Pakistan as represented by Bangla Desh, who were elected, as I said, with the army's full consent.

Incidentally, the army had the full authority to cancel the Constitution, even after it had been drawn, but then got cold feet, according to Mr. Bhutto. If such a request is made, President Yahya Khan will find it very difficult to reject the proposal.

So, there was no alternative left but to crush. And how was that process of crushing carried out? Negotiations were carried on in Dacca in most extraordinary circumstances, and at the same time, the Pakistan army was reinforcing itself. Today, we are told that some plane which was hijacked was hijacked by Indian agents. If it was done like that, if it was done by Indian agents, why was the hijacking incident, the blowing-up of a plane, greeted with parades in the Lahore streets and televised as if it were some kind of civilized conduct that any State should be proud of? And if anyone knows anything about Pakistan—and I do know a little—none of these things could happen without direct Government approval.

Now again we are told that all these massacres were necessary because something had happened before 25th March. If anything did happen, the world did not know about it. Thirty-five foreign correspondents were bundled out, on the night of the 28th, from the Lahore Hotel and the Dacca Hotel. They were there, they did not write. They are not worried about reprisals in West Pakistan. In fact, nothing of the sort happened. It is one of the many afterthoughts that have been built up on the propaganda front of Pakistan over the last nine months.

Over the last nine months, the struggle of the armless, defenceless people of East Bengal has been going on against the regime of military men in West Pakistan. It is not West Pakistanis who are involved; it is the military regime that is doing all this, and there is already a murmur of protest even in West Pakistan, little as they have heard of what has actually gone on. They have little wish to believe all this. They are decent human beings. They do not believe that their own army—of which, I think, they are quite rightly proud—could stoop to these low deeds, these massacres and these barbaric attempts to suppress a population of 75 million people.

Under the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, there are certain criteria laid down concerning how and when an area can be regarded as

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non-self-governing. If we applied those criteria to East Bengal, and if we had a little more morality, we could declare East Pakistan a non-self-governing territory. Let it not be said that because I talk of morality I am self-righteous—although I think that, as between Pakistan and India, we are so right and they are so wrong that I have every right to be self-righteous. This is treated as if it were some kind of monstrous charge to be right. It is not a monstrous charge to be right. We are glad that we have, on this particular occasion, absolutely nothing but the purest of motives and the purest of intentions: to rescue the people of East Bengal from what they are suffering. If that is a crime, the Security Council can judge for itself. However, if a crime is to be perpetrated by actions such as some of the proposals for resolutions today envisage, and India is to be made a partner of that crime, we shall resolutely and stoutly say no. No one can remove us from our path by mere resolutions and mere exhortations. The question of a cease-fire, as I have already mentioned, is one not between India and Pakistan, but between the Pakistan army and the Bangla Desh people. Therefore, let us hear them before we go further into this debate.

Statement by Mr. George Bush, Representative of the U.S.A.
December 4, 1971

From reports that we have all received today, it appears that a state of open hostilities exists between India and Pakistan. There is a grave threat to the peace and stability of Asia. This recourse to war by the nations of South Asia is tragic and unnecessary.

In the months since last March, we have all been witnesses to the unfolding of a major tragedy. Coming on the heels of the cyclone last year, one of the greatest natural disasters of modern times, civil strife in East Pakistan has caused untold suffering to millions of people, has created a new and tragic refugee community in India of unparalleled dimensions and has brought India and Pakistan to open hostilities. It is time for the United Nations to act to bring the great moral authority of this body effectively and quickly to bear to preserve the peace between two of its largest Members.

These events of recent months have been profoundly disturbing to the United States. As the President made clear in his report to the Congress earlier this year, our aim in South Asia has been to build a structure of peace and stability within which the great economic and social problems of the region can be addressed. The effectiveness of our efforts in this task is necessarily determined by the ability of the nations of the area to solve their mutual political problems and to build domestic, political and economic systems within which orderly change is feasible. The deteriorating military situation, with which we are now confronted, makes it increasingly impossible for us to contribute to the economic development and political stability of the area, to which we are committed.

My Government is, therefore, deeply concerned by the hostilities which are now taking place along the borders of India and East Pakistan. Hostilities have intensified in East Pakistan. There have been admitted incursions of Indian troops across the border of East Pakistan. It is now clear that the forces of both countries are involved in military actions along the frontier between West Pakistan and India. It is of the utmost urgency that there be an end to these hostilities which could escalate into all-out conflict.

We are not oblivious to the complex factors which are at the root of this tragic and dangerous situation. But the United States can not over-emphasize its conviction that nothing can come out of a resort to force except greater tragedy for the peoples of South Asia.

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The United States Government has made a major effort in South Asia to ease the human suffering caused by the present crisis, to prevent war and to facilitate a political solution to the problem. The United States early recognized the need to assist refugees in India and to help avert famine in East Pakistan, and promptly responded by providing major assistance to United Nations efforts in both countries. We have already committed $245 million to these international humanitarian efforts. The danger of famine has been averted, but large relief requirements remain in both countries. The President, therefore, has requested the Congress to appropriate an additional $250 million, to which would be added further food shipments if necessary.

The United States Government, which values its close relations with both India and Pakistan, has made a vigorous effort to avert war which would increase human suffering and delay return of refugees to their homes. We have called on both India and Pakistan to avoid actions which would increase military tensions. Specifically, the United States Government has proposed that both sides withdraw their military forces from their borders. Pakistan accepted this proposal. Regrettably, India did not. The United States has repeatedly made clear its view that increasing military tensions prevent progress towards resolution of the political problems that caused the refugees to leave their homes and provided the stimulus for guerrilla war. The United States Government has sought to facilitate negotiations leading to a political settlement of the East Pakistan problem. The United States pointed out to the Indian Government that an increase of military tensions could only stand in the way of necessary progress towards a peaceful political settlement and the return of refugees.

We recognize that a fundamental political accommodation still has not been achieved in East Pakistan. While we continue to feel that the only proper solution is a political one, we do not find justification for the repeated violation of frontiers that has taken place in East Pakistan. The immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces are essential conditions for progress towards a political solution in East Pakistan.

This body cannot accept recourse to force to solve this problem. Indian officials have now announced that regular Indian forces have been instructed to move into East Pakistan in what the Indian Defence Secretary is quoted in the press as calling a "no holds barred" operation. The very purpose which draws us together here—building a peaceful world—will be thwarted if a situation is accepted in which a government intervenes across its borders in the affairs of another with military force in violation of the United Nations Charter.

We ask this world body to join us, now, in calling upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to terminate their military confrontation by agreeing to an immediate cease-fire and to the immediate withdrawal of forces from foreign territories. Surely this Council, in this troubled situation, can ask no less.

The Secretary-General has endeavoured on several occasions to impress upon all of us the gravity of the situation in South Asia. He has offered his personal good offices to assist in a solution of these problems. Regrettably, the Government of India has not welcomed his initiatives. Most recently, on 20th October, he warned, in letters to Prime Minister Gandhi and President Yahya, that "this situation could all too easily be disastrous to the two countries principally concerned, but might also constitute a major threat to the wider peace". While both Governments have professed a continuing commitment to peace and a determination not to initiate hostilities, the situation has continued to deteriorate until now regular forces are engaged at various points.

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It is time all of us heeded the Secretary-General's call. It is time both countries accepted an immediate cease-fire and agreed on immediate steps to withdraw their forces from foreign territory. It is time the Government of India joined the Government of Pakistan in heeding the Secretary-General's offer of his good offices to assist in the process of reconciliation that must then begin.

We have all seen too much of war. We have all seen and heard too much of a resort to force to resolve the problems that divide us. The time is past when any of us could justifiably resort to war to bring about change in a neighbouring country that might better suit our national interests as we see them. All of us know—certainly the leaders of India and Pakistan know—that the human needs of our people are not met through the terrible cost of war.

Let us then all, and quickly, agree that a cease-fire in this tragic hour is essential and that a withdrawal of forces from foreign territories must take place without delay so that progress can be made in building the conditions in East Pakistan—political, economic and social—in which the refugees will return and in which peace can be ensured. The United States is prepared to support appropriate and effective measures by the Council to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a withdrawal of forces so that conditions may be created for progress towards a political solution conducive to a lasting peace in the area.

In an effort to end the bloodshed, to save lives, to reduce the untold suffering, we are introducing a draft resolution which, if promptly enacted, offers the world a chance to escape another ghastly war. On behalf of my Government, I have the honour to submit this draft resolution which, in our view, meets the requirements of the situation before us. I should like very briefly to read it.

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

CONVINCED that hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all steps required for an immediate cessation of hostilities;

2. *Calls for* an immediate withdrawal of armed personnel present on the territory of the other to their own sides of the India-Pakistan borders;

3. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, at the request of the Government of India or Pakistan, to place observers along the India-Pakistan borders to report on the implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawals, drawing as necessary on UNMOGIP personnel;

4. *Calls upon* the Governments of India and Pakistan and others concerned to exert their best efforts toward the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan;

5. *Calls upon* all States to refrain from any action that would endanger the peace in the area;

6. *Invites* the Governments of India and Pakistan to respond affirmatively to the proposal of the Secretary-General offering good offices to secure and maintain peace in the sub-continent;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of this resolution."

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Statement by Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, Representative of France

December 4, 1971

In speaking now, we are discharging a two-fold duty: that of contributing as a Permanent Member of the Council to the restoration of peace by every means and that which is dictated to us by the ties of friendship which bind us both with India and Pakistan, by the great esteem which we feel for these two countries and peoples and our desire to see them devote in peace all their resources to development.

No power can itself alone resolve an infinitely serious crisis which the ethnic and political geography of the region renders even more complex. But when war exists—and, tragically, it does exist—it is up to the entire international community, and particularly Security Council and its Members upon whom the Charter confers special duties, to unite so as to shoulder their responsibilities to bring an end to acts of war and to find a basis of understanding between the parties concerned.

The present situation has two aspects: one which is at the origin of the crisis and which is political in nature. It affects relations between the Government of Islamabad and the population of East Pakistan. It is subject to a political solution susceptible of receiving acceptance by both sides. The second aspect is derived from the first, by reason of the influx of refugees to India. It affects relations between that country and Pakistan. It has created a state of tension which after much violence has eventually reached the stage of open acts of hostility. A civil war has thus been transformed into a war between nations.

This dual aspect of the crisis gives rise to a dilemma. If we were to consider only the first aspect of the crisis, our action risks being considered as interference in internal affairs, and we appreciate the fact that Pakistan is attached both to its sovereignty and its integrity. But we if were to consider only the second aspect, our action risks being considered as partial and without going to the root of the matter, and we appreciate the fact that India cannot feel satisfied with superficial solutions when it has millions of refugees under its care.

It is this dilemma which explains the difficulties confronting the United Nations, the warnings of the Secretary-General and the hesitations of the Security Council for three months to be seized of the question. But we think that it is no longer permissible for us to remain in the grip of this dilemma. We consider that the crisis must be given a global approach to which all the parties must contribute. If they do so in this spirit, we feel sure that a just and reasonable solution can be found.

My Government has, since the beginning of the crisis and during the last few days, intensified its efforts to convince those with whom it is dealing on both sides and to avoid a bloody conflict which could only add additional burdens to a population that has already been decimated and severely devastated. With the necessary discretion, we have made suggestions in order to lay the basis for a peaceful settlement, which of necessity must be political and which must be based on the consent of the populations concerned. Other States which share our concern to avoid a catastrophe have acted in the same direction, and we have not ceased to let it be known that we are prepared to join in our efforts to prevent, in the words of our Minister for Foreign Affairs, "the supreme injustice, namely, war, from overtaking millions of people who seem to be the victims of so many cataclysms".

While these bilateral efforts have not so far brought about the desired results, it is now the duty of the international community to issue an appeal to these two powers, our friends, so that arms will be silenced, so that a remedy will be brought to the distressed, so that courageous undertaking of UNEPRO will be

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continued in order to put an end to the great suffering of the populations. It is therefore necessary for the solidarity of our community to be affirmed and organized first to put an end to the fighting, but also to meet the most immediate sufferings of the people and to deal with the causes of the crisis, with the consent of the parties, by negotiation, to reach a just and peaceful settlement, because only a generous and peaceful settlement can bring to the expectant populations a response which the latest events have rendered even more urgent, a political response commensurate with the scope and diversity of the problem.

We are deeply convinced that we have to make a great effort ourselves, that peace requires, that divergencies be silenced, because division can only perpetuate the conflict.

For all these reasons, we hope that a substantive draft resolution will be submitted which will be capable of receiving the unanimous support of the Council. It is in this spirit that we shall continue consultations with the various Delegations so as to endeavour to reach a solution. It is with these considerations in mind that we shall pronounce ourselves in due course on the draft resolutions that will be submitted.

Statement by Mr. Huang Hua, Representative of China
December 4, 1971

Recently, the Government of India openly dispatched troops to invade East Pakistan, thus giving rise to a large-scale armed conflict and thereby aggravating tension in the India-Pakistan sub-continent and in Asia as a whole.

The Chinese Government and people wish to express deep concern over this, and are paying close attention to the development of the situation.

The question of East Pakistan is purely the internal affair of Pakistan. No one has the right to interfere in it. The Government of India, using the question of East Pakistan as a pretext, has committed armed aggression against Pakistan. That is not permissible. The Government of India says its dispatch of troops into East Pakistan is purely for purposes of self-defence. That is the law of the jungle. The facts prove that India has committed aggression against Pakistan, not that Pakistan is threatening India's security.

According to the logic of the Indian Government, any country can use self-defence as a pretext for invading other countries. What kind of guarantee is there of a State's sovereignty and territorial integrity, then? The Government of India says it is sending troops to invade East Pakistan to help with the repatriation of East Pakistan refugees. That is completely untenable. At present in India, there are a large number of so-called Chinese–Tibetan refugees. The Government of India is grooming the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary rebels, the Dalai Lama. Using the Indian Government's logic, is it going to use that as a pretext to invade China?

The Government of Pakistan proposed that the armed forces of both sides withdraw from the front, disengage and solve the question of the refugees of East Pakistan through negotiations between both Governments. That is completely reasonable. But the Indian Government has most unreasonably rejected that proposal. That shows that the Government of India has not the least intention to settle the question of the East Pakistan refugees, but intends to capitalize on the question as a pretext for committing further subversion and aggression against Pakistan.

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The Chinese Delegation is of the view that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council should surely condemn the act of aggression by the Government of India and demand that the Indian Government immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces from Pakistan.

Lastly, on behalf of the Chinese Government, I should like to state that the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Government and people of Pakistan and support their just struggle against the Indian Government and its aggression.

I should also like to point out to the Security Council, the United Nations, and the people of the entire world, that this act of aggression of the Indian Government was launched with the support of social imperialism. Countless facts have proved that.

That is all I wish to say now. I reserve my right to say more at a later time.

Statement by Mr. Jacob Malik, Representative of the U.S.S.R.

December 4, 1971

We cannot fail to express profound concern and alarm in connexion with the problem which is before the Council at today's meeting and which is the subject of its pre-occupations. We have profound respect for both India and Pakistan. We have developed, we are developing, and we shall continue to develop, friendly relations with both these countries, countries which are worthy of all respect. We are proud that it was precisely the Soviet Union which, some time ago, when in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent a threat of conflict emerged after a serious clash had arisen between these two countries friendly to us, became the mediator. It was precisely the Soviet Union and the head of the Soviet Government that applied all efforts to see to it that, in Tashkent, an agreement could be achieved between the two parties, thereby averting in the Indian sub-continent the serious threat of war at that time.

We are proud of the fact that the Tashkent spirit has gone into history as one of the noble efforts of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, of the Soviet Government, to help find ways to settle the sharp difference that had arisen between the two States of the Indian sub-continent, that could have resulted in an outbreak of war.

In view of those facts, any chatter about social imperialism is playing into the hand only of the imperialists. It is precisely chatter, prattle and demagogy about social imperialism that will defend imperialism and its policy of aggression, that will defend the policy of establishing military aggressive blocs, and drawing numerous countries, including Pakistan, into them. It defends military dictatorship, terror and oppression.

It defends the crushing of democracy and of the forces of democracy. It assists those who are fighting against national liberation movements.

Interested in peace and tranquillity throughout the world, including the Indian sub-continent, the Soviet Union has objectively and impartially approached the consideration of the situation that has been produced there. What is the cause of the situation which, as I have already pointed out, has been acknowledged by nine Members of the Security Council to be a deteriorating situation? Who would be so bold here at this table to say that the deterioration in the situation occurred only on 3rd December, and that before that everything was good and prosperous? I take it that not a single one among those present here would be so bold as to say precisely that.

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That is why the attempt on the part of certain speakers to close their eyes to the past, to what has been taking place since the beginning of this year, specifically since March of this year, is a policy of the ostrich, a policy of closing one's eyes to reality, a policy of hiding one's head in the sand. We are against such a policy.

It is clear to all of us that the subject of discussion in the Security Council is, as has been pointed out on several occasions, the situation that has been produced in East Pakistan as a result of the actions of the Pakistan military authorities. We must be objective and we must call a spade a spade. We have a right to that. That right is confirmed by history, when we spoke as the impartial mediator between the two parties, a mediator who strove, strives and will continue to strive, to achieve further improvement in relations with these two highly respected States and their peoples.

It was precisely as a result of the application of force and terror against the people of East Pakistan—and this has been so convincingly related to the Council by the Representative of India, Ambassador Sen—that millions of people were compelled to leave their homeland, to forsake their property and land, to flee to a neighbouring country, India, and become political refugees.

This is the reality. These are the facts. Whoever wishes to close his eyes to reality will find it very difficult to discover the right way out of that situation. The exacerbation of the tensions in the Indian sub-continent and the events there are well known. It is there that the serious political crisis occurred. The timely elimination of that crisis by peaceful political means would have eliminated the complications in that sub-continent.

It is known that as long ago as December 1970, for the first time in the history of the development of that country, universal elections were held in Pakistan for the National Assembly. Among the political parties in Pakistan that took part in the national elections was the Awami League, headed by an important political figure, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who has already been mentioned in the statement by the Representative of India. The Awami League went to the elections with slogans which called for the implementation of a programme of six points, the essence of which was to provide the province of the country political and economic autonomy within the context or framework of the Pakistan State—and I wish to emphasize this: within the framework of the Pakistan State. The programme advanced also claims for the implementation in Pakistan of progressive social and economic changes. The foreign policy platform of that League provided for the development of friendly relations of Pakistan with all countries, including the neighbouring Indian State. The programme provided for a fight for the withdrawal of Pakistan from the military and aggressive blocs of CENTO and SEATO. This is the kernel of the problem. This is something that no Member of the Security Council can ignore, even those who are trying to divert attention from it.

In the election, that party obtained an absolute majority of the seats—as has already been confirmed by the Representative of India in his statement—167 seats out of 313.

According to the logic of things, it had the right to form a Government. This did not happen. The Pakistan authorities, under various pretexts, prevented the participation of this League in the Government. Moreover, Rahman was arrested on the accusation of having betrayed the interests of the country; his collaborators and the people of the area were subjected to mass repression by the use of airplanes, tanks and firearms.

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Within the geographical context of East Pakistan, as a result of the repression by the military authorities, a crisis emerged in East Pakistan and this became, as it progressed, a source of tension throughout the whole of the subcontinent. From the very emergence of the serious political crisis in East Pakistan and the subsequent tragic events, the Soviet Union maintained a consistent policy designed to eliminate by political means, without the use of force, the problems that have arisen in East Pakistan. The Soviet Union and its Government on several occasions have appealed to the Government of Pakistan to adopt the most immediate measures to put an end to the repression against the population of East Pakistan and to avert any further complication and exacerbation of the situation. The continuation of the repressive actions and bloodshed in East Pakistan, as was to be expected, merely complicated and rendered more difficult the solution of the problems that had emerged there.

In connexion with the events in East Pakistan, the President of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Podgorny, addressed to the President of Pakistan, President Yahya Khan, in April of this year, an "earnest appeal to take the most urgent measures to put an end to the bloodshed and repression directed against the population of East Pakistan, and to turn instead to methods of peaceful political settlement". That same letter said:

> "We are convinced that this would be in accord with the interests of the entire Pakistani people; that it would promote the cause of the maintenance of peace in that region and would bring a peaceful solution to the most important problems. It would be welcomed with satisfaction by the whole of the Soviet people."

Unfortunately, however, events in East Pakistan took an entirely different turn.

The Government of India, for its part, similarly addressed numerous appeals on various occasions to the United Nations and to different States of the world concerning measures that should be adopted to solve the problem of East Bengal. But in spite of all such appeals, no measures were adopted for resolving this problem. On the contrary, certain allies of Pakistan in their military bloc insisted on placing Pakistan and India on the same footing and viewing them in the same light, insisted on placing equal responsibility on the country where the internal crisis had occurred and on the one which subsequently became the victim of that crisis.

Therein lies the root-cause of the fact that no appropriate measures were undertaken. It was precisely those who approach this problem from that sort of position who prevented the adoption of timely and equitable measures and held back events.

The Government of Pakistan, on its part, likewise took no action whatsoever to resolve the problems that had emerged in East Pakistan. As a result, the population of East Pakistan have continued to be persecuted and to live in fear and uncertainty for the future. This can be seen from the continuing flow of East Pakistani refugees into India. At the beginning of this meeting, I called attention, for the benefit of Members of the Council, to this. Let each one of us visualize the position of India, onto the territory of which has come this flood of foreigners—10 million people. Ten million people are a whole State. A population was transferred from one State into another, on a gigantic scale. A whole State, in fact, was so transferred. Why do I compare this in scale with a State? Let us take the United Nations. It has 131 States as Members of the Organization. On the basis of information from the Secretariat, 88 States among them have populations of less than 10 million. There, Members of the

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Security Council, lies the concrete reality: 88 countries, Members of the United Nations have populations that are numerically smaller than the population that has been transferred as refugees—for certain known reasons—from East Pakistan into the territory of India. I am firmly convinced that not a single Representative here at this table would wish such a calamity ever to befall his own country, a calamity in which 10 million foreigners come and settle on its territory. This is the reality, these are the facts. Or is this social imperialism?

The existence of the serious internal crisis in Pakistan has been acknowledged by our friend the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. Shahi. He acknowledged it and he stated in his speech here that there is in Pakistan a serious internal crisis. That is the first point.

Secondly, in his speech he stated that that crisis has acquired an international character. Thus, the official Representative of Pakistan, in his speech in the Security Council, has officially acknowledged these two important and decisive aspects of the case: first, that in his country there is a serious domestic crisis, and second, that that crisis has acquired an international character.

It is true that Ambassador Shahi was not entirely consistent when he asked whether it is conceivable that the Security Council should deal with the root-causes of that crisis. He said that would be an interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. That same theory was repeated by another speaker following him. But we all know that under the Charter, the Security Council unquestionably has the right to examine the causes of the emergence of dangerous situations that threaten international peace and security. The Security Council likewise has the right to call upon a State or States to take steps to eliminate the causes involved and to adopt measures to prevent such cases from aggravating the international situation and resulting in the threat of direct military conflict.

The deterioration of the situation has officially been recognized in the letter of nine Members of the Security Council. But once you have stated A, you must state B. This they did, and they recognized the deterioration of the situation. But they have not spoken of the cause; and in their proposal, in their statements, and in their draft resolutions, we see dragged in this SEATO and CENTO, and possibly even NATO, idea of placing on an equal footing both of the parties, the country where the crisis originated and the country that has turned out to be the victim of that crisis and of the deterioration in the situation.

This argument has been used on numerous occasions by a certain group of countries when matters are being considered in the Security Council. Yet, the right of the Council to take measures and call upon States for the elimination of factors causing a deterioration of the international situation flows directly from Articles 39, 40 and 41 of the Charter. Article 40 specifically provides that the Security Council,

> "In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation,....may....call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable."

In other words, the Security Council has the discretion—in other words, the unlimited possibility—to choose its means for preventing deterioration of an international situation. Thus, the Council has not the right to close its eyes to the cause of the emergence and deterioration of the situation. The events which have been taking place and are taking place in East Pakistan are precisely the ones that have gone ouside the national framework and they have complicated the situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and thereby have acquired an

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international character, and this now has been acknowledged and recognized by all of us on the basis of the statement of the Pakistan Representative.

The full inconsistency of accusations on the part of Pakistan and its great protectors that India allegedly has inspired the fight of the people of East Pakistan against the Pakistani authorities, is entirely clear. It is entirely clear, after all, that the flow of refugees has been brought about not by any actions of India or its intrigues. Why should India conduct intrigues in order to inherit 10 million foreigners and have so much difficulty with them ? It has to clothe and feed them, give them protection against cold and rain and provide shelter for them. I would emphasize this again. Let each Representative visualize his own country in that position. Why does India need such action and thereby bring upon itself such a calamity? It is a calamity. These are the fables about the fact that India has through its machinations produced the situation in East Pakistan. In fact, those inhuman repressions that are being conducted there are the principal cause. They are continuing and they are applied on a mass scale. It is as a result of these that upon the territory of India we now find 10 million East Pakistani refugees, and we see the emergence of one of the most serious problems, which has no equal, considering the number of victims involved. I have not any information at hand, but even Hitler's aggression did not bring about such a sudden translation of millions of people. Millions of people were in fact transferred, millions perished, but such a sudden transfer of such huge numbers of people did not take place during the Second World War. So, how can we close our eyes to this reality and this actual state of affairs?

The question, naturally, arises as far as those are concerned who wish to close their eyes: has the Council the right to consider and discuss this aspect of the problem, the cause which has brought about such a serious and dangerous situation, or can it consider only part of the problem, starting from, say, yesterday's date? This is the way the question has been put by reality itself. We all know what difficulties were produced for the Government of India by the flow of refugees. It has created a certain serious tension in the social, economic and political life of India, and it has brought about difficulties in the implementation of social and economic programmes which had been elaborated by that country. In this connexion, we cannot fail to mention the fact that it was said here that India had transferred some of its troops to the borders of East Pakistan. What self-respecting State which cares for its security is not going to displace part of its armed forces to the territory where there was this on-rush of 10 million refugees? Such a Government would have been ignoring its most elementary responsibilities. There is no idea what these 10 million foreigners could produce on the territory of that State, and action must be taken accordingly. To accuse India of the fact that it has transferred part of its armed forces to that place where there were suddenly 10 million foreigners is, to say the least, manufacturing causes for accusing India.

In the course of the present session of the General Assembly, during the discussion of the question of East Pakistan refugees in the Third Committee, the Representatives of numerous countries very highly praised the humane approach of India to the problem of these refugees. They showed understanding when they spoke of the difficulties that have emerged for that country in connexion with the mass flow of refugees. The Indian side on numerous occasions showed its goodwill towards these refugees. I stated its resolve to take all necessary measures to stop their flow into India and to ensure the speedy return to their homeland of those refugees that found themselves upon Indian territory. The leaders of the Indian Government indicated that India cannot bear responsibility for the upkeep of millions of East Pakistani refugees upon its territory and justly called for their speedy return to their homeland, where the refugees must be

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guaranteed safety and normal living conditions. The objective facts, however, indicate that, in spite of the broadly publicized amnesty in East Pakistan, according to the international press, only a very limited number of people have been released from the prisons. The majority of the active leaders and the Members of the Legislative Assembly of East Pakistan continue to languish in prison, and Rahman is on trial. In these circumstances, upon the territory of East Pakistan, according to the information in the press, great discontent has been brought to the surface among the people. They are trying to defend their rights and human dignity, most elementary rights that are denied to them. These are the facts, and in this light, whoever attempts to place here on the same footing the responsibilities of Pakistan and India for the situation that has been produced, is making a great mistake. It is entirely clear that if the military administration of Pakistan had not interrupted the talks with the lawful representatives of the Pakistani people and had not carried out its mass repressions, the Security Council and the world community would not have to be dealing with consideration of the question of the domestic crisis in East Pakistan and its international consequences.

Much has been said here about who started the military action, and an attempt was made clearly to shift the blame from the guilty party to the innocent party. Some ignore official communications contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 3rd December (S/10412). Apparently, some find it inconvenient to read or to draw attention to those documents. And yet, on page 4, in paragraph 4 (*b*) of the Russian text it is stated quite clearly that:

> " United Nations Military Observers at Field Station, Poonch reported at 2020 hours that Pakistan troops had crossed the cease-fire line at the Poonch crossing point (NR °567) at 1910 hours. At 2140 hours, the station reported that shelling had commenced from the India side of the line...." (S/10412)—in other words, after Pakistani troops had crossed the cease-fire line.

That is from the official report of the Observer. Whoever does not believe this may perhaps wish to reject it or produce other evidence. This was also referred to by the Representative of India.

There is also the statement by the Prime Minister of India, Madame Indira Gandhi, in Parliament on 4th December. In that statement we read the following:

> " This morning (in other words, on the 4th), the Government of West Pakistan has declared a war upon us. Last evening, the West Pakistan Air Force violated our air space wantonly and attacked a large number of our airfields. "

It might be said that that statement comes from only one side; but it is officially confirmed by an official document, the report of the Secretary-General, with a reference to the reports of the United Nations Military Observers. These are facts; this is reality.

The dangerous course of events in the Indian sub-continent calls for the speedy attainment of a political settlement in East Pakistan that would take into account the Will and the inalienable rights and lawful interests of its population. It is necessary to achieve such a political settlement as would produce a safe set of cirmustances for the return of the refugees to their homes and to the places where they lived, and that would ensure a full guarantee on the part of the Pakistani authorities that the refugees would not be persecuted, that they would be given an opportunity to live and work in East Pakistan, peacefully and in an atmosphere of security.

The Soviet delegation has very carefully listened to the statement of the Representative of the United States. The first thought that emerges after having heard that statement is that it would be well if all, or at least part, of the good

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wishes and proposals made by the Representative of the United States could be applied in Indo-China—and first and foremost, in regard to the immediate withdrawal of troops.

The Soviet Delegation is studying the draft resolution introduced by the United States Delegation from the stand-point that I mentioned at the beginning of my statement. We will have occasion to make our views known, but our first impression is that it is a one-sided and unacceptable draft, given that approach, which is peculiar to those who are trying to shift responsibility from the guilty to the innocent.

Statement by Sir Colin Crowe, Representative of the U.K.
December 4, 1971

My Delegation is one of the signatories of the letter requesting you, Mr. President, to convene immediately an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the recent Deteriorating situation which has led to armed clashes between India and Pakistan. We are grateful to you for having acted so promptly on that request.

We have listened with care to the debate so far, and it is clear that we are nearly all of us inspired by an urgent desire to stop hostilities, to stop the flow of blood. My Delegation's purpose in joining in the request to you to convene this meeting was to ensure that the Security Council became seized of the situation.

Over the last few months, as other Representatives have pointed out, efforts have been made through informal consultations to see if the Security Council could take useful action to avert a crisis, to develop the possibility of a peaceful solution. Similarly, many Governments, including my own have, tried through direct contacts with both sides to achieve the same purpose. Unfortunately, these efforts have all so far failed.

My Delegation realizes that the mere fact that the Security Council has now met and been seized of the matter does not of itself make a solution any easier. It is a complex matter, and for that very reason requires a comprehensive solution. This will require careful thought, and we are in no position to apportion blame, to pass quick judgments, on the present or on the past. We must exert every effort to find a satisfactory, peaceful solution in accordance with the Charter. But the recent outbreak of large-scale hostilities has brought us up short.

We cannot evade our responsibilities. What must we do now? Our task, as Members of the highest World Body, charged with responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security, is to exert our influence to restore peace, to bring the fighting to a stop, and to secure the relief of suffering. My Delegation will be guided by that criterion.

I suggest that any proposal made should be considered in the context of whether or not they are likely to help us towards a satisfactory solution, and in this connexion I share the view of the Representative of France that unanimity is of the essence. It is in this spirit that my Delegation will examine all draft resolutions submitted here.

Statement by Mr. Huang Hua, Representative of China
December 5, 1971

The Chinese Delegation has presented a draft resolution (S/10421) to the Security Council on the question for consideration of the Members of this Council.

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Now, I should like to make some explanation, briefly, with regard to this draft resolution. An argument has been raised to the effect that a request can first be made for a cease-fire by both India and Pakistan and the cessation of all military actions, although the question of withdrawal of military forces can be deferred to a later date. That is an argument to which we definitely cannot agree, because the present objective situation is that the Indian Government has brazenly carried out subversion and aggression against Pakistan and flagrantly sent troops to invade Pakistan territory. In these circumstances, the key to the realization of peace and security on the sub-continent is that the Indian Government's subversion and aggression must be immediately stopped. Indian troops must withdraw from Pakistan territory immediately, unconditionally and completely.

The demand for only a cease-fire in place by the two sides, without a demand for withdrawal of Indian troops, is in effect tantamount to conniving at and encouraging aggression and to recognizing the Indian aggressor troops remaining in Pakistan territory as legal. To do so, would be of no help whatsoever to the settlement of the arms conflict between India and Pakistan or the relaxation of tension in that area. On the contrary, it would only bring extremely grave and dangerous results. Just as the Representative of Somalia said yesterday, have not the Resolutions passed by the United Nations on the question of the Middle East that failed to demand the immediate withdrawal of Israeli aggressor troops from Arab territory but only called for a cease-fire in place, resulted in legalizing the fruits of aggression and imposing them on the Arab countries and people and in creating in the Middle East the danger of aggression and war on a still larger scale?

The United Nations should in no way repeat time and again such a grave error of principle. Should it do so, the people throughout the world who uphold justice will have every reason to accuse the Security Council of being an accomplice in the scheme of India and her behind-the-scenes boss, Soviet social imperialism, to invade and occupy Pakistan territory and to dismember the State of Pakistan. We sincerely call upon the sponsor States to give serious consideration to such evil consequences. Therefore, we propose that clauses strongly condemning Indian armed aggression against Pakistan and demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Indian armed personnel that have invaded Pakistan territory, be added to the draft resolution under consideration.

Statement by Mr. Jacob Malik, Representative of the U.S.S.R.
December 5, 1971

Since the Representative of Saudi Arabia in the course of his remarks began a discussion of draft resolutions that have been introduced before the Security Council, the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. deems it essential to present a few considerations relating directly to the question under consideration and, in this connexion, to express its views and its appraisal of the draft resolutions that have been submitted thus far. During the examination of the question being considered in the Council, the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. has quite comprehensively displayed and has emphasized the causes of the military conflict that has been brought about in the Hindustan Peninsula. It is entirely clear that the main cause is the well-known series of actions of the Government of Pakistan against East Pakistani populations. This clearly emerges both from the report of the Secretary-General (document S/10410) as well as from the detailed facts that have been adduced in the statement of the Representative of India. And indeed the Pakistani representative himself in his statement, as has already been pointed out, acknowledged the presence of an unsettled serious crisis in East Pakistan which,

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as is clear for all now, has acquired international character and has given rise to international consequences.

The discussion of this question in the Council has shown, however, that the Representatives of certain countries are attempting to avoid this main issue. They are trying to close their eyes to reality and to steer the Security Council away from the main cause, thereby steering the United Nations away from the genuine causes of the conflict and the events that are taking place in the Hindustan Peninsula.

And yet, it is entirely clear that the centre of attention of the Council should be the situation that has been brought about in East Pakistan as the result of the actions of the Pakistani authorities—and that is the genuine cause of the conflict. It is not possible to agree with the Delegation of my friend the Representative of Saudi Arabia that someone else is guilty for what has taken place and is taking place in East Pakistan.

Unfortunately, in the statements of some Delegations, including the statement of the Representative of one of the countries neighbouring India, an attempt was made to distort the true picture of the situation and to pass over in silence the genuine cause of the conflict, representing the situation as if it were India that had inspired the struggle of the people of East Pakistan against the Pakistani authorities. That is a fabricated and groundless version. It is aimed, first, at justifying the policy of oppression, terror and violence that has been carried out in East Pakistan and, secondly, at shifting the blame again.

As a result of the discussion of this question in the Security Council, it is in practice becoming progressively all too clear that the essence of the matter lies precisely in the fact that the repressive actions of the Pakistani authorities *vis-a-vis* the people of East Pakistan have led to the death of many thousands of peaceful citizens and have caused virtually 10 million persons to flee to neighbouring India in an attempt to save their lives.

Some speakers here have tried to make out that it was unprecedented for the Security Council to be dealing with this main, genuine cause of the conflict. Attempts have also been made to find shelter behind the clause concerning alleged non-interference in domestic affairs of States. And yet, one does not need to exert much effort or spend much time in order all too clearly to understand that the very phenomenon itself—the flight of almost 10 million persons from their own country to someone else's country to save their lives—is unprecedented. Moreover, this unprecedented phenomenon has brought in its wake a serious set of international consequences and the exacerbation of the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula, and this has been recognized in an official document that has been signed by the Representatives of nine Members of the Security Council, as has already been pointed out, and is also recognized by the reports of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The course of the discussion in the Council has also shown—indeed it has confirmed—that the armed resistance of the people of East Pakistan to the punitive actions of the armed forces of Pakistan has not been brought about by any action on the part of India, but is the natural reaction of people against whom cruel methods are used, including oppression and terror. The course of this discussion and the report presented to the Security Council by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in a documentary fashion confirm the incontrovertible fact that the armed military operations were begun by Pakistan, and not by India. These military actions have arisen as a result of the fact that the Government of Pakistan, being unable to cope with the resistance of the 75 million persons of East Pakistan, instead of eliminating the genuine cause of the

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conflict, decided to undertake military actions against India, including the bombing of Indian cities, attacks on Indian posts, and the shelling and violation of Indian territory.

The purpose of those actions is to divert attention from the genuine cause of the exacerbation of the situation in the Hindustan sub-continent, and to cover up the importance of the Pakistan Government to deal with the serious domestic crisis in East Pakistan.

The development of that crisis has shown that the Pakistan authorities have in fact found themselves in a *cul-de-sac* in their policy in East Pakistan. Finding themselves in this situation, they are now trying to make an attempt at finding a way out by attacking India. The calculation is apparently based on the fact that by commencing warlike actions it might be possible to convert the problem of East Pakistan from a domestic matter into an international one, and thereby to solve it by means of interference by great powers and the United Nations.

To judge from Mr. Baroody's statement, he has understood this action by Pakistan in precisely those terms. To judge from the character of the discussion of this question in the Security Council, as well as in the light of the universally known fact that the United States especially insisted on the urgent convening of the Security Council and introduced a clearly pro-Pakistan draft resolution, it becomes entirely clear that Pakistan is placing its hopes on assistance by the United States.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that the United States is being led in the wake of Pakistan and is ignoring the genuine cause of the conflict in the Hindustan Peninsula, trying at all costs to support the Pakistani version to the effect that it is India that bears the responsibility for the conflict in this region.

The same course is being followed by China, to judge from the statements of the Chinese Representative and from the content of the draft resolution submitted by China.

Such a position and such an approach on the part of the Government of the United States are sharply criticized even by the American Press.

One of the newspapers in today's leading article states quite definitely that the United States Administration is ignoring the fundamental threat to India which has been created by the Government of Pakistan as a result of the terrorist repressions in East Pakistan. In providing such an assessment, the same newspaper draws the conclusion that the United States has assumed an open position of false impartiality and that this has led a worsening of the conflict between India and Pakistan. The newspaper further goes on to say that thereby the main threat to India is being ignored as a result of the cruel repressions committed by the Pakistan authorities in East Pakistan.

Representatives in their statements referred to a cease-fire between India and Pakistan, and yet many of them did not correlate the question of the demand for a cessation of hostilities with the demand to the Government of Pakistan to eliminate the main cause of the conflict. Yet, the course of the discussion in the Council has shown that the basic and essential cause is precisely the fact that the question of the hostile actions and the conflict in the Indo-Pakistan peninsula must be correlated with the demand to the Government of Pakistan immediately and unconditionally to recognize the stated Will of the East Pakistan population as it was expressed in the elections in December 1970. This was spoken of in detail at yesterday's meeting and at today's meeting. Both these questions must be organically connected with each other. Exactly what does

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that mean? It means that it is only the people of East Pakistan, in the persons of their elected representatives, who can decide upon their future fate in relation to whether East Pakistan remains part of Pakistan, or whether it will establish an independent, autonomous and separate State. No one should deny the right of those elected representatives.

Through their elected representatives, the people of East Pakistan are likewise free to decide the question of renewal of talks with the Pakistan Government. And yet, all the proposals that were introduced in the Security Council yesterday, and as has become clear in the course of today's consultations, those proposed today by Representatives of western and other countries, continue to ignore the correlation of the question of the hostile actions with the question of the need for a political settlement of the situation in East Pakistan. There is also an absence of this problem in the Chinese draft resolution. Stress is laid upon the first question, but there is no mention whatsoever of the second question, which is the main cause of the conflict. And yet, it is precisely that question, as has already been emphasized and stressed on numerous occasions, which is the main and decisive cause of and the principal reason for the emergence of the conflict in the Hindustan sub-continent.

There have been hints that the crisis in East Pakistan should be given a certain religious colouration. Yet, on the basis of the information available, of the 75 million people living in East Pakistan, approximately 60 million are Moslem, and among the 10 million refugees, up to 2 million are Moslem. Accordingly, the violence and the terror of the military authorities in East Pakistan do not operate on a religious, but on a political, basis, with all the consequences flowing therefrom.

An attempt was also made in the statements and in the draft resolutions to establish a similar or identical attitude towards India and Pakistan. Moreover, one of the Delegations has decided to place all the responsibility on India alone. This cannot be justified in any way. Such an approach is devoid of any foundation, and therefore one cannot agree with it at all. It is not possible to have an equal attitude to India and to Pakistan—Pakistan, which has not dealt with its internal crisis in East Pakistan, which has undertaken a diversive action by committing an attack upon India, which has bombed a number of Indian cities and inhabited centres, and which has attacked Indian posts and shelled the territory of India. The forces of Pakistan have entered the territory of India. That is how Pakistan has acted. Being unable to cope with the peaceful settlement of an internal crisis in East Pakistan, Pakistan decided to crush the resistance of the East Pakistani population. Therein lies the core and the real cause of the conflict. To side-step it, is something that no one has the right to do—certainly not the Security Council.

The position of the Soviet Union in regard to the sharp deterioration of the situation in the Hindustan peninsula is set out in the TASS statement of 5th December, 1971, which was published today in Security Council document S/10422. Members of the Security Council and United Nations missions will have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with this document.

With respect to the draft resolutions, the Delegation of the Soviet Union will insist upon the adoption of the draft resolution which it has introduced. That is the one which contains a reflection of the fundamental and genuine cause of the conflict in the Hindustan peninsula. The two other draft resolutions do not take into account this main cause of the conflict. They side-step it. That being the case, the Delegation of the Soviet Union cannot consider them as acceptable and will vote against those draft resolutions.

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Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi, Representative of Pakistan
December 5, 1971

In making my present remarks, I am concerned only with clarifying certain issues which were regrettably confused or distorted in the statements of the Representatives of the Soviet Union and India.

Yesterday, the Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik, read from document S/10412, which contains a report by the Secretary-General on the situation along the cease-fire line in Kashmir. It must be pointed out that that report relates to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is disputed territory. It must also be pointed out that this report could not have been filed except for the provisions of resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of 13th August, 1948, and 5th January, 1949, adopted under the auspices of the Security Council.

The Soviet Representative will recall that the India-Pakistan question has been on the agenda of the Security Council for the last twenty-three years and has engaged the Council's attention at more than 100 meetings. He will also recall that it was his Delegation which vetoed three proposals in the Security Council which would have facilitated a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Let me quote from the same document (S/10412), paragraph 2, in rebuttal of the charge he made against Pakistan concerning the alleged violation of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir:

> "2....(*c*) The Indian military authorities had admitted that, since 20th October, 1971, they had strengthened their forces in Jammu and Kashmir by a considerable number, thus exceeding the authorized level of troops in Jammu and Kashmir under the Karachi Agreement, and that they would continue to do so as considered necessary for the security of Indian territory.
>
> "(*d*) The Chief Military Observer found that Pakistan had also introduced additional forces on its side of the cease-fire line...." but "without....exceeding the permissible level."

It may be noted that the dates when India violated the Karachi agreement, 20th October, and when Pakistan moved additional forces, but within the permissible limit, 29th November, are forty days apart. It was only after forty days of violation of the Karachi Agreement that Pakistan moved to restore the balance, and even then it took care to remain within the magnitude of forces permitted under that Agreement.

As regards the particular so-called violations cited by the Representative of the Soviet Union—about the alleged crossing of the cease-fire line—let me inform the Council that such violations are being committed by India almost every day; the UNMOGIP has been sending these reports of violations and they can be made available by the Office of the Secretary-General. So, to single out one small alleged incident of a border crossing as denoting Pakistan's intention of attacking India is, I regret to say, not evidence of a sense of proportion.

The Representative of the Soviet Union ranged far and wide in his many interventions on the internal affairs of Pakistan, and he also spoke about certain aspects of Pakistan's external relations. In speaking of the problems of the refugees he stated that India was justified in massing its forces on Pakistan borders because, to quote Ambassador Malik, what self-respecting State which cares for its security is not going to displace part of its armed forces to the territory where there was this rush of 10 million refugees? If that was justified, we should like to ask was it also justified for India to have established bases for armed guerrillas,

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to have equipped, trained and unleashed them for carrying out acts of sabotage and destruction in East Pakistan? Is that also justified because there are 10 million refugees in India? And was it also justified when finally Indian armed forces attacked Pakistan on 21st November on a large-scale at many points of the border— which has been admitted by the Representative of India?

We regret that the Soviet Representative did not take into account those other aspects of the situation. But in one respect I welcome his statement. Since April of this year, we have heard repeated charges from India of genocide—that Pakistan armed forces had killed hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in East Pakistan, that they have carried out all kinds of untold atrocities.

We are glad to note the sobriety and responsibility in the statement of the Representative of the Soviet Union and in his Government's statements whenever they have spoken about the situation; they have referred to thousands killed in the disturbances—although they have talked of 10 million refugees.

I should like to inform the Council that I have no desire to enter into an exchange with the Representative of India in regard to this tragic situation. Impartial observers, such as the correspondents of the London *Guardian* and even some correspondents of *The New York Times*, did report on the massacres carried out by the anti-State and secessionist elements in East Pakistan before 25th March. And, if the Representative of India has chosen to disregard the other side of the picture we, can only say that his submissions here in the Security Council cannot be considered balanced or fair. I would be glad to draw his attention to the reports that have appeared in the world press, in the most responsible and respected organs of public opinion, in this regard.

The Representative of the Soviet Union drew a very graphic picture when he said that 10 million refugees constitute a larger population than that of some 88 Member States of the United Nations. Undoubtedly, this is an enormous figure. Without entering into a controversy as to the actual number of refugees that have left, let me also point out that in the Third Committee debates on the question of humanitarian assistance to Pakistani refugees, the Representative of Uganda stated that his country had given asylum to 188,000 refugees from neighbouring African countries. And, at the same time, the Representative of Uganda maintained that his Government had taken strict precautions to see that none of those refugees were armed and trained and sent to carry out depredations against the neighbours of Uganda.

In terms of percentage of the population of India, the refugees, as was pointed out by the Representative of Greece in the Economic and Social Council debate at its fifty-first session, constitute 2 per cent of the population of India. But we agree that it is a very large number, which we are most anxious to take back under conditions of safety and security which can be certified by the United Nations, if the international community is genuinely interested in seeking a humanitarian solution to this problem and not exploiting it as a weapon to bring about the dismemberment of the territorial integrity of a Member State.

I could say much about displacement of populations elsewhere, about mass transfers of human beings, about the denial of the right to return to their homes even after a generation, but I do not think that much purpose would be served by entering into such exchanges, and therefore I say no more on this subject.

We have heard, also, a great deal about the need for a political settlement in East Pakistan. Of course, we know that this is vital to the survival, not only of East Pakistan but also of West Pakistan, but we have been told about the human rights of citizens, about national liberation movements and about

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democracy. We know that many Member States of the United Nations are not homogeneous States. In fact, many of them claim to be pluralistic societies or multi-national States, but the question arises when Pakistan is told that it should not suppress autonomy, that it should respect the aspirations of the people of East Pakistan—we ask to what extent does the right to autonomy demands respect? Many Representatives of States who tell us this know that in their own countries there is no autonomy; they are unitary States even though ostensibly they are federal in form. Even as federations they are highly centralized States and leave only local powers for the constituent units of a federation.

We in Pakistan would have been able to settle this problem if the demand had not escalated to a break-up of Pakistan, from a federation into a confederation. We would hope that those who are objective and who truly try to understand the problems of pluralistic societies where there is a diversity of peoples, where society is dichotomous, that they would try to be helpful and to understand and find a solution to this dilemma of reconciliation of the need for preserving the territorial integrity and national unity of a State with the demand for autonomy which is undoubtedly genuine. But, instead, we have been pilloried by propaganda and by those who, for reasons of alliance, of politics, wish to take sides and demand that Pakistan should concede the ultimatums that are put forward by elected representatives of the people, not for autonomy but for dismemberment.

We in Pakistan are formulating a political settlement, but regrettably it is not a political settlement that would be to the liking of India which seeks the dismemberment of Pakistan. About this there can be no doubt, with the statement of the Prime Minister of India and with the statements of responsible leaders in the Indian Government which Ambassador Malik has totally chosen to disregard. He thinks that Pakistan is the guilty party and that it should be punished for its crimes by being made to submit to its disintegration by force. However, I should like to state that we have a Will to survival and we will resist all attempts from any quarter to destroy our territorial integrity.

One of the reasons why India has chosen this time to launch an aggression against us is to disrupt the time-table laid down by President Yahya Khan to induct a representative government in Pakistan, for which the date had been fixed between the 20th and 27th of this month. History is full of dangerous pitfalls emanating from the desire of big and powerful States which tried to impose a political settlement on relatively small and weak neighbours. Munich is a classical example. We know that India considers the existence of Pakistan as a threat to its security, but now that the Soviet Union has articulated a new security doctrine for South-East Asia, perhaps all of us should seriously think of what it may portend.

The Representative of the Soviet Union spoke about the Tashkent spirit, but that spirit prevailed much before the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty, of what is euphemistically called a treaty of friendship and co-operation. In content and effect, it is nothing less than a military alliance. Events have conclusively proved it to be so. Actions speak louder than words, and guns even louder. What are these actions? Immediately after this Treaty was singed, a series of feverish military consultations started in Moscow and New Delhi under Article IX of the Treaty, which pledges the parties to consultations with a view to taking what in diplomatic language has been described as effective measures to remove any threat to peace. We have sufficient experience of military pacts to know that similar clauses exist in those instruments, and world opinion and the parties themselves construe such language to be sufficient to constitute a military

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pact. Supplies of sophisticated armaments, such as MIG-23s, tanks and other military equipment, were despatched post-haste to Calcutta and other Indian ports.

Having thus upset the balance of power in the sub-continent, the Indo-Soviet Treaty emboldened the Indians to opt for a military invasion of Pakistan under the pretext of self-defence. I said in the First Committee in October, and in the plenary meeting last month, that this Treaty must be judged by its results, whether it will act in restraint of war or will precipitate war. We now have the answer; we have it in India's aggression and the Soviet veto last night of the proposal for a cease-fire and withdrawal.

A double pretension surrounds the Indo-Soviet Treaty. One party makes it possible for the other to launch subversion and aggression against a third country and yet invokes the Tashkent spirit. The other party closely binds itself to a military alliance and yet claims to be non-aligned. Who is so naive as not to see through these pretensions? If any further evidence were necessary, it has been provided by the Soviet statement circulated by the Tass news agency this morning. The statement in effect says that Pakistan was following a dangerous course in defending itself and resisting a military occupation, and implied that Pakistan action even posed a threat to the Soviet Union's security interests. I submit, how can we believe any more in the existence of the Tashkent spirit?

The Representative of the Soviet Union, in his statement a few moments ago, referred to what he called an attack by Pakistan on 3rd December. He did not refer at all to the large-scale attacks on East Pakistan from all sides, which commenced on 21st November and, in the words of the Defence Minister of India, left Pakistan no other alternative but to break up or choose to go to war.

It needs to be stressed again and again that the Council is concerned not with an ordinary situation or dispute, but with a situation of war. Can there be any possibility of a return of the refugees unless and until international peace is secured? Let me make it very clear beyond any shadow of doubt that no proposal for a settlement of the conflict will have any effect if it does not assure the cessation of Indian infiltration and indirect aggression, to the same degree and with the same force, as it calls for the cessation of hostilities.

In asking for such a decision by the Security Council, we are not asking for any partisan support or sympathy from any Member of the Council. And I should like to tell my good friend, Mr. Jamil Baroody, to take good note of what I have to say. We are not asking for partisan support from Members of the Security Council: we are invoking the law of the United Nations. We issue solemn declarations of principle—the Declaration on Non-intervention, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Declaration on the Promotion of the Principles of Friendly Relations among States—but when the time comes to apply those principles, we tend to put them aside. Is it not fundamental to the maintenance of the norms of international relations that no State should foment civil strife on the territory of another; that no State should aid and abet subversion and sabotage in another? Does it not follow logically that it should be condemned for such acts? The word "condemns" is used in the Declaration on Non-intervention in the Internal Affairs of States. If the Security Council does not wish to condemn, should it not at least ask India to desist from armed intervention in Pakistan's affairs?

It was because the draft resolution which was voted upon last night was deficient in this respect—and I must be frank—that we had serious misgivings about its effectiveness. It did not condemn aggression. It is not, I repeat, enough to ask the parties to cease hostilities. Hostilities are but the second stage of the process which began with Indian subversion, Indian armed interference and

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Indian infiltration into Pakistan. Unless interference and infiltration are stopped, peace will not be restored.

The United States draft resolution, as I said before, failed to condemn India for its aggression, as India should have been condemned. It did not explicitly call upon India to desist from its attempts to bring about the disintegration of Pakistan, as the Security Council should demand. None the less, we were willing to co-operate with the Security Council on the basis of that draft resolution, because it carried the support of as many as 11 members of the Council. That is Pakistan's attitude.

Let the Council members compare that attitude with India's. There is no question of a cease-fire, says India. The Representative of India warned the Security Council yesterday that India would persist in the course of its aggression against Pakistan. Whether or not this meeting of the Council will be able to take a positive decision, that message from India should be ringing in the ears of Members of the Council.

Turning now to certain remarks of the Representative of India, I would draw attention to his statement that:

> "..... we went into Pakistan territory after 21st November. We did; I do not deny it".

And yet, the United States draft resolution did not take into account the evidence submitted by my Delegation about the facts of Indian aggression and the admission by India. What further proof was needed?

The Representative of India gave as the explanation for the invasion of Pakistan territory that the Pakistan Army had "started shelling our civilian villages". "What was the remedy left to us?", he asked. And, he said, the remedy was to invade Pakistan.

You will recall, Mr. President, that Pakistan accepted a proposal that the armed forces of India and Pakistan should pull back from the frontiers to their peace-time stations. That proposal was rejected by India. Then, Pakistan accepted a proposal that they should pull back to agreed safe distances from the frontier, if not to peace-time stations. That proposal was rejected by India. Did India not have this option, so that shelling from the Pakistan side, which he has charged, could have been prevented and stopped? India had the option of peaee, but chose war.

Finally, I heard a Representative say earlier in this meeting that the problem of Bangla Desh had been discussed in the United Nations. Let me state categorically that this so-called problem has not been discussed in the United Nations—or if any such discussion ever took place, the Delegation of Pakistan had no knowledge of it and could never have agreed to participate in it.

Let me recall that only two problems pertaining to Pakistan have so far been discussed in the United Nations. One is the humanitarian problem of the refugees, and that was discussed in the Economic and Social Council and in the Third Committee of the General Assembly. The other is the situation between India and Pakistan, which is being discussed by the Security Council at this very moment. Neither of those problems can be considered to be the problem of Bangla Desh.

In addition to the reasons that have been so eloquently adduced by the Representative of Argentina against the proposal that was discussed earlier in this meeting, let me again remind the Security Council of the fact that in this seemingly

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innocuous proposal lurks a sinister design: to promote the disintegration of Pakistan. Yesterday, I quoted from a paper of the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis about how India should proceed to deal politically in the United Nations with the East Pakistan situation. I should like to quote that passage again:

"There is no doubt that the Security Council would meet to call upon both nations to end the fight. Whether the fight should be ended immediately or continued for a period of time is a matter for India to consider. At this stage it should be India's endeavour to get Bangla Desh as one of the recognized parties to the dispute. In fact, that is the appropriate way to win international recognition for Bangla Desh. It should be made clear that the cease-fire cannot be signed in the Bangla Desh sector unless the Bangla Desh commander is recognized as an independent sector commander for the purposes of cease-fire, and the Bangla Desh Government is recognized as a party to the dispute as a whole."

The Representative of India dismissed this quotation as the utterings of theoreticians and academicians, but the pattern of action that is being unfolded before your very eyes in this debate confirms every word and letter of this statement. This is the pattern that is being followed, beginning with the sponsorship by the Representative of India of a request for giving a particular individual a hearing—and if you examine the request of that individual for a hearing, you see that he claims to speak in the name of the people and Government of Bangla Desh.

We would like to ask our distinguished colleagues who are formulating draft resolutions: Are you formulating those draft resolutions to camouflage designs to promote secessionist forces and their designs against Pakistan? Will your calls for cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of forces allow for loopholes to achieve the designs that have been so clearly stated in this analysis by the Indian Institute of Defence Studies?

I should like to advise the sponsors of all draft resolutions that my Delegation will look carefully into such formulations so that ambiguities may not be taken advantage of in order to promote ends in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Representative of India
December 5, 1971

I do not know how these things are arranged, but I was under the impression that there would be another speaker between the Representative of Pakistan and myself. However, it makes no difference, because I think I can easily reply to the various points he made yesterday—as indeed I promised I would do—and to some of the points he made today.

Let us first look at the military affairs to which he referred at the beginning of his statement yesterday. As I said, he represents a military regime and, therefore, he has all the military details handy. However, we are not without some army and it is not altogether impossible for us to get some information. I shall just give you the list of incidents on the Bengal front on 7th November 1971:

(1) Pakistani Army started firing towards the Indian village of Rahimpur and Gourangala under Kalamchoura police station in Tripura. Ten artillery shells and 14 bombs landed inside Indian territory.

(2) Pakistani Army opened fire—LMG and MMG fire—towards the Indian village of Gourangala in Tripura.

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(3) Pakistani Army opened fire towards the Indian village of Mandabag in Tripura. several shells of 3″ mortar and a number of artillery shells landed inside Indian territory.

(4) Pakistani Army subjected the Indian village of Kasba in Tripura to intermittent firing. Several shells landed inside Indian territory.

(5) Pakistani Army opened fire towards the Indian village of Simna in Tripura. Several artillery shells landed inside Indian territory.

(6) Several artillery shells landed inside Indian territory when the Pakistani Army opened fire towards the Indian border outpost of Sidhai in Tripura.

(7) Several LMG, MMG and 2″ mortar shells landed inside Indian territory when Pakistani Army opened fire towards the Indian village of Amlighat near Sabroom police station.

(8) Pakistani Army opened fire towards the Indian village of Malua under Belonia police station in Tripura. Several artillery shells landed inside Indian territory.

(9) Pakistani Army opened fire towards the Indian village of Belonia in Tripura.

(10) Pakistani troops opened unprovoked fire towards the Indian village of Chandannagar under Kamalpur police station in Tripura. Several artillery shells landed inside Indian territory.

(11) Pakistani Army opened fire from Dhalai area towards Indian territory in Tripura. Several artillery shells landed inside Indian territory.

(12) Pakistani Army subjected the Indian village of Rangauti under Kailashahar police station in Tripura to heavy and intermittent firing.

(13) Several shells of 3″ mortar fired by Pakistani Army landed inside Indian village of Puran Raj Bari in Tripura.

That is the record of one day. I am quite sure the Council would not like me to recite this litany of military aggression from Pakistan day after day. But if the Council is interested, I am fully prepared to do so. It does shock the credibility of anyone listening to the Representative of Pakistan for him to say that villages are not fired upon, that we are not compelled to take action in retaliation, that the only option open to us was to kill civilians or to silence the guns, to refer to all the offers to withdraw to a peace-time station, to any agreed limit, to anything they suggested. But anyone who has read the proposals will be interested to find that all these offers were related to one fundamental point—that we must cease helping what they call the "guerrillas", and the President of Pakistan must be satisfied that we have been good boys. That was one of the conditions attached to most of these so-called proposals. And yet the question still remains unanswered: if the intention was not to provoke hostilities with India, why did the Pakistan Army move forward to these positions? That question still remains unanswered, and I have repeatedly made it clear to my colleagues and to the Representative of Pakistan himself, when he was on speaking terms with me, that we will not tolerate intrusion, aggression in our territory by the Pakistan Army, and if they continue to do it they must take the consequences. And that is a statement I wish to make again in this Council, that we shall have nothing to do with aggression from Pakistan any longer. We have suffered four times and we are not prepared to suffer any more.

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But let us turn to the other aspects. He makes a long song and dance—forgive my vulgar, rather casual, expression which *The New York Times* does not like—that we are trading, arming and doing all kinds of things to subvert, pervert, invert, convert and revolutionize East Pakistan. Let me repeat what I read out in the General Assembly on 13th October, 1971. I said—it is always a bit of a bore to quote from one's own speeches, but sometimes it saves time:

"Pakistan accuses India of creating tension on the border and of supporting the freedom-fighters inside East Bengal. I would in this context read out what the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington had to say on 15th August, 1971"—not 15th April, not 15th May, but 15th August—"on the A.B.C. Television Network. Incidentally, the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington is the brother of the Representative of Pakistan here"—he no longer is, because he has been transferred—

"...'There were at least about 160,000 armed personnel who defected on account of Awami League propaganda. The army was asked on the 25th of March to go and deal with these 160,000 armed people.' Who are those people?"

"In the same interview the Pakistan Ambassador answered:

'There were not only East Bengal Rigiment; there were East Pakistan Rifles; there was a border military force; there were armed police'."

Now the question is, where did they get their arms from?

"The Ambassador said:

'These weapons came from looting of armouries and government stores and from the armouries of reserve police and so on, weapons that had been collected by force, by militant student bands who were going and knocking at the doors of the houses and asking people to deliver their guns and whatever sporting rifles—guns and rifles—they had. These were not collected from the East Pakistan Rifles. We wish we had taken the trouble to disarm them before".

That is the beginning of the story. That is how they got their arms. That is how the guerrillas started fighting for their liberty.

In the same context, one of the difficulties of answering the Representative of Pakistan is that he roams so wide and large over the same theme that India is guilty of arming the guerrillas; India is guilty over the elections; India is guilty for the Mukti Bahini; India is guilty for the Awami League, for their programme. It is extraordinarily creditable for us that such allusions should be made, but let me point out three things. Mr. Bhutto, who is no friend of India, as I mentioned to you yesterday, has written a big book and not a word has been said about Indian influence on elections or subsequent actions, or the exploitation of refugees, on which the Representative of Pakistan is always waxing eloquent. We give shelter to refugees? We give shelter to all refugees—east, north, south, west, who flee from terror and from oppression. We have no apologies to make for our humanitarian action. If they flee from terror, we give them shelter. If other Governments do not like it, it is too bad. I do not have to go into the business of Tibetan refugees; it has been mentioned again and again, and if the Representative of China has any fears that we shall launch aggression against China because of the Tibetan refugees, I can assure him that fear is completely unfounded, and indeed his charges are both base and baseless.

So, no press reports wrote about it. No Pakistani wrote about it. Pakistanis were gloating about the successful election. We were indeed very happy they had a successful election in Pakistan. We hoped that, for a change, our relations would improve. Our country was going to have an election, and our Government

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was returned to power with an overwhelming majority. We were looking forward to an economic breakthrough, with friendly relations with Pakistan. Was that the sign for plotting the dismemberment of Pakistan? These charges are flung, day in and day out, without the slightest evidence and without the slightest proof, and I must protest most vigorously at this kind of nonsense being tolerated.

Let us see another charge. Just before President Ayub Khan retired, he had brought up another charge called the Agartala conspiracy case. Now let us see what Mr. Bhutto—who, as I said, is no friend of India—had to say about the Agartala conspiracy case:

> "If Ayub Khan had at this stage heeded my advice, a reasonable compromise could have been reached, recognizing the basic merits of the case. If Ayub Khan had done in 1966 what he sought to do at the Round Table Conference in 1969, the problem of Pakistan would not have come to such a pass. Unfortunately, Ayub Khan chose what he called 'the language of weapons', and not the weapon of language. He arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The Agartala conspiracy case"—which made headlines—

I was the High Commissioner in Pakistan and no one would tell me what the case was about. However:

> "which followed was handled in a disastrously clumsy manner and boomeranged so seriously that we still are reeling from its consequences. Only Sheikh Mujibur Rahman benefited from this case. If all the most important political issues are handled in this clumsy way, we must reap the consequences whether it is in the military field or in the political field. This has been the story again and again."

Since we are on the subject of Mr. Bhutto, I might touch on a humorous subject. Mr. Bhutto had gone to see President Yahya Khan in his Presidential palace in Dacca. After the meeting was over, Mr. Bhutto ran into Mr. Mujibur Rahman in the Presidential drawing-room, and this is what Mr. Bhutto had to say:

> "At this point, thinking that the room might be bugged, we walked out to the verandah towards the back of the house and sat in the portico behind the President's salon."

I do not have to comment on this. If the Presidential palaces are bugged in this way so that two leaders like Mr. Bhutto and Mr. Rahman do not feel safe to converse, on political matters no doubt, then I have no further comments.

Much has been said about atrocities. The Pakistan Delegation, I suppose like many of us, read some of the popular journals, but popular journals are not the type of documents we should quote in the Security Council. Here a journal called *Foreign Affairs*—an American quarterly review of October 1970, price $2.50 a copy—and since I am in America where many of the qualities are to be judged by the price tag, I suppose it is a good journal. Here is a very good article; at least, I think it is good: "Pakistan Divided" by Sydney Schanberg:

> "In short, the fanatic fury of a holy war seems to have been the overriding reason why the Pakistani Government loosed the army on the Bengali population. This is not hard to understand when you call that Pakistan is a State based on religion, where democratic traditions are almost non-existent and where the popular will has been often frustrated. When the army troops began their rampage that first night, they seemed to be enjoying themselves. As Punjabi patrols emerged from alleys after killing unarmed Bengalis, they

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came out with their hands upraised, shouting 'Victory to God' or 'Long live Pakistan'. That was the spirit where the Muslims killed Muslims in the name of religion".

Then, a little further on, Mr. Schanberg says:

"At his writing, foreign diplomats estimate that the army killed at least 200,000 people, Bengalis. Despite claims that normalcy prevails in the province, the military has not been able as yet to restore law and order or establish even a semblance of governmental administration."

This particular conclusion has been reinforced again and again to such an extent that I think it is a waste of breath and time to go on repeating the same story.

Much has been said about autonomy and independence. I am slightly tired of saying the same thing in different forums of the United Nations. There was no demand for independence at the time the elections were held, or when the negotiations were undertaken. The demand for independence only started when the military crack-down took place, and if there is any doubt in this respect, let those Representatives of countries who have well-stocked archives come long and say this is not so. I doubt that they will.

To go back to another aspect, Washington's call with the others for a Security Council meeting yesterday represented the welcome, though tragically tardy, recognition of those dangers and of the essential role of the United Nations in restoring and maintaining peace. For months, the United States resorted to ineffectual secret diplomacy that by-passed and served to paralyse the World Organization. The Nixon Administration adopted a public posture of mock even-handedness which had the effect of exacerbating the Indo-Pakistan conflict. It ignored the fundamental threat to India posed by Yahya Khan's harsh repression in East Pakistan.

The United States Government is still side-stepping the central issue and is responding with flagrant injustice in attempting to pin the major responsibility for the present conflict on India. If Security Council intervention is to have any chance of restoring peace between India and Pakistan, the United States and the United Nations must recognize and deal with the basic problem in East Pakistan.

If that particular statement had been made by an Indian spokesman, our aid would have been cut, we would have been put on the mat and given a lecture as if we were some kind of native children from a missionary school. But this was not made by a spokesman of the Indian Government. This was made by the respectable *New York Times*.

Yesterday, the Representative of the United States said:

"In an effort to end the bloodshed, to save lives, to reduce the untold suffering, we are introducing a draft resolution which...." and so on and so forth.

Now this bloodshed, this concern for the saving of lives, this concern for the reduction of untold suffering, would it not have been better expressed a few months earlier? Would it have been too much to ask of the United States Government make a public declaration expressing concern at all the humiliations, all the tragedies, all the suffering and all the brutalities that people were enduring? However, this is how politics rubs; let it be.

That also brings us to the Chinese draft resolution. As I said, I hope that I shall continue to treat all Chinese utterances with a degree of indifference,

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because they only read out statements which have been made in Peking for the last six months. There is nothing new in them. But it is extraordinary that a country which is supposed to represent all revolutionary forces should be taking this attitude. I can only explain it by assuming that they think time is on their side and that there will be plenty of opportunities to change the direction of the sails according to the wind.

Now, I come to the draft resolutions before us. As I explained, it is not for India to agree or disagree to cease-fire resolutions; it is for the Bangla Desh Government, because they are fighting for their liberty and for their lives. If they agree, we shall see what can be done. But we cannot be involved in a dishonest agreement to cease-fire, knowing fully well that we shall not be able to keep it because, as I said repeatedly yesterday, we have no desire to oppress people who are already sufficiently oppressed, in spite of the great invocation of the religion of Allah by the rules of Pakistan.

I have only one more point to make before I finish, and it relates to our request that Bangla Desh Representatives should be heard. I do not quite understand the concern of the Representative of Pakistan. We do not want to extend international recognition by listening to a Bangla Desh Representative in the Security Council. If we did want to give recognition, we, as the Government of India, could have done so a long time ago. We shall do it when we think the normal criteria for recognition have been established, when we think that they deserve it, not because of the wish, but because of their ability to govern the country. It has nothing to do with Security Council attendance. Security Council attendance is governed by rule 39 of the Rules of Procedure. If there is any doubt about it, I wonder how many people have considered the number of Representatives of various countries and areas who have come before us and given their views. The only question about listening to Mr. Justice Chowdhury—who, incidentally, was the Pakistan Representative on the Human Rights Commission until he was removed very recently—reminds me of another remark because the Pakistan Ambassador is always saying that the Indians are at the back of all these evils, but how many Ambassadors have defected? How many soldiers have defected? How many Ministers have defected? I have received letters from people who are leaving the Service today and those letters would bring tears to the eyes of even very hard-hearted people. Are these the people who are to be influenced by Indian propaganda, Indian machinations? If that is the nature of the Pakistan Foreign Service, then I do not have to make any further comments. At any rate, many people have appeared before the Security Council; even today we have pending requests from some Delegation—I think it is the Soviet Delegation—for two Representatives of the black population of Rhodesia to be heard. I wonder if the Representative of Pakistan will object to such appearance. I have also before me a complete record of all those who have appeared before the Security Council, and I find the names of people from the Palestine movement and of various other people who have appeared before the Security Council, including the Mayor of Jerusalem at one stage. So I do not think we need be frightened by this question of recognition through the Security Council. We are not going to recognize anyone through the Security Council. All those people who have appeared have not been recognized, and I am quite sure that Mr. Ian Smith will not recognize the existence of the black community or of their rights merely because their spokesmen come and speak here. I am quite sure that the President of Pakistan will not recognize Mr. Justice Chowdhury as the spokesman of Bangla Desh. If we are to proceed in this matter in an intelligent way, in a realistic way, we cannot do so without listening to the party most interested in it.

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Lastly, I thank the Council for a very patient hearing. I have tried, in spite of sudden outbursts of anger, because I do feel angry when non-sensical charges are made in the Council and so much time is taken up. It is now a quarter past nine; we sat up until 1-30 this morning, and much time has been taken up by unnecessary polemics, propaganda, controversies—and Bengal is burning.

Statement by Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, Representative of France
December 6, 1971

As the French Delegation indicated yesterday, we have redoubled our efforts to achieve urgently a solution acceptable to all Members of the Council, at least a solution which would not precipitate any veto. The basis of our effort was the initial draft resolution of our Belgian, Italian and Japanese friends. With our United Kingdom friends, we associated ourselves with them. It was normal, after all, for the Representatives of this old continent of Europe, which is all too familiar with war and which has been able to overcome its age-old hatreds, to make an effort at peace.

We took into consideration not only the initial draft resolution but also the draft resolution of the eight powers and, indeed, all the views, without any exception, that have been expressed here by those who have taken part in our debates. It seemed to us in the present state of affairs that a draft resolution largely based upon previous texts could marshal the greatest support without bringing about any irreducible opposition. We have drawn up a text which I am going to read out now, because it is important for it to be set down in the archives of the Council. The Council, as a matter of fact, will recognize passages which are not new. They are paragraphs of previous draft resolutions. Our text reads as follows:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

NOTING the reports of the Secretary-General of 3rd and 4th December, 1971,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the Representatives of India and Pakistan,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

RECOGNIZING the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

CONVINCED that a rapid political solution will be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normality in the region of the conflict and for the return of refugees to their homes,

CONSCIOUS of the responsibility incumbent upon it under the pertinent provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* the Governments concerned to order forthwith, as a first step, an immediate cease-fire, the cessation of all military activities and mutual disengagement;

2. *Urges* that efforts be deployed to create the necessary conditions for the voluntary return of refugees from East Pakistan in accordance with the Charter;

3. *Asks* all States to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General with a view to lending assistance to these refugees and alleviating their plight;

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4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and regularly informed of the implementation of the present resolution;

5. *Decides* to follow the situation closely and to meet again as soon as necessary.

This draft resolution will not be submitted because the consultations that have been undertaken have convinced us that it would be faced with exceptions and objections. And yet we are not here in order to measure ourselves against each other and to defy each other; we are here to assume, under the Charter, our responsibilities for international peace and security. The only victory we wished to achieve was that of peace. It is, unfortunately, peace which is today defeated and it is the United Nations, perhaps because it has not got the material forces to separate the combatants, which has again failed. Arms will therefore settle a question which we have not been able to solve, and that will add further victims to those which have already aroused indignation throughout the world. We wish on behalf of the French Delegation to say that we shall not associate ourselves with, nor be resigned to, this failure.

Statement by Mr. Jacob Malik, Representative of the U.S.S.R.
December 6, 1971

The Security Council has before it a draft resolution of five powers Members of the Council, which is contained in document S/10425. The Soviet Delegation has no doubt about the good intentions and sincerity of purpose of the cosponsers of this draft resolution, or their desire to contribute to the solution of the problem which the Council has before it. However, this draft, like certain other drafts which have thus far been submitted for the consideration of the Security Council, has one substantive defect: it deals with only one side of the serious problem that has arisen in East Pakistan and its international consequences which have complicated the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula, namely, the cessation of military action undertaken by the Pakistan armed forces against neighbouring India.

After an intensive and comprehensive discussion that has lasted for two days, and in view of the information and obvious facts which, as a result of the documents that have been submitted and the discussion of the problem here, are now before the Security Council, there can be no doubt left in anybody's mind that the main cause for the military conflict that has broken out on the territory of the Hindustan Peninsula is a certain series of actions of the Government of Pakistan which are directed at the suppression of the lawful demands and aspirations of the East Pakistan population.

The military conflict in that region is the direct consequence of a series of acts of oppression, mass repression and violence conducted over a number of months with the use of the most modern forms of weapons and arms with a view to suppressing the clearly expressed Will of 75 million East Pakistanis. The people of East Pakistan was obliged to respond to this and rebuff it by means of armed resistance. Being unable by political means to settle the very acute political crisis in East Pakistan, or to repress by means of violence against the people of that part of the country the political movement that had been set afoot, the Government of Pakistan undertook military action against a neighbouring country, and that has led to the emergence of a military conflict and the exacerbation of the situation.

The purpose of that action is entirely clear to all. It consists of placing responsibility for the actions of the Pakistan military authorities upon a neighbouring country, and attempting to justify the measures of terror and oppression

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undertaken there, which have acquired such gigantic proportions that they have resulted in the death of thousands upon thousands of peaceful citizens and the flight of virtually 10 million persons to the territory of a neighbouring country.

Today, the President of the Security Council, in his introductory statement at the opening of the meeting of the Council, again vividly reminded all of us of the suffering of these many millions of persons. Unless that fact is taken into account—as has already been pointed out—it is impossible to find the right solution for the problem as it has emerged, it is impossible to find the approach that would settle it.

In view of this reality, the approach that is proposed in the five-power draft resolution is inadequate. It is one-sided and cannot contribute to the restoration of peace and a state of stability in that region. Without the firm, swift and effective elimination of the main cause of the serious tensions on the Hindustan sub-continent, and which finally led to the emergence of an armed conflict that has now acquired an international dimension, the Security Council will be unable to adopt a correct and effective decision.

Hence, it is absolutely essential for the question of a cease-fire to be most closely and indissolubly linked with the requirement of addressing to the Government of Pakistan, simultaneously and without any delay, a call to take action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed quite clearly and definitely in the elections of December, 1970.

The Security Council cannot close its eyes to this political reality which has arisen in that region and attempt to resolve only one side of the conflict, leaving aside the main cause, the primary source of the existence of the serious tension, the primary cause and reason for the conflict, which has now been transformed into an armed clash in the Hindustan Peninsula and become an international problem. If the Security Council were to close its eyes to that reality and take a one-sided course, that would merely create an appearance of action but would not be genuine action.

The Security Council, in questions with such political significance, cannot act without taking into account the political reality involved. This is dictated by the United Nations Charter and those Articles that were mentioned by the Soviet Delegation in its statement yesterday. Given the situation, the only correct course which the Council can follow is the adoption of a decision in which both questions—the question of the cease-fire and the question of the recognition by Pakistan of the expressed Will of the East Pakistan population—are organically and inseparably bound together. In other words, the two questions, the question of the cease-fire and the question of the political settlement, must be closely—indeed inseparably—bound together.

That is what the Delegation of the Soviet Union has striven for, is striving for and will continue to strive for throughout the discussion of the present question. We admit that this approach might not be to the liking of certain parties, but that is up to them. We are deeply and firmly convinced that our approach is correct and just and based upon the real situation that has been produced in the Hindustan sub-continent. Through their elected representatives, the people of East Pakistan are free to decide upon the question of the resumption of talks with the Pakistan Government and relations with it. As we have already pointed out, the defect of the five-power draft resolution is precisely that in it the question of a cease-fire is not correlated with the question of the attainment of a political settlement in East Pakistan. We should take into account the Will, the inalienable rights, and the lawful interests of the population of that part of

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the country. The Soviet Delegation cannot agree with an approach which does not do that.

Certain Delegations, speaking in favour of an immediate cease-fire, at the same time seem to close their eyes, as it were, and disregard the question of the possibility of the continuation of the bloodshed and the repression of the population of East Pakistan by the armed forces of the Pakistan Government. In other words, they do not bring the matter to the point of the political settlement. The Soviet Union, like any other peace-loving country, cannot remain indifferent to these events which have arisen in the Hindustan Peninsula. As was stressed in the statement of Tass on 5th December of this year:

"The Soviet Union calls for a speedy end to the bloodshed and for a political settlement in East Pakistan on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of its people."

It is precisely with this in mind and with this realistic approach that the Soviet Delegation deems it necessary for the Security Council swiftly to take appropriate action, taking into account the real nature and full range of the problem under discussion and all its aspects—first and foremost the two main ones, the political settlement and the cessation of hostilities.

The Council must be realistic. The Council must take into account in its decision the organic bond between these two questions which constitute the problem under discussion—I repeat: the organic bond between the question of the cease-fire and the question of the political settlement in East Pakistan. We appeal to the Government of Pakistan to take effective action towards a political settlement and immediately to recognize the Will of the East Pakistan population. In the light of this approach and bearing in mind the real situation in East Pakistan and in the Hindustan sub-continent, the Soviet Delegation is introducing amendments to the five-Power draft resolution. The first amendment is:

"In operative paragraph 1, *replace* the words 'the Governments concerned' by the words 'all parties concerned'; at the end of same paragraph, *add* the words 'and cessation of all military operations'.

The second amendment is:

"Between operative paragraphs 1 and 2, *insert* the following as operative paragraphs 2 and 3:

'2. *Calls upon* the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970;

'3. *Declares* that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole'."

There should be a consequential re-numbering of the remaining operative paragraphs.

Those are the amendments which the Soviet Delegation now submits to the draft resolution submitted by five powers. The adoption of that draft resolution with these amendments might constitute a real and effective step by the Security Council to bring about a cessation of bloodshed and the adoption of measures towards the political settlement of the complex political problem that has arisen in East Pakistan. The Delegation of the U.S.S.R. will vote for that draft resolution with the amendments we have introduced. Without such amendments, the resolution would not achieve the purpose and could not become an effective

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instrument for the settlement of the conflict in the Hindustan sub-continent. Without the adoption of the amendments, the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. will be unable to support the five-power draft resolution.

Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Representative of India

December 6, 1971

I think I owe it to the Council to report certain developments which have taken place since we adjourned last night. About an hour and a half after that adjournment, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Gandhi, made a statement in our Parliament in New Delhi. I think I can do no better to discharge my duty than to read her statement as she delivered it in the Indian Parliament. She said:

"The valiant struggle of the people of Bangla Desh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements. Earlier, they had reported a democratic victory in their elections, and even the President of Pakistan had conceded the right of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. We shall never know what intervened to transform this benevolent mood and realistic approach—if it really was that—to destruction and a posture of open hostilities and repression.

"We are told that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party, the Awami League, had planned a non-violent movement of resistance to the Government of West Pakistan, but were caught unawares and overtaken by a brutal military assault. They had no alternative but to declare for independence. The East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment became Mukti Fauj and later Mukti Bahini, which was joined by thousands of young East Bengalis determined to sacrifice their lives for their freedom and right to fashion their future. The unity, determination and courage with which the entire population of Bangla Desh is fighting have been reported by the world press. These events on our doorstep, and the resulting flood of refugees into our territory, could not but have far-reaching repercussions on our country. It was natural that our sympathy should be with the people of Bangla Desh in their just struggle, but we did not act precipitately in the matter of recognition. Our decisions were not guided merely by emotion but by assessment of the prevailing and future realities. With the unanimous revolt of the entire people of Bangla Desh, and the success of the struggle, it has become increasingly apparent that the so-called mother State of Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangla Desh back under its control. As for the legitimacy of the Government of Bangla Desh, the whole world is now aware that it reflects the Will of the overwhelming majority of the people, which not many governments can claim to represent. In Jeffersons's famous words to Governor Morris, the Government of Bangla Desh is supported by 'the Will of the nation substantially expressed'.

"Applying this criterion, the military regime in Pakistan, whom some States are so anxious to buttress, is hardly representative of its people even for waging war against India. The normal hesitation on our part not to do anything which could come in the way of peaceful solution, or which might be construed as an intervention, has lost significance. The people of Bangla Desh battling for their very existence and the people of India fighting to defeat aggression now find themselves partisans in the same cause. I am glad to inform the House that in the light of the existing situation and in response to the repeated requests of the Government of Bangla Desh, the Government of India have, after most careful consideration, decided to grant recognition to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. It is our hope that with the passage of time more nations will

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grant recognition and that the People's Republic of Bangla Desh will soon form a part of the family of nations.

"Our thoughts at this moment are with the father of this new State, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am sure that this House would wish me to convey to their Excellencies, the acting President of Bangla Desh and the Prime Minister, and their colleagues, our greetings and warm felicitations. I am placing on the table of the House, copies of communications which we have received from the Government of Bangla Desh. The honourable members will be glad to know that the Government of Bangla Desh have proclaimed their basic principles of State policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. With regard to foreign relations the Bangla Desh Government have expressed their determination to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism in all its manifestations. These are the ideals to which India also is dedicated. The Bangla Desh Government have reiterated their anxiety to organize the expeditious return of the citizens who have found temporary refuge in our country and to restore their lands and belongings to them. We shall naturally help in every way in these arrangements. I am confident that, in future, the Governments and peoples of India and Bangla Desh who share common ideals and sacrifices, will forge a relationship based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits. Thus, working together for freedom and democracy, we shall set an example of good-neighbourliness which alone can ensure peace and stability and progress in this region. Our good wishes to Bangla Desh."

Now, I read this statement in full because I believe it is important enough to be recorded in full, and for people to hear it in full. But more important than that, this recognition of Bangla Desh has put the relationship of India to Bangla Desh in a completely different legal, political and constitutional context; and I would request the Council to realize this new development before any decision is taken.

Since we have now recognized Bangla Desh, I think I should take a few minutes of the Council's time to go back—not too much, but a little bit—into the history. It has been said that the autonomy movement led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman soon became a movement for independence, and that this would have brought about the disintegration of Pakistan. May I just read a very short paragraph from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's presentation of the six-point programme which is the formula for autonomy. This is what he says:

"Sixthly, let me humbly remind my West Pakistani brothers and sisters that when we demanded Bengali to be made one of the two State languages of Pakistan you condemned it as a move to undo Pakistan. When again we demanded a joint electorate, particularly in the context of parity in the presentation demanded by you, you condemned that demand to have been inspired from across the border. Both of these two demands have now been accepted, but there has been no undoing of Pakistan due to their acceptance. Does it not put you to shame that every bit of reasonable demand of East Pakistan has got to be secured from you at tremendous cost and after bitter struggle, as if snatched from unwilling foreign rulers as a reluctant concession? Does it do you any credit? Please put a stop to such attitude once and for all. Please be brothers, instead of rulers."

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Now, after the military crackdown, as I pointed out yesterday, independence was suddenly declared. And this is what the Prime Minister of the new State of Bangla Desh has to say on that:

"Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangla Desh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangla Desh. By resorting to pre-planned genocide, Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan's grave. The subsequent massacres perpetrated by his orders, by his licensed killers, of the people were not designed to preserve the unity of the nation. They were acts of racial hatred and sadism, devoid of even the elements of humanity. Professional soldiers, on orders, violated their code of military honour and were seen as beasts of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, loot, arson, destruction, unequalled in the annals of civilization. These acts indicate that the concept of two countries is already deeply rooted in the minds of Yahya and his associates who would not dare commit such atrocities on their own continent. Yahya's genocide is thus without political purpose. It serves only as the last act in the tragic history of Pakistan which Yahya has chosen to write with the blood of the people of Bangla Desh. The objective is genocide and scorched earth, before his troops are either driven out or perish. In this time, he hopes to liquidate all political leadership, intelligentsia, and administration, to destroy our industries and public amenities. And, as a final act, he intends to raze our cities to the ground. Already, his occupation army has made substantial progress towards this objective. Bangla Desh will be set back 50 years as West Pakistan's parting gift to a people they have exploited 23 years for their own benefit."

This declaration was made on 17th April, 1971.

In this context, I should like to read an article which appeared in *The New York Times* today. Some of the Members may have read it, but perhaps the non-English-speaking Members have not. In order to respect the wishes expressed by the Representative of the United States, I shall leave out from this article all references to the Nixon Administration, to the President, and so on. I hope, however, he will indulge me if I do include in my reading references to our own Government and to our own Prime Minister, however critical they may be. This is what is said:

"Suppose that Britain, in the 1930s, had responded to Hitler's savagery by the early threat or use of military force instead of appeasement....".

"So one must think after the American statement over the week-end blaming India for the hostilities with Pakistan. Few things said in the name of the United States lately have been quite so indecent. The anonymous State Department official who made the comment matched Uriah Heep"—I do not know this gentleman—"in sheer oleaginous cynicism about the facts of the situation and about our own moral position."

"Consider first the immediate origins of this dispute. They are exceptionally clear as international relations go."

May I make a diversion? For nine months now, the international community has received a large number of reports written by most distinguished civil servants both of this Organization and of its specialized agencies. If the Council is not even prepared to listen to the Bangla Desh Representative because of procedural and other political reasons, which I have not understood and against which I have protested, surely these reports could have been made available. But no, that will

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do harm to whatever interests are being served by this debate. Now I continue the quotation:

"The military junta that rules Pakistan under President Yahya Khan held an election. The largest number of seats was won, democratically, by a Bengali party that favoured effective self-government for East Pakistan. Yahya thereupon decided to wipe out the result of the election by force."

Now, I should like to call the attention of those gentlemen who still preach democracy to bear this point in mind. I continue reading from *The New York Times:*

"Last March, West Pakistan troops flew into the East in large numbers and began a policy of slaughter. They murdered selected politicians, intellectuals and professionals, then indiscriminate masses. They burned villages. They held public castrations.

"To compare Yahya Khan with Hitler is of course inexact. Yahya is not a man with a racist mission but a spokesman for xenophobic forces in West Pakistan. But in terms of results—in terms of human beings killed, brutalized or made refugees—Yahya's record compares quite favourably with Hilter's early years.

"The West Pakistanis have killed several hundred thousand civilians in the East, and an estimated ten million have fled to India. The oppression has been specifically on lines of race or religion. The victims are Bengalis or Hindus, not Czechs or Poles or Jews, and perhaps therefore less meaningful to us in the West. But to the victims the crime is the same.

"This record has been no secret to the world."

That is why I refer to the reports which are already available in the United Nations, but which, for some reason, have not seen the light of day.

I continue to read:

"....The refugees were there in India to be photographed in all their pitiful misery."

I then leave out a sentence, and go on:

"....not a word about the most appalling refugee situation of modern times. Private diplomacy was doubtless going on, but there was no visible sign of American pressure on Yahya Khan for the only step that could conceivably bring the refugees back—a political accommodation with the Bengalis.

"Pakistan's argument was that it was all an internal affair. Yes, like the Nazi's treatment of German Jews. But even if one accepts, as one must, that Pakistan was bound to defend its territorial integrity, this issue had spilled beyond its borders. The refugee impact on India very soon made it clear that the peace of the whole sub-continent was threatened.

"It was as if the entire population of New York City had suddenly been dumped on New Jersey to feed and clothe—only infinitely worse in terms of resources available. Yet when Indira Gandhi went to the capitals of the West for help in arranging a political solution in East Pakistan, she got nothing.

"The Indians can be sanctimonious"—

I do not mind quoting against my country, my Government or my Prime Minister from a newspaper of repute.

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—"Mrs. Gandhi acts for political reasons, not out of purity of heart. India has helped the Bangla Desh guerrillas and, in recent weeks, put provocative pressure on East Pakistan. All true. But given the extent of her interest and the intolerable pressure upon her, India has shown great restraint."

"After all, India has not intervened in a civil conflict thousands of miles from her own border."

I shall skip the rest of that paragraph.

"American policy towards the Indian sub-continent is as much of a disaster by standards of hard-nosed common sense as of compassion. India may be annoying and difficult, but she does happen to be the largest nation in the world following our notions of political freedom. In position and population she is by far the most important country of Asia apart from China. To alienate India—worse yet, to act so as to undermine her political stability—is a policy that defies rational explanation."

It is not my habit to give quotations either from newspapers or anything else, but since we are coming to the conclusion of the debate, I thought I should depend on some other and wiser people and not only on my own statements and conclusions.

Here is Senator Church, who has just come back from India. I shall not read the whole of his statement—which he made only this morning—because it would take rather too much time, but I shall read the two brief concluding paragraphs:

"I find it odd to understand why there is such a pro-Pakistani bias in American policies. India's position in the war, which has now broken out, is not only consistent with her professed ideals, but is also the position which is most likely to prevail. By showing such favouritism towards West Pakistan, we side with the probable loser, and we forfeit the goodwill of the freedom-fighters in East Pakistan, as well as the people of India.

"Unless one believes that West Pakistan represents the wave of the future on the sub-continent, it is impossible to reconcile this Government's bias towards Yahya Khan's Government with the role in regard to the interests of the United States."

Of course, we are not interested in, or even concerned with, the interests of the United States. The United States is quite capable of looking after its own interests in a variety of ways. One of the ways has been to cut off economic aid to India recently—yesterday, I think—but we can live with that. We are not frightened by any threats or cuts. But we have to consider what we should do.

Before the Council proceeds to the vote—and I hope I may have another opportunity to explain a few more details on the various resolutions and put our point of view once again before the Council—at this stage I shall make a few other comments on our attitude to the resolutions.

Firstly, after all we have said, not only now but over the last few months, we cannot expect that any man of reason should equate India with Pakistan in any resolution or decision. We do not expect that, and we certainly do not accept it. We do not expect any reasonable man to do it, and if he does we cannot accept it. We are not in the same category as Pakistan. If, Mr. President, you wish me to elaborate, I can do so; but I think the point is already well known.

Secondly, we think it is wrong, illogical, undesirable—disastrous, even—to have to come to a decision without taking into account the point of view of the Bangla Desh Representatives, the Representatives of the main party involved in these tragic circumstances. However, it is not the first time that the Security Council

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or the United Nations has taken an unrealistic decision simply to show that it is up and alive and can act. We are not letting the Council down. Fair enough. We are all faithful Members of the United Nations and we should uphold the dignity and prestige of all its organs. But let us not say that by passing a purely unrealistic resolution we have done anything except console ourselves. That by itself would not be so bad, but if in the process we give a false hope to the world at large that, I think, will be a disaster.

Thirdly, we shall not, we cannot and we must not accept any resolution or decision which does not go to the root cause of the matter. It is no good saying we think we should cut off a limb here or a limb there to save the life. The fact of the matter is that this body has been rotting for nine months and no one has taken any notice. Now, after all these years, when we come to this extraordinary session of the Council, not to go to the root cause is another shibboleth on which no solid foundation can be built. We are meeting here in an extraordinary session—and how extraordinary it is. Pakistan is shrieking and shouting about aggression and so on, and yet it did not ask for a Council meeting. Has any gentleman at this table stopped to think why it has not? Probably they do not have to think. Probably they know. Over the last nine months, how many attempts have been made to bring the question to the Council or any other United Nations body? All attempts have been frustrated.

My friend and colleague, the Representative of Italy, was President of the Security Council in the month of August, I think. On 20th July, the Secretary-General sent his Memorandum. Why was that Memorandum not acted upon? We all know why. In the month of July, the Representative of Pakistan was flying from Geneva to New York to stop any discussions here, to stop any discussions there; and those attempts went on for months. Reports were suppressed; discussions were inhibited; a complete veil of silence and secrecy was thrown over this. Then, suddenly, we come up and say, "The world is in flames. We must do something. But we must not consider any of the vital problems." That is an approach which we totally deplore and certainly denounce.

Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi, Representative of Pakistan
December 6, 1971

Only yesterday, I quoted, for the second time to the Security Council, excerpts from an important paper, which has been given the most serious consideration by Government circles in India, about India's plan to bring about the dismemberment of Pakistan, and to use the Security Council as an instrument to legitimize the creation of the secessionist Bangla Desh State. I am sure that what I quoted must be fresh in the minds of the Members of the Council and I shall refrain from quoting it again.

Only yesterday and the day before, the Representative of India stated that these were the views of theoreticians and academicians in India, but now it is finally clear that that plan has been followed with meticulous exactitude and the Government of India has announced recognition of Bangla Desh.

The Representative of India quoted *in extenso* from Mrs. Gandhi's statement of yesterday giving the reasons for this act of war against Pakistan. She said that it was a valiant struggle which had opened a new chapter in the history of the freedom movement. And let it be noted that this new chapter was inaugurated by subversion and aggression.

If the President of Pakistan did designate Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as the Leader of the majority party in the National Assembly, as the Prime Minister

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and, if because of the disagreement of political factions within my country his plan for the transfer of power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could not materialize, did it justify a neighbouring State's fomenting armed civil strife and launching an armed attack against Pakistan? If a commission is given in a country to the leader of a political party, even a majority party, to form a Government and it is not executed for one reason or another, however right or wrong it may be, does another country embark on aggression and subversion to promote freedom in that country?

Now, we are told that the Mukti Bahini is fighting and that the Security Council must make an assessment of the realities, and the Representative of India talked of the success of the Mukti Bahini. What is the reality? The Mukti Bahini is a mere auxiliary of the 120,000 Indian armed forces which have unleashed armed attacks on Pakistan. It can play only a subsidiary role. It is under the occupation army of India that this Mukti Bahini will function. And it is to that Government, set up by the occupying authority, that this Security Council is expected to extend some kind of acknowledgement, if not recognition.

We have been told about the high-sounding proclamations of democracy, secularism, freedoms and what-not. We know that words are not tantamount to actions. In how many constitutions, in how many pronouncements and proclamations in every country in the world are these words not used? Are we to be guided just by rhetoric and eloquence? In India itself, democracy does not function in several of its provinces; they are under direct Presidential rule. And secularism is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Militant groups let loose murder and slaughter against religious minorities—and we are asked to take the word for the deed.

We were also told about foreign relations of Bangla Desh and its policy of non-alignment. The mentor of that government has set the example of non-alignment by concluding the Indo-Soviet military alliance.

The Representative of India talks of freedom of Bangla Desh. In 1905, that same East Pakistan, which was part of Bengal Province, achieved its emancipation from the economic exploitation and domination of the capitalists and caste Hindus of Calcutta and became a separate province within India—that was done by the British Government in 1905. But those same capitalists, industrialists, the caste Hindus of India, carried on a ceaseless agitation of murder, assassination and terror, and forced the British Government to annul the partition. So, the separation of East Pakistan—which took place in 1905, because it had been exploited for two centuries, both under British rule and subsequently by the privileged classes in India—was annulled and East Pakistan was again made a part of Bengal, so that the rule of the privileged classes was reimposed. It is only the Pakistani people and their strength that stand between that kind of reimposition of domination and the development of the people of East Pakistan in freedom and as the dominant partners and the dominant elements in the political life of Pakistan.

Then, the Representative of India went into the history of the movement for autonomy, talked of the six points and quoted from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Well, let me tell you something about the six points.

On 23rd March—two days before the Federal Army had to take action to suppress the massacres of non-Bengali elements that were being perpetrated by the secessionist elements—the leaders of the secessionist movement, or the leaders of the Awami League, presented a draft proclamation to President Yahya Khan stating that it was their last word and that the President of Pakistan could take it or leave it; in it they also said that Pakistan shall be a confederation—from a federal state, it was to transform itself into a confederation. The other political

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parties believe that confederation is an association of two sovereign states and not a union of provinces or states into one single whole. Surely, this was a legitimate point of view with which one may agree or not agree, but how does this become the concern of India? In other words, the Pakistan Government was asked to accept an ultimatum to transform Pakistan into a confederation of two sovereign States. And yet, we have a lecture from the Representative of India about how we should conduct ourselves in regard to the ordering of our constitutional and political life. Let him first study his own Constitution and see how much autonomy is given to the provinces. How much autonomy does West Bengal, his own province, have in the Indian federation? To what extent are the resources of Bengal and Assam spent within those provinces?

Then again, in every form the Indian Representatives repeat about the hundreds of thousands of people murdered by the Pakistan armed forces. It is a matter of the deepest regret that he shows no human feeling in regard to those murdered by the secessionist elements. There were people here in the so-called Delegation of Bangla Desh who set up slaughter houses in which thousands of people were massacred before 25th March when the army had to intervene and afterwards. And these people come here to represent Bangla Desh. There is living proof of these atrocities, and if Members of the Security Council want to turn away from propaganda and what the columnists write, and want to find out for themselves, we shall provide them the means of doing so.

The Representative of India talked the other day about films shown by his Delegation. We have these films but we have spared your feelings. But, you are welcome to come and see them if you so desire. I can understand his relish that Pakistan is dead and buried. Let me tell him, it lives and will survive, in spite of Indian aggression.

Then, he quotes something from *The New York Times*. This is an article by the columnist Anthony Lewis. I have read many of his articles before. But, that is the opinion of one individual. Did he go to Pakistan to find out the other side of the picture? Did he take care to inform himself of the real facts before he printed his column in this newspaper which is read by half a million people in the United States? Did he compare notes with other correspondents of equally respectable papers like the Manchester *Guardian* who have given a different assessment? This is the kind of propaganda to which the Representative of India resorts to divert the attention of the Council from Indian aggression and occupation of our territory. If we begin quoting correspondents, where are we going to end? All right, if you want to quote correspondents, I shall quote James Reston who said in yesterday's *New York Times:*

> "For Prime Minister Gandhi to talk about the 'wanton and unprovoked aggression' of Pakistan, when her own Government's troops have been constantly inside East Pakistan and her colleagues have made no secret of their aid to the East Pakistani insurgents or their desire to see East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan, is really an affront to the intelligence of the world."

And the Representative of India considers the intelligence of this distinguished and august gathering so low that he persists in his misrepresentations. I continue the quotation:

> "Mrs. Gandhi didn't even consider allowing U.N. observers to see what was going on along the India-Pakistani borders, which is interesting, since she is now defending the war as a moral crusade against the Pakistani aggressors."

The Representative of India cannot resist referring to the Government of Pakistan as a military junta. Several Member States are ruled—and these are not my words, but his words—by military juntas, and he went on to say:

> "President Yahya Khan decided to wipe out the results of election by force."

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If President Yahya Khan did not wish to promote or restore democracy in Pakistan in the first place, why would he have held elections and why should they have been held in an atmosphere of freedom which he himself hailed afterwards? Was it not far easier for him to crush the aspirations of the Bengali people before the elections, which would not have caused a whimper in the world? Yet, good and honest intentions, if they are prevented from being realized, are denounced and the most vicious motives are ascribed. And, from whom do they come? From India. We know that we can expect nothing better from India than permanent hostility.

As regards what Senator Church may have said: I regret that Senator Church had nothing to say about subversion and aggression. He expressed himself on a certain aspect of the Pakistan situation, but he chose to remain silent on the very issues which we are now considering here in the Security Council.

Finally, in reply to the Representative of India, he alleged that Pakistan shouted about aggression and did not ask for a meeting of the Security Council. Ambassador Vinci was the President of the Security Council in August and he knows of the efforts made by me under the instructions of my Government to activate the Security Council to exercise a moderating influence, and to promote a reduction of tension. But why was no Security Council meeting called? Because of the opposition of India and the allies of India. And we know now when we come finally before the Security Council what is the result—a veto, a veto. So therefore let us not talk about coming before the Security Council.

Turning now from the Representative of India to what the Representative of the Soviet Union said yesterday and a little earlier today. I shall, of course, not comment on his amendments, because I believe they are no longer before us, for the draft resolution to which they were submitted as amendments has been withdrawn. We thank the sponsors of that draft resolution for having withdrawn their proposal. But here, with reference to what Ambassador Malik said in explaining his amendments, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without commenting on one or two points. The Representative of the Soviet Union said that action by the Security Council must be in accordance with the real situation in the Hindustan sub-continent. The real situation in the Hindustan sub-continent now is that brought about by India's subversion, support to armed secession, armed intervention and aggression. In other words, is the Security Council going to legitimize this so-called reality, perpetuate occupation and guarantee the fruits of aggression and the illegal use of force?

The Representative of the Soviet Union said that the cessation of hostilities must be organically linked to a political settlement. In other words, the Soviet amendments, as explained by the Representative of the Soviet Union, mean that Pakistan must immediately agree to the secession of East Pakistan and to Pakistan's dismemberment and that war and military occupation must continue until it does so.

I am also constrained to remark that in the statements of the Soviet Representative there is a persistent pre-occupation with the political situation in Pakistan to the exclusion of every other aspect of the situation prevailing today in the sub-continent, and which prevailed in the weeks and months before. And we are most concerned that in addition to the security doctrine to which I referred yesterday, the pronouncements of Soviet Representative seem to stake a claim to be the arbiter in the internal political and constitutional life of my country.

I shall comment on the draft resolutions later, but I feel I must place on record certain facts. I refrained from doing so yesterday, because I did not wish to prolong the time taken by the Council to get to a vote on the draft resolutions

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before it. First, I should like to draw the attention of the Security Council to a mis-statement of fact by India, as contained in the Secretary-General's report (S/10410/Add.1). According to a message from the Prime Minister of India, which was orally delivered to the Secretary-General, it is claimed therein that Pakistani aircraft attacked the military bases of India at Pathankot and Srinagar—in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir—and at Amritsar on the afternoon of 2nd December. That is totally false. I waited until now to contradict that claim because I was checking the correct facts. On the instructions of my Government, I am now to state that Pakistani aircraft took counter-action against these airfields on 3rd December, and only after India, six or seven hours earlier, had launched armed attacks against Pakistan along a 500-mile-long front in the west.

I should like also to state on this occasion that I would request Ambassador Malik, when he refers to any remarks I make, kindly to quote them in context. I only wish to say that it is regrettable that he again made a statement yesterday which I had corrected the day before. That was in regard to what I said about the existence of an internal crisis in Pakistan. In the political life of States, internal crises are not a rare phenomenon, but it is up to the people of those countries to overcome the crises and not for foreign powers to exacerbate internal divisions, promote secession and armed rebellion and, finally, launch armed attacks and use an internal crisis as justification for interventionist doctrines in the political life of other States.

Further, I should like to bring to the attention of this Council a most deplorable action by India yesterday. On 4th December, the Secretary-General, in an urgent telephonic message to me, expressed his concern for the safety of United Nations personnel in East Pakistan and conveyed his decision to evacuate them to Bangkok. He requested that the Pakistan Government be approached to see if a cease-fire could be arranged in Dacca from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. East Pakistan Time on 5th December to enable a transport plane to land at the airport and evacuate United Nations personnel to safety. The Secretary-General also intimated that he was making a similar request to the Permanent Representative of India. The Secretary-General's request was conveyed to the Government of Pakistan with all due urgency. It was followed up by the Pakistan Mission with telephonic messages to Islamabad. It is understood that both the Governments of Pakistan and India agreed to a cease-fire in Dacca for a certain length of time to allow for the evacuation of United Nations personnel and foreign diplomats. However, the world now knows that the Indian air force chose precisely the moment of evacuation of United Nations personnel to attack the civilian airport at Dacca. The perfidious nature of this attack needs to be condemned in the strongest possible terms. It shows better than we can say what kind of attitude governs India at present. India's air force launches an attack on the territory of Pakistan at the time when it knows that the valiant forces of Pakistan are committed to observing a cease-fire. The innocent victims in this case are the international civil servants and diplomats, and it is a fortunate accident that no lives were lost.

Finally, I should like to state that in regard to the question of extending an invitation to a particular entity to come here, I have pointed out that it would be not only a violation of rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but also a violation of the Charter. That has been brought out with sufficient force by the Representative of Argentina, among others. Whatever may have been India's actions yesterday, that in no wise alters the force of the arguments that have been urged before the Council, and should the Council act in an unlawful manner we should have to consider that to be an unfriendly act towards the Government of Pakistan.

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In order not to take the floor another time, I should like briefly to give my views on the draft resolution proposed by the Representative of France with his characteristic eloquence, precision and lucidity.

We are conscious of the concern of his Delegation and the British Delegation that the Council should achieve some result and not be completely paralysed by vetoes. Therefore, while we appreciate the laudable motives and the concern for peace that have prompted him to put forward a proposal, we are constrained to observe that nothing has been said about the proven fact of aggression and the fact that India has admitted this aggression. Nothing has been said about the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and subversion and the fomentation of armed rebellion by India. Furthermore, this draft resolution does not provide for withdrawal of armed personnel and forces. In other words, occupation would continue and then, by the time the Security Council were to consider the situation further, Pakistan would be called upon to acquiesce in its own dismemberment.

We note that the draft resolution contemplates that the Council should meet again to consider what further steps within the framework of the Charter could be taken on the issues which have given rise to the hostilities, but we know very well that any proposal for the withdrawal of occupation forces is likely to attract a veto, and the Security Council would not be in a position to deal with the question of withdrawal of forces. By not dealing simultaneously with the question of withdrawal together with that of cease-fire, the Council would legitimize military occupation and perpetuate it.

For these reasons, we would hope that the Council would ponder the considerations I have urged and also be conscious of the fact that while it has a responsibility for peace and security, the United Nations as a whole cannot absolve itself from that responsibility just because a veto power is being arbitrarily exercised.

Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Representative of India
December 6, 1971

I simply wanted to speak for two minutes in order not to leave an impression on some of the factual matters brought out by the Representative of Pakistan. This impression has been created on the basis of misconception, and I thought I would clear it up straight away. I do not believe it would help our deliberations or profit the Council if I were to reply in detail once again to the many charges he brings up from time to time, charges to which I have replied in detail on previous occasions. All these charges are flung, as I said before, without the slightest iota of evidence or a particle of truth. However, he has mentioned three points in which the United Nations is somehow or other involved and I think it is my duty to inform the Council of the exact position.

First, he talked about this tragic subject of Bangla Desh being brought up in the United Nations. Of course, the Security Council is one of the many forums where this could be discussed. He did not explain why other organs could not also be considered. However, two factual points. He said that our memorandum, contained in document S/10410, is not correct and that it contains a mis-statement. He says Pakistani sources have reported that India has launched an attack on West Pakistan. I maintain, this is totally false. If there is any doubt about that, at least part of the truth is established by the report which is contained in document S/10412, which says in its paragraph 4 (*a*): "Srinagar airfield bombed at 1745 hours on 3rd December". Now, Srinagar is on our side of the frontier and, therefore, it could only be bombed by Pakistani planes. We have suggested the bombing took place at 1730 hours; the United Nations observer reports it was bombed at 1745 hours.

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The second point is that he said that we had committed some heinous crime in preventing the evacuation of consular corps and United Nations personnel from Dacca. If anyone has any regard for the truth—and I think the Secretariat can bear me out on this, but I shall not ask them to do so because it would be most embarrasing for them—everything was arranged. The plane came from Bangkok and was flying to Dacca. Here is a telegram stating exactly what happened:

> "As arranged, Canadian C-13 aircraft came from Bangkok to Dacca this morning. However, when approaching Dacca airport, Dacca control tower did not accept the aircraft and advised it to turn back. Our Calcutta airport control monitored this talk and invited pilot to divert to Calcutta. Pilot acknowledged offer gratefully, but said he was venturing back to Bangkok. The air force authorities confirmed that safe period between 10-30 to 12 noon IST promised by us was fully honoured. Our air force stopped air activity in Dacca airfield well before such period".

That is the truth.

Statement by Mr. Jacob Malik, Representative of the U.S.S.R.
December 6, 1971

The Soviet Delegation cannot but express regret over the fact that the co-sponsors of the draft resolution of the five powers were unable to retain their position even for a period of 24 hours, and that they have abandoned that position by withdrawing their draft resolution. Apparently, insurmountable barriers have arisen for them, perhaps even two barriers on two sides, on the part of imperialism and on the part of socialist betrayal.

Mr. Vinci, who withdrew the draft of the five powers, presented a number of arguments of the kind which strengthened the conviction and the confidence of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as to the correctness of the position it has assumed on the subject under discussion. He said that the draft of the five powers did not reflect true reality. This is precisely what we say and have been saying throughout the whole of the discussion of this question in the Security Council. We call upon the Council to take reality into account. Therefore, Ambassador Vinci, in speaking on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution of the five powers, if they agree with him, has in fact confirmed the justness and correctness of the position of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We insisted, insist and shall continue to insist upon reality being taken into account.

Guiding ourselves by that, we introduced our own amendment to the draft resolution of the five powers. Having studied that draft, we came to the profound conviction that it is essential to impart to that draft an aspect of reality. It must be made realistic. Without the Soviet amendment, the five-power draft was in fact unrealistic, and our amendment imparted this character of reality to it. Our amendment to that draft resolution provided for the close, indissoluble, organic link between the cessation of fire and hostile actions in the Hindustan sub-continent and the elimination of the root cause of the conflict in this region, the root cause, that is, behind the most serious crisis in East Pakistan, whose consequences have now become international in character and in significance. The international character and significance of that conflict are confirmed by the circumstance that the Security Council, the main United Nations organ, has already been discussing for three meetings this important, serious and urgent matter. In view of this, we once again express our regret that the draft of the five powers turned out to be so short-lived that it failed even to live through a 24-hour interval and was hastily withdrawn. But we do not lose our confidence. We believe in the correctness of our own

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approach to the settlement of the situation in the Hindustan sub-continent, and we introduced independently our own draft resolution, taking into account the situation and the provisions contained in the five-power draft resolution as well as the provisions contained in the amendments to that draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Delegation. In order to save time, I shall not read out that draft, because the five-power draft and the amendment are well known to the Members of the Council, and the Secretariat of the United Nations has promised to issue this draft of the Soviet resolution as an independent draft resolution. We are formally introducing it for the consideration of the Council.

In this connexion, we should like to emphasize especially the circumstance that in this draft there is an intimate, organic and inseparable linking and combining of two basic questions, two basic situations which must be resolved, in connexion with the deterioration of the situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. If one could formulate these two questions briefly, they could be called fire and settlement, and these should be decided in the following fashion: cease-fire and the adoption of measures for the peaceful settlement. Whoever proceeds with a different yardstick is really pipe-dreaming and divorcing himself from reality, and thereby he becomes incapable of assisting the Council in the adoption of the appropriate and necessary decision that is most called for in the present circumstances. We are profoundly convinced that, if the Council were to adopt our draft resolution, that would be the most reasonable and most effective decision for the subject under discussion. I have listened with great attention to the statements of those Representatives who have spoken, and I should like the Representative of Burundi to listen to what I have to say, if possible. I have listened with great attention to the statements of Representatives, including the Representative of Burundi, concerning the sufferings of the women and children, the wives and mothers—and they number approximately 10 million who have transferred from East Pakistan to India. Now, if the Representative of Burundi and the co-sponsors of the five-power draft were to vote for our draft resolution, and if our draft resolution were to be adopted now, that purpose of his, namely, the desire to eliminate the suffering, would have been brought about very quickly. That is the reality today in the Hindustan Peninsula.

In referring briefly to the comments of the Representative of Pakistan, I must draw attention merely to some of the aspects of his statement. Why is he afraid of the expression of the Will of the people of East Pakistan. In view of that expression of Will, as represented by the convincing figures of 167 seats in the Parliament of East Pakistan out of the total of 330 in the Parliament, why have you decided to deprive these members of Parliament of the right that is theirs to exercise, the confidence placed in them by the people as expressed through their Will? Why is it desired to deny them the right to work freely in the legislative body? That is the question which has not been answered here.

Ambassador Shahi attributed to me an idea—non-existent either in my heart or in my mind—the intention of being an arbitrator in the present matter, or a referee. I do not pretend to such a role. It would be contrary to my convictions. We appeal for the proposition that the arbitrator should be the Security Council, and that it should take into account the real situation in the India-Pakistani Peninsula, and that it should adopt a position taking into account the two circumstances which I have mentioned—cease-fire, the cessation of hostilities and the immediate passing on to a political settlement. Why is it that the Pakistani Representative and his great protectors are afraid of that? This is merely an illustration of the way in which socialist traitors distort the concepts of democracy. We said that the political crisis in East Pakistan was serious, but this is something which nobody denies now. I made no quotations from the statement of Ambassador

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Shahi. I merely underlined and concentrated my attention upon three words: "serious internal crisis". But this is what you said, you did not deny that, and all those Members of the Council who took part in the discussions had noted it and likewise emphasized it. Why do you single me out and accuse me of incorrect quoting of your statement? I see no reason for that.

There was some talk of the unprecedented nature of the Security Council's having its own authoritative opinion concerning the main causes of the conflict in the Hindustan region, but since when has there been any intention to deprive the Security Council of the right to have an opinion concerning the main causes of a conflict, in the consideration of a conflict which has become international, in character? During the past 26 years of the existence of the Security Council no one has ever denied the Security Council the authority and the powers given it by the Charter of the United Nations. No one has ever denied this main body, primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the right to have an opinion concerning the main causes of a conflict which threatens peace and security. So, those who come forward with such conceptions and objections have no foundation whatever for them.

The Council is not given the right to ignore reality, to ignore life and to ignore the main causes which have led to international tension and international conflict. That right is not given to the Council either under the Charter or on the basis of the work of the Council over the past 26 years. Yet, all the draft resolutions which have been introduced so far have been one-sided. They fail to take account of the primary cause of the conflict in the Hindustan Peninsula. It is precisely because of this that the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. was unable to support those drafts. You may call that what you wish—give it any label you may think of. One of the Representatives decided to embark on a course of falsification, slander and monstrous lies. Let that lie on his conscience. We have a Russian proverb which says that slander and evil talk will not hang on one's lapel. Let him engage in that dirty business himself. That is how matters stand with the draft resolutions and therein is the root cause of the fact that the Security Council so far has been unable to adopt any resolution which would take account precisely of these two most important factors of the international problem under discussion —the immediate cease-fire and the immediate enaction of measures for a political settlement, taking into account the expressed Will of the overwhelming majority of the population of East Pakistan.

Once again, I revert to the draft which we are now introducing on behalf of the Soviet Delegation on the basis, as I have already pointed out, of the provisions of the draft of the five powers and the provisions contained in the Soviet amendments to that draft. If all Members of the Council ignored the double pressure that has been exerted upon them—the pressure I have already referred to of imperialism and the pressure of socialist betrayal—then the adoption of that draft resolution would, to a very great extent, contribute to the cessation of the conflict on the territory of Hindustan, the stabilization of the situation and a political settlement there. I would appeal to those Members of the Security Council, who are genuinely and sincerely striving towards that, to support our draft resolution.

As for the statement of Mr. Huang, in my first statement I called him "Comrade", and in the plenary General Assembly also I called him "Comrade". I called him the head of the Chinese Delegation. But, if he wishes to call me "Mr." I am quite prepared to call him "Mr.", if he prefers to be a "Mr.".

Yesterday, I gave an exhaustive description of his role and the purposes he pursues here in the United Nations, and in the Security Council in particular—the role of chief slanderer against the Soviet Union. I pointed out that now the slanderers from the imperialist camp, as far as slander against the Soviet Union is

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concerned, have nothing more to do: that whole dirty task is now being carried out by the Chinese slanderer.

Well, let him continue. We believe in the righteousness of our cause. Our policy and position are well known. We are proud of the fact that we have good friendly relations with the overwhelming majority, at least, of Member States of the United Nations. We find common understanding and common purposes; and in a common effort, we are striving to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. We are grateful to many of our colleagues here who adhere to the same position, who appeal for friendship and co-operation with our country and with its Delegation and Representatives in the United Nations.

I do not think that any of the slanderous fabrications and falsifications of history, which are so zealously being engaged in now by one of the Members of the Organization, will have any effect or influence at all; nor will they have any influence upon the strengthening and future development of our sincere friendship and collaboration with the many Delegations around this table and in the General Assembly, and in this Organization as a whole; they will not shake that, however much the slanderers may try to achieve the opposite goal.

I sweep aside all of the fabrications and falsifications, but when history is falsified one cannot remain silent. In the apparent belief that it constituted a convincing argument, he referred to the Manchukuo; he reminded us that this integral, component part of China was invaded by Japanese imperialism and militarism. But he passed over in silence the matter of who liberated that part of China from the Japanese militarists: the heroic Soviet Army and the tens of thousands of sons, brothers and fathers who laid down their lives in thrusting through the equivalent of the Maginot Line, if I may so—the heroes of Khingan mountain range in the territory of Manchuria—in crushing the resistance of the Japanese militarists in order to liberate the Manchurian people from the yoke of Japanese imperialism. History knows about that, and all those sitting here know about that; and despite the efforts by that slanderous man from the Socialist betrayal camp to pass over this in silence, he will not succeed in that. Indeed, the whole world knows that the decisive victory of the Soviet Union, including its victory in the Far East together with the other countries, has helped the Chinese people in creating the Chinese People's Republic. He also passed over that in silence.

Mr. Huang Hua says that Malik has not understood history. Well, in reminding him of these two facts, I want to say that Mr. Huang Hua has falsified history; it is precisely he who pretends that he does not understand history. Well, what is that? Is it a failure to understand, or is it shamelessness? In drawing an analogy between Manchukuo and this serious domestic political crisis which has occurred in East Pakistan, and which has become an international problem, he has said many things; but this is only an indication of the theoretical formalism and falsification of the Socialist traitors.

Indeed, Japanese imperialism and militarism occupied Manchuria despite the Will and the expression of that Will of the Manchurian people, forcing upon it Emperor Puyi, a remote descendant of the Chinese imperial family; and with the support of Japanese bayonets, Puyi was installed in Manchuria, and that part of China which had been occupied by the militarists was occupied formally as Manchukuo.

But, what has that to do with East Pakistan? The Security Council, as a result of the discussion of this problem, finds it quite obvious that in East Pakistan there was an expression of the Will of the people: 167 seats out of 313 in the Pakistani Parliament were obtained by the elected Representatives of East Pakistan. Well, what happened there? Their powers and rights were down-

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trodden by the iron boot of the militarists; and that boot is now being kissed by the Representative of the Socialist traitors.

Those are the concrete facts and the analogy and the comparison. He defends this, and covers it with slander against the Soviet Union, and also against India, while he is at it.

In Manchuria, the Manchurians took no part in any of the elections, as everybody knows. In East Pakistan, elections did take place, and the elected representatives of the people were in fact elected. And here the falsification again appears. In East Pakistan, there was no Puyi; nobody set up any Puyi there upon the throne, and Bangla Desh "Kuo" was never proclaimed, whereas the Chinese Representative is trying to confuse reality by drawing analogies.

On the contrary, the leader of the majority in East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has been thrown into gaol and is under the threat of a court-martial, or is simply on trial, or being threatened with trial. So, what analogy is there between Puyi and Rahman? Who is going to believe it? Whom do you think your anti-Soviet and anti-Indian propaganda will work on, Mr. Huang Hua?

As a matter of fact, in connexion with Puyi, we helped the Chinese to re-train Puyi. When he was our prisoner, he asked for the full works of Lenin and Marx. I do not know whether he actually read them all, but perhaps he did. And when we handed Puyi over to the Chinese, we had virtually prepared him as a Marxist; the Chinese received not an Emperor but a man who had already read Lenin and Marx. That is the analogy that is being referred to by Mr. Huang Hua. And in coming back to the definition of what that is—misunderstanding or shamelessness—all ways and means are good for slander against the Soviet Union.

There you have it—the repulsive face of the Socialist traitors.

I suppose I might finish here, but I am being rather mindful and heedful of a conception that is being raised here by Mr. Huang Hua. He says that the plan of the Soviet Union is to control Hindustan, and yesterday he said, to control the Indian Ocean. Well, slanderers really have a limitless fantasy and imagination, and falsifiers even improve on that. The stupidity of fabrication and slander over the great friendship between the Soviet people and the people of India is one which the Soviet Delegation deems beneath its dignity to reject or refer to.

But let us consider the concept. It follows, according to the Chinese conception, that friendship between a stronger country and a weaker country necessarily is an illustration of the fact that stronger one wants to dominate and control the weaker one. That is a dangerous conception and it reveals the genuine outlook, way of thinking and purpose of those who have that kind of approach to a friendship between the Soviet and the Indian peoples. That means that China in its foreign policy considers friendship of the more powerful nation with the less powerful one—at least in a military sense, for in terms of population, India is more powerful than we—we have 230 million and they have got something like 600 million or something of that order—China considers that as a way for the Soviet Union to control India and Hindustan. This is a monstrous fabrication to which we do not even feel it necessary to react. Suffice it only to think of how false and phoney all this is. But falsification does reveal the genuine purposes of China. In other words, if China is friendly with a small country, it then necessarily is bound to be controlling it. There are the real conception and foreign policy aspirations of China with respect to the third world, to control the third world, and in relying upon it, under the guise of friendship, to strive

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to become a super-super-power of super-powers. These are the purposes that I have already mentioned.

The Chinese Representative derives great joy from the slander that he presents against the Soviet Union. There he is smiling and rubbing his hands as a result of it. Well, fine. If he has taken it upon himself to play that role, let him continue it. We will not find that either hot or cold.

Mr. Huang Hua spoke of the end that befell the Quislings. And who brought the Quislings to that end? The Soviet Union, its people and its heroic armed forces which have invested the lion's share in the victory over German Nazism, Italian Fascism, which is referred to here, and Japanese militarism. We have brought the Quislings to their end, and not you, Mr. Huang Hua, and not your socialist traitors. But in reminding us of the end of Quislings, you must remind us of the end of slanderers. Who, starting from 17th October, has not slandered the Soviet Union? Well, it is said that, for instance, the organ of American monopoly, *The New York Times*, predicted the fall of Soviet power in Russia approximately 90 times. Well, we still live. We exist. We are doing very well, thank you. We have coped with the most terrible threat to our homeland, Hitlerite Fascism. We are carrying out our economic plans. We are raising the welfare of our population. We are helping other people to the extent of our means, and we are fighting unstintingly for the strengthening of international peace, security, and disarmament. And the slander of *The New York Times* does not cling to our lapel. We do not feel it.

Who has slandered us? The late Churchill—and that is known to all—from the very first days of the October Revolution all the way to the Fulton speech; who set America against the Soviet Union as the mentor and tutor of the American political leaders, new personalities that needed teaching in the realm of politics. But, Churchill is no longer with us. Churchill not only slandered us, but he even organized crusades. We swept aside the slander, and dealt with the crusades, and we still exist and are very well, thank you.

Who has slandered us? Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, Ribbentrop—they not only slandered us but they pushed their armed forces against us and the armed forces of the whole of subjugated Europe against us. That terrible threat the heroic Soviet armed forces coped with, and so did the people. We have endured immense suffering of the kind that we would not wish on anyone, on any other people, and certainly not on ourselves.

The Quislings have perished, and their masters have perished, Hitler, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Keitel and the rest. Who has made that possible? The Soviet Union. And this must be remembered by you too, Mr. Huang Hua. Thus, from this historic fact, it would be necessary to draw the conclusion for the benefit of contemporary slanderers, both from the camp of the imperialists and from the camp of the socialist traitors.

No slanderer will swerve us from our Leninist course, a course to strengthen international peace and security, and achieve disarmament and the development of friendship with all peoples of the world who wish to be friendly with us in pursuit of those lofty ideals, on the basis of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence. The Quislings and the slanderers have not in the past had any future. They have no future now either. That is their fate. Slander is not a way of achieving lofty purposes, whereas sincere universal co-operation, even in such a far-from-perfect organization as the United Nations, by common effort undertaken with a genuine desire to co-operate, would make it possible to achieve the purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter, in the elaboration of which we participated and in the implementation of which we have applied our efforts

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throughout the whole of our presence and participation in the work of the United Nations.

These are the historic facts, and that is the unenviable fate of the slanderers and falsifiers who try to distort these universally known historic facts.

Statement by Mr. George Bush, Representative of the U.S.A.
December 6, 1971

I should like, first, to make a very brief comment regarding the statement by the Ambassador of India. I appreciate his omitting certain passages from the column that he quoted. In all sincerity, I say that this was most considerate and courteous of him. But I do believe that a brief reply is in order.

He insists on deflecting the Security Council's attention from the fire on the sub-continent by using this ageless device of quoting selectively from columns or editorials printed here that are unfavourable to the policy of the United States Government. Let me, here and now, assure this Council that our people—and that is what counts in this country—support what the United States Government has been trying to do, selective columns to the contrary notwithstanding.

Our people, our policy, supported the Secretary-General in his call for help for the refugees, in his call for observers. Were not those efforts by our Secretary-General even-handed? We think they were. Our people supported the massive relief effort for refugees in Pakistan and the massive relief effort for refugees in India. Our people supported the vigorous private diplomacy in which our President engaged in trying to get the forces of both sides to pull back. And our people supported, happily and proudly, the recent visit of the Indian Prime Minister to our soil. I can also assure our colleague that the American people strongly support the United States draft resolution which received such an overwhelming vote in the Security Council, a resolution to stop killing, a resolution for a cease-fire and withdrawal, resolution—and let me quote it very briefly:

"....toward the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan".

Our people support that, as they did a resolution supporting the Secretary-General's offer for good offices for peace. That is what we support, selective columns to the contrary notwithstanding.

This is not a one-sided policy. I hope it is a compassionate policy, a compassionate policy towards a continent in flames. I wish the draft resolution had garnered even more votes than the overwhelming number it did receive. I wish it had received the unanimous support of the world community.

In summary, we can find voices of dissent on our policy in this country; we can find editorials. But I do not want this Council to be diverted by this device of shifting the focus to our Government by quoting unfavourable domestic sources. No matter from where those articles come, they will not divert the world's attention from the massive war that has descended upon the sub-continent. And while the war goes on, blame is unimportant. Each of us in this Council can have his views as to who is to blame; and certainly our colleague from India is entitled to his. But at this critical moment in history, blame is unimportant; stopping the slaughter, stopping the invasion, somehow seems to our people to be desperately important.

At our meeting last night, I noted that the Council had been convened because it was faced with a clear and present threat to the peace of the world, because the area and the scope of the fighting had broadened and had intensified, and because the Council had a responsibility under the Charter to stop the

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fighting and preserve the territorial integrity of Member States. Eleven Members of this Council—a clear majority—signified on two separate occasions their desire to exercise the responsibilities of the Security Council under the Charter. They voted in favour of two draft resolutions which called upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take measures forthwith for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces from the territory of the other to their own side of the borders. They recognized the need to intensify efforts to bring about speedily and in accordance with the principles of the Charter conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland.

But unfortunately—as our colleague from Argentina mentioned and as we pointed out last night—one Permanent Member of this Council did not support that approach and exercised, under the rules, its veto over those two draft resolutions. In the midst of this grave situation, the action of that Member has rendered the Council unable to act in order to restore peace and security in South Asia, and we are not able in this crisis even to call for a halt to the fighting and the return of troops to within their own borders. In these circumstances, we are faced with the prospect that the world will conclude that the United Nations is unable to fulfil its Charter obligations to restore international peace and security where they are threatened.

This Council must do all within its power to ensure that this does not happen. It must explore every feasible avenue for action. And, to judge by statements made by most Members at our last meeting, it is also clear that a large majority is agreed that we cannot leave the matter where it is; the *status quo* is intolerable. The threat to peace is too real and the plight of the refugees and the civilian population in general is too urgent for us to engage in further demonstrations of the inability of this Council to carry out its duties under the Charter. Fortunately, there are additional steps that we can take to permit the full Membership of the United Nations to examine this urgent question and bring its influence to bear in favour of restoring peace in South Asia.

The "Uniting for Peace" resolution provides that:

> "....if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the Permanent Members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations...."

Accordingly, the United States joins the Representatives of Somalia, Argentina, Burundi—and hopefully many more—in supporting the draft resolution which provides for referral of this urgent and important question to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly for immediate consideration. We fervently hope that the Assembly will prove itself equal to the task so that the United Nations will have fulfilled these grave responsibilities that it bears under the Charter.

Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi, Representative of Pakistan
December 6, 1971

It was not my intention to take the floor again, but the Ambassador of the Soviet Union addressed a direct question to me which arises out of the draft resolution contained in document S/10428, which he has circulated. This question was, why are you afraid of the expression of the Will of the people of East Pakistan? I believe that he is entitled to an answer and I shall give him an honest answer, but before I do that I should like to make a comment or two on his draft resolution as explained by him.

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I draw the attention of the Security Council first to the fact that while the Soviet draft resolution attempts to merge the elements of the five-power draft resolution contained in document S/10425, it also changes that draft resolution which has been withdrawn. For example, compare operative paragraph 1 of the five-power draft resolution with operative paragraph 1 of the Soviet proposal. The five-power draft reads: "Calls upon the Governments concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire ..." The Soviet draft "Calls upon all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities...". This is a basic change because, while one request is addressed to "the Governments concerned", the other is addressed to "all parties concerned". Since we know that the secessionist elements are accompanying the Indian invading forces, the Soviet draft resolution would make them a party to this first step, compel us to negotiate with them and straightaway accord them the status of a party. In other words, it would pave the way for recognition. For us, as one of the parties, this is a most fundamental change introduced by the Representative of the Soviet Union.

I shall respond to the appeal of Ambassador Malik to examine his draft resolution in the light of life and in the light of reality as it obtains now. There is an element of internal contradiction in the Soviet draft resolution. Operative paragraph 1 gives status and recognition to the auxiliary secessionist forces accompanying the Indian armed forces by making them a party. Operative paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft resolution calls for a political settlement, "giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the elections of December, 1970". The fact is, the reality is, that the auxiliary secessionist elements accompanying the invading Indian forces have repudiated the mandate. They stand for the creation of an independent Bangla Desh State. That was not the Will of the population of East Pakistan as expressed in the elections of December, 1970. There is a qualitative change in the demand that is now made. Therefore, the Soviet draft resolution on the one hand accords status to the secessionist elements who demand independence and who have repudiated the mandate of the people of East Pakistan as given in the elections, and on the other hand talks of "giving... expression to the Will of the people of East Pakistan". In this situation, it is the auxiliary armed secessionist elements which will be given a decisive voice by this draft resolution. I point out this internal contradiction.

I earlier expressed the view that the Soviet amendments, on which I commented and which are now part of this Soviet draft resolution, linked a settlement with a cease-fire. That is, Ambassador Malik explained, there is an organic bond between them: that is, until there is a settlement, hostilities must continue; war will continue.

Then, there is an element of political negotiation involved for the Government of Pakistan, under the duress of the presence of the invading Indian armed forces. We have been called upon to negotiate under these circumstances—which has never been the practice of the Security Council or the United Nations.

Whatever the organs of public opinion may say, whatever columnists may say, whatever intellectuals may say—and many of them do not have a high opinion of the United Nations—we all know that many great intellectuals are political innocents. But, here we are working within the framework of the rules and provisions of the Charter, and we have to act in accordance with those principles. The intellectuals and the columnists and the newspaper editors consider themselves superior; they override the law of the United Nations in moulding public opinion. But we have to conform to the Charter.

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Therefore, the principle that there can be no political solution to any problem while a country is under invasion and occupation is a fundamental one, and we regret to find that that principle—a United Nations principle—is ignored in the Soviet draft proposal.

Further, I should like to point out that in all the draft resolutions that the United Nations has considered, it is a sacrosanct practice to couple cease-fire with withdrawal, and we have admired the position of principle of the Soviet Union, until now, that it has always maintained the organic link between withdrawal and cease-fire. But, unfortunately, we do not find a consistent approach by the Soviet Union on the present occasion.

As I have said, East Pakistan is a part of Pakistan recognized as such by all Member States. The armed attacks and invasion of East Pakistan from 21st November constituted an armed attack—an aggression—on all Pakistan.

The Representative of the Soviet Union made the charge that Pakistan started this on 3rd December. But we must go back before that date. I should like to point out that the aggression started on 21st November against Pakistan, which is one single State.

Then, in regard to my remarks, let me make clear what I said about our internal crisis. We do have an internal crisis, which is a political crisis. That political crisis is our internal affair. The international aspects of this crisis are the following: there is the humanitarian aspect—the purely humanitarian aspect—and there is the other international aspect created by Indian subversion, promotion of armed rebellion and secession within East Pakistan, and, finally, the invasion of East Pakistan. I should like to make clear once and for all what are the internal aspects of our crisis and what are the international aspects, so that there will be no misapprehension whatsoever.

Now, coming to the question whether we are afraid of the expression of the Will of the people of East Pakistan. No; it is a great tragedy that that Will could not be given political expression in the meeting of the National Assembly, in which differences between political parties could perhaps have been resolved. But, as a result of a postponement for a short time, the secessionist elements in East Pakistan launched a rebellion involving the non-payment of taxes to the Government, defiance of the authority of the Government, and the release of 18,000 criminals from gaols, who were armed and let loose in an orgy of massacre.

That is the truth. If evidence is required, one need only consult the newspapers published in East Pakistan from the time of the crisis—from January and February and on 25th March. That was a notorious fact, which is known not only to Members of the United Nations. Those armed criminal elements—thousands of them—were armed and let loose to go and commit massacres; and, regrettably, some of the elected representatives were involved in those crimes. No member of the Assembly has been disqualified for political dissent or for his political views.

There is evidence of the organization of slaughter houses—I do not wish to go into these details—and those responsible were requested to come and clear themselves of the charges. Now, in this situation, while an amnesty extends to political offenders, can the international community demand that it should also be extended to those who have organized murder?

Therefore, I should like to point out in regard to the Soviet draft resolution the internal contradiction that the armed secessionist elements are being made a party to certain directives and actions of the Council, and then there is a

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demand about recognition of the Will of the population of East Pakistan. If the secessionist elements were to repudiate secessionist aims and abide by the Will of the people of East Pakistan as expressed in those elections, we might perhaps emerge from this dark night and from the gloom which surrounds us. That is a pertinent question which every Member of the Security Council must ask himself before he exercises his vote on the Soviet draft resolution.

Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Representative of India
December 6, 1971

Mr. President, we are coming to the end of the debate, and I am grateful to you and to the Council for this opportunity to make a few comments.

This debate has shown that selectivity is the order of the day. Now, several principles have been quoted by various Delegations: sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in other peoples' affairs, and so on. But I wonder why we should be shy about speaking of Human Rights? What happened to the Convention on Genocide? What happened to the Principle of Self-determination? What happened to all the other social rights and conventions which you have so solemnly accepted? Are we, therefore, to be selective in serving what is known as the motto of our era—peace, progress and justice? What happened to the justice part?

We cannot proceed on this important and very serious matter in that selective way. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security has been quoted. What happened to article 22 of that Declaration? What happened to the other articles? According to your views, you can select as you like, but when I select a particular article, then that is being selective.

I should have thought that the normal, civilized course of debate would be for each speaker to support his argument with the best evidence available; and if that is a crime then I have to be taught all the lessons of democracy all over again.

I was also glad to hear that the people of the United States support their Government. I should have thought that in an elected government—one elected for at least four years—that is a self-evident truth. But I was glad to have that confirmation.

Then, I was told that we are here not to apportion blame but to do something to calm down the fire which is raging. I can recall areas not far from India where warfare had been going on for years. I shall leave history to judge how and at what speed human lives are saved and the flames of conflict put out. Did we not then consider justice and the question of blame? I shall leave it at that.

Now, when we started this debate I asked myself and some of my friends what exactly the Council would wish to achieve. When I came here to participate in this important debate, in spite of many reservations—mainly for reasons I will explain briefly in a minute—I had hoped that the Council would proceed on the basis of that three-fold motto of peace, progress and justice.

Let me not be soft-mouthed about it: those who cry for peace, progress and justice must realize that these principles apply to all areas—not merely to India and Pakistan, not merely to this area or that area, but to all areas. We are all committed to them, and we cannot separate these concepts merely because someone feels something ought to be done quickly after having slept on it for nine months.

The second question I asked myself was: can we achieve it? I think we can achieve it. The Security Council has enough power to achieve it, but I

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rather doubt it will exercise that power. That power could have been exercised a long, long time ago. We are bogged down on the matter of internal jurisdiction, and so on and so forth, and there has been no attempt yet todate to have us look at the problem in its entirety and take suitable decisions. No, we are very anxious to get rid of a resolution somehow or other.

Then I asked myself: how should we achieve it? Now, here is where my hesitation, reservations and protests come in. I should have thought, I repeat, that any consideration of the question of cease-fire should require the parties who are fighting. I suppose it is not the intention of the Council that fighting between Pakistani soldiers and the people of East Pakistan should not be halted, and that violent massacres should go on all over the place, and that those who resist those massacres should be blamed for resisting them.

I should have thought that the intention of all men of good will would be to put an end to all hostilities. And we have just heard argued that the secessionist movement—I have again and again explained that aspect of the problem, and we do not have to dwell on it—that the Pakistani army can take whatever action it likes against helpless women, children and men, but they must not resist because that is immoral.

That is why I wanted Bangla Desh people to come and give us their view. But that has not happened. In this system of unrealism, can the Council really expect to come to any sensible decision?

Now, let me explain very briefly what some of these realities are. Refugees are a reality. It is not a question of economic strain alone. I have explained that again and again, so I shall not go into that. But anyway, refugees are a reality. Genocide and oppression are realities. The intense desire of people to live their own lives, in their own ways is an overwhelming reality. There is no hope of Pakistan ever controlling these lives. Total collapse of all the administration of Government is a reality. The extinction of all civil rights is a reality. Armed conflicts of various kinds are realities. Provocation and aggression of various kinds by Pakistan from 25th March onwards is a reality. As a result, retaliation has followed in exercise of the right of self-defence, and we have warned that we shall exercise this right without hesitation. Recognition by India of Bangla Desh is a reality. Bangla Desh itself is a reality. If those who do not accept these realities or the facts on which these realities are based, they are entitled to do so. We are not here to convince those who do not wish to be convinced. Those who do not wish to see facts, nobody can make them see facts. As the saying goes, no one is so blind as the man who refuses to see.

If we go against these realities, it is not India which will suffer but, I fear, the entire concept of the United Nations. We thank the Soviet Union, not because of the India-Soviet Treaty, but because it is one of the countries which has accepted these realities as they are. The realities have also been dawning in various quarters, but much too slowly. After nine months, we are still not anywhere near reality.

Now, much has been said about the India-Soviet peace treaty, that it is a bond of slavery. Now, those who believe that a country like India today can be controlled and ruled by some other power, however powerful it is, are not lacking in erudition. They do not need erudition, but they need attention in some other field. Pakistan continues to represent that the elections and subsequent wiping out of their verdict by force was inevitable and because of the secessionist elements. Again, I shall leave it at that because we know the facts much too well. I simply wish to make our position quite clear at this stage. We have

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made it clear before, but again I should read out formally a brief paragraph about our position:

"We have made our position perfectly clear and we shall adhere firmly to it, for what is at stake—perhaps it is difficult for others to understand it—is our national security, is our entire social and economic fabric, and the complex of life of over 500 million people of India, and many others besides. We have faced aggression from a neighbour four times, and we are threatened again. The sizes of different countries have little relevance, for small powers can have powerful allies, expensive and efficient military machines, and strange ambitions. Added to this, we face the mortal danger through the annihilation of 75 million people at our doorstep. This cannot but fail to overwhelm us and we shall not tolerate it."

Statement by Mr. Jacob Malik, Representative of the U.S.S.R.
December 6, 1971

The Delegation of the Soviet Union does not consider the transfer of the question to the General Assembly to be correct, either in terms of substance or from the procedural standpoint. This is an indication of the wish to avoid a solution on the substance of the matter, and the adoption of measures to eliminate the main source of conflict upon the Hindustan Peninsula. This is apparently something that is needed by those who are attempting, in accordance with their former practice, to utilize the rostrum for various types of insinuations and fabrications against those countries with whose positions they do not happen to agree. But, it is entirely clear that the chief purpose is to divert attention from the substance of the problem, from the main cause of the conflict, to muddy the waters, to confuse the United Nations, and to avoid the adoption of a solution to the problem.

Those who support that draft resolution know that General Assembly Resolutions are recommendations, whereas Resolutions of the Security Council are mandatory decisions which, under the Charter, must be implemented by Member States of the United Nations; and, being unwilling to find an effective solution to the question under consideration, those parties are making an attempt to throw this question into the lap of the General Assembly. Well, let them do that. Whoever prefers that course is free to attempt it. Let them try to escape the essence of the problem. The Soviet Delegation continues to consider that only a decision in the direction stated in the draft resolution presented by the Soviet Union could secure an effective settlement of the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula.

As you have stated, Mr. President, the Soviet Delegation does not at the present time press for a vote on its draft resolution. We intend to consult with other Delegations, irrespective of whether this matter is to be handed over to the General Assembly or not. We shall continue this work, and we shall continue to defend the right cause and our just position.

I should like to say a few words in connexion with some of the comments of my very old friend the Representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroody. He informed the Council that he had been approached by Representatives of the Baltic States on numerous occasions. Do not believe it, Mr. Baroody. They are not Representatives of the Baltic Republics: they are quislings and traitors to the peoples of those Republics. They served Hitler, and now they are serving those who are paying them more. They are serving the various imperialist intelligence agencies. They are being used as a labour force for the carrying out of the dirtiest

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tasks against the Soviet Union and the Baltic Republics, Mr. Baroody, so put an end to your friendship with them. They are the dregs.

If you wish to make the acquaintance of the genuine Representatives of the Baltic Republics, I can be of service in this respect. In the mission of the Soviet Delegation to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, there is a Representative of the Lithuanian people, and I can introduce you to him tomorrow. I might even give you his card today. He is the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Latvia, and I would be very happy to bring you together and introduce you to each other.

One further item of information. There are 15, not 16, Republics in the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, I should like to say that if Mr. Baroody, with his outstanding erudition and oratorical skill and his ability to present his case and his proposals in such a well argued way, had contributed to convincing certain Delegations to adopt the draft resolution introduced by the Soviet Union, that would have been useful, and it might have been possible to bring to an end the sufferings of the many people to whom he referred here.

Statement by Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, Representative of France
December 6, 1971

I should like to make two comments: one a formal one, the other a substantive one. The first comment has to do with the resolution "Uniting for Peace" on which it must be said that the procedure of the General Assembly is somewhat equivocal when it has to be brought to the General Assembly. That resolution tells us that:

> "If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency special session..."—and at that point—"Such emergency special session shall be called, if requested by the Security Council, on the vote of any seven members"—nine now—"or by a majority of the Members of the United Nations".

So, the procedure is very clear when the Assembly is not in session; it is far less clear when the Assembly is already in session. It would be sufficient as a matter of fact—because we do not want to quibble over form—to seize the Assembly under Article 12 of the Charter which says:

> "While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests".

Thus, it is in fact that we must interpret the draft resolution that is presented to us by Argentina and other co-sponsors. Accordingly, it is possible for the Security Council to request the General Assembly to take up this matter, not so much in terms of the text of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, but under Article 12.

But regardless of the detail of form, what I want to say is that in the French text of "decides to refer the question contained in document S/Agenda/1606", *renvoyer* for "refer" in English does not appear to me to be pertinent. *Renvoi* in French—referral—is correct when an assembly refers something to a committee, a subordinate organ. There is in French no *renvoi*—or referral—when there is passage between two organs that are quite different. The Assembly is not

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subordinate to the Council, any more than the Council is subordinate to the Assembly. They are two different bodies that each have functions and powers that are different, so it would be more correct to say "to bring the question contained" and so on "before the General Assembly".

This question of form has, after all, a consequence, and that is that the very fact of bringing the question before the General Assembly in no way implies—and the precedents are numerous—that the Council is no longer seized of the question or relieves itself of the question. So that, regardless of the debates in the Assembly, regardless of the results, the question remains before the Council, and therefore the consultations may continue. That is a point that I wanted to make quite firmly.

And now the substantive comment. We all deplore the failure of the Council. Of course, I have not either the right or the desire to criticize anyone or blame anyone, but it is quite obvious that this debate does no honour to the Council, either by its result or even by the way in which it was conducted. I do not think that those who watch us or hear us, or read about us will have a very high opinion of the United Nations at the present time, and I regret this profoundly.

A consolation, nevertheless, is perhaps that those who were most interested, the Ambassadors of India and Pakistan, have been able, in spite of the trials that their respective countries are going through, to present their interventions both with legitimate firmness and with dignity and a measure to which all Members of the Council must pay due tribute.

And now, there is a proposal to bring this debate to the General Assembly. We have some doubts about what is going to happen. We think there will be new delays, new polemics, and in order to come to what? To a resolution which will only be a recommendation. Let us not confuse the procedures. Let us not confuse the powers of the organs—on the one hand, the Council, and, on the other hand, the Assembly. And, that is why we shall be unable to associate ourselves with this draft resolution.

Nevertheless, we shall not oppose it, loyal as we are to the attitude that we have adopted since the beginning. There are a certain number of Members of the Council who, out of goodwill, believe that they can find a solution by bringing the debate to the Assembly. Well and good. As far as we are concerned, we have doubts, but if it is to be done, let it be done. We hope that something will emerge, but we feel nevertheless that, unfortunately, the situation being quite likely to deteriorate, the Council sooner or later will have to shoulder its responsibilities in the matter.

C. STATEMENTS MADE BY VARIOUS DELEGATIONS DURING THE DEBATE IN THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON December 7, 1971

A Short Note on the debate

The General Assembly, on December 7, 1971, adopted a Resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops. The voting was 104 in favour, 11 against and 10 abstentions.

The sizeable majority for the Resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on December 7, 1971, was an acceptance of the standard formula for cease-fire and withdrawals, rather than a refusal to take account of the realities of the situation and of the basic issues involved. This becomes clear from the

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following points made in the statements of various Delegations during the debate in the General Assembly. Only 58 Delegations made statements during the debate, besides India and Pakistan.

I. Countries which blamed Pakistan for suppression in East Pakistan and for violation of human rights, etc.:–

1. **Bulgaria:**
2. **Cyprus:** India has been under gravest provocation following tragic sequence of events in East Pakistan and the suppression of human rights in that "country".
3. **Czechoslovakia:** Pakistan did not take any measures which might have remedied the situation and brought about a political settlement in East Pakistan.
4. **Greece:** To the absence of effective action within Pakistan for a political settlement, one should add the reticence of the international community which did not encourage any peaceful settlement.
5. **Hungary :**
6. **Mongolia :**
7. **Poland :**
8. **U.S.S.R :**
9. **Yugoslavia :**

II. Countries which spoke of a political settlement in East Pakistan and indicated that the crisis would not be over till basic cause of the conflict was removed and political settlement reached:

1. **Argentina:**
2. **Bhutan:**
3. **Bulgaria:**
4. **Canada:** Security Council should be in a position to address itself to the underlying political issues.
5. **Ceylon:** Called upon Pakistan to consult with the leaders of East Bengal, but urged that East Bengal leaders must agree to renounce all secessionist demands. Also stated that U.N., if it is asked to intervene and if it has actually to intervene, must treat the problem as a whole. Took the line that the struggle in Bangla Desh "is surely not a liberation movement in the classic and universally understood sense of the term. We would be creating a deadly precedent if we regard it as such".
6. **Cyprus:** Problems arising out of influx of refugees should have been arrested by a political solution and by the concerted action of the international community through the U.N. Nothing was done in that direction.
7. **Czechoslovakia:**
8. **France:** Attitude of the French Government has been guided by the concern to ensure the restoration of peace, to promote a political solution which, with the consent of the people concerned, could and can be the only guarantee of a lasting peace.

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9. **Gabon:** The U.S.S.R. draft resolution though not fully agreeable, seems much more desirable as it takes into consideration the need to reach a political settlement in accordance with the Will of the people concerned.

10. **Ghana:**

11. **Greece:** Criticised the resolution as operative paragraph on conditions for voluntary return of refugees has not been submitted in as clear a way as the preamble paragraph on political settlement of the problem.

12. **Hungary:**

13. **Iran:**

14. **Italy:**

15. **Lebanon:** Called for humanitarian solution of the problem of refugees.

16. **Mexico:** Specifically linked the draft resolution with early political solution for the restoration of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes.

17. **Mongolia:**

18. **Netherlands:**

19. **Peru:** " To cope with the effects and ignore the causes is a half-measure " and will not take us very far. Essential " to have a border understanding in order to get down to root origins of conflict and remove it on basis of principles of U.N. Charter ".

20. **Sweden:** Voted for the resolution " in the conviction that U.N. has a solemn obligation to make every effort towards finding solution to this tragic conflict "; " a cease-fire does not naturally solve the underlying problems even if it is a pre-condition for a solution. A solution must be found upon the expressed Will of the people of East Pakistan ".

21. **U.K.:** The passage of either resolution would not contribute to a settlement—that is what counts.

22. **U.S.S.R.:** Unless account is taken of the real situation in the Indian sub-continent, it will be impossible for U.N. to take steps to bring an end to hostilities and to normalise the situation, or to bring a political settlement in East Pakistan.

—*Quoted Brezhnev:* " The crisis has now gone far beyond the frontiers of East Pakistan and has become an international problem ".

23. **Yugoslavia:** Emphasis on ascertaining the real causes of the crisis and asked for improvements in the draft resolution which would stress in a more balanced manner the need for an early political solution.

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III. Countries which specifically linked the political settlement with cessation of hostilities and withdrawals, etc.:

1. **Bhutan:**

2. **Bulgaria:**

3. **Chile:** Draft resolution should be based on the principles: cease-fire, withdrawals, protection of human rights, adoption of immediate measures for the solution of the political problem in the area, non-interference, territorial integrity, active presence of the U.N. Final draft resolution should be on the basis of consensus.

4. **Cyprus:** Resolution not sufficiently balanced since it does not provide for a political solution and restoration of conditions of normalcy.

5. **Czechoslovakia:**

6. **Denmark:** The resolution does not deal with the basic political problems in a manner which fully takes into account the complexity of the problems.

7. **Gabon:** First draft resolution (A/L647/Rev. 1)—calling only for cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, without laying sufficient stress on the restoration of a climate for a political framework is not likely to encourage refugees to return to their homes, and tended to eliminate only the consequences without dealing with the causes.

8. **Hungary:**

9. **Madagascar:** "We are only too well aware that we must not interfere in the internal affairs of a Member State; but, at the same time, we think that it is urgent and necessary to restore, by the appropriate political measures, normal conditions of peace and security in Bengal, and for this purpose we must concede that the principle of self-determination, in this particular case and in the present context, can have only the sense freely given to it by the people concerned."

10. **Nepal:**

11. **New Zealand:** "Once war has broken out, the first and most urgent responsibility of the United Nations is to bring it to an end."

    "At the same time, it must be recognised that there can be no lasting peace in the sub-continent until the problem that has given rise to this conflict is solved."

12. **Peru:** First cease-fire and at a subsequent stage adoption of measures to "deal with the questions that have led to the outbreak of hostilities". Draft resolution inadequate on latter point.

13. **Poland:**

14. **U.K.:** ".....We should explore possibilities to try to overcome the difficulties, halt the fighting and find solutions to the desperately complicated issues which gave rise to the outbreak of war."

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15. **U.S.S.R.:** There should be simultaneously a cease-fire, end to the bloodshed and hostilities, and the beginning of a political settlement of the problem of East Pakistan on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of its people.

16. **Yugoslavia:** While calling for simultaneous solution of political problem, stated that it depended primarily upon the Government of Pakistan.

IV. Countries which specifically took the line that it was not the time to go into the root cause of the problem:

1. **Algeria:** Called for cease-fire and withdrawals first and then solution of other problems.

2. **Brazil:** Resolution is oriented to the concrete solution to the immediate issue before the U.N. It is futile to start discussion of remote causes of present situation.

3. **Canada:** Took particular cognizence of the pre-ambular para which recognises the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities.

4. **Ceylon:** Too late to investigate the origins of the conflict.

5. **Ecuador:**

6. **Fiji:** Cease-fire should be achieved first; " details of a political settlement could then be worked out ".

7. **Italy:** Recognises both the aspects, but cease-fire, etc. is the " immediate task ", and the U.N. need consider other aspects of the matter again.

8. **Japan:** Draft resolution contains the essential elements which are the need at this juncture, the problem of East Pakistan should be solved by Pakistan itself.

9. **Jordan:**

10. **Malaysia:** Also hoped for " eventual and peaceful settlement of dispute in all its aspects ".

11. **Netherlands:** Immediate first steps (cease-fire and withdrawal) should be taken by General Assembly.

12. **Uruguay:** The resolution " is not a matter of underlying a prior examination of questions raised by the parties...Nor is it a search for long-term lasting solution.

V. Countries which laid emphasis on the territorial integrity of Pakistan:

1. **Algeria:**

2. **Argentina:**

3. **Chile:**

4. **Lebanon:**

5. **Nepal:** Also mentioned the principle of non-use of force or threat of force against other States.

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6. **Tanzania:**

7. **Yugoslavia:** Also mentioned the principle of renunciation of the use of force.

VI. Countries which specifically stated that they wanted territorial integrity and unity of Pakistan to be maintained:

1. **Albania:**
2. **Ceylon:**
3. **Chad:**
4. **Ghana:**
5. **Indonesia:**
6. **Iran:**
7. **Jordan:** Asked the U.N. to defend territorial integrity of Pakistan.
8. **Kuwait:**
9. **Mauritania:**
10. **Sudan:**
11. **Togo:**
12. **Turkey:**

VII. Countries which emphasised the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country:

1. **Albania:** Called a halt to "imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and peoples".
2. **Algeria:**
3. **Argentina:**
4. **Burundi:** Referred to principle of non-recourse to war so long as peaceful negotiations are possible and of the fundamental human rights of all peoples to the full enjoyment of freedom.
5. **Chad:**
6. **Chile:**
7. **China:**
8. **Ghana:**
9. **Indonesia:**
10. **Iran:**
11. **Kuwait:**
12. **Lebanon:**
13. **Mauritania:**
14. **Nepal:**
15. **Sudan:**
16. **Togo:**
17. **Turkey:**
18. **Yugoslavia:** Also mentioned the principle of respect for human rights.

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VIII. Countries which emphasised the role of the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General or a third party in dealing with the Indo-Pakistan crisis:

1.	**Argentina:**	Good offices of Secretary-General and need for observers to supervise cease-fire and withdrawals.
2.	**Burundi:**	Good offices of Secretary-General.
3.	**Canada:**	Cease-fire should be accompanied by specific U.N. arrangements to supervise it.
4.	**Ceylon:**	Secretary-General's good offices.
5.	**Chile:**	
6.	**Iran:**	Called for U.N. observers mission for supervision of withdrawals.
7.	**Nicaragua:**	Expressed the hope that India and Pakistan would accept peaceful mediation of the U.N.
8.	**U.S.A.:**	Also blamed India for not welcoming Secretary-General's good offices, etc.

However, as the Resolution ignored the necessity of a political solution to the problem according to the wishes of the people of East Bengal and failed to take note of the wanton and unprovoked Pakistani aggression, India opposed it. The Resolution was recommendatory in nature and was not implemented because it was politically unrealistic.

Important statements made by India and Pakistan and the Permanent Members of the Security Council are given below:

Statement by Mr. George Bush, Permanent Representative of the U.S.A.

There is no need for me at this time to restate or to summarize the agony which is tearing asunder the Indian sub-continent. While we recoil in horror as this tragedy unfolds before us, none of us can profess to be surprised. As long ago as 2nd August, the Secretary-General called the attention of the world at large to the growing crisis in South Asia. He offered his good offices and that offer was unfortunately not welcomed by the Indian Government. In the previous months, in addition to the efforts of the Secretary-General to seek a political solution, he organized relief and assistance for the swelling number of refugees. Individual Member States, my own included, made efforts to avert war.

Let me just say a few words here about United States policy, the policy of the United States Government. The thrust of our policy has contained four principal elements:

Firstly, before the outbreak of border hostilities, we counselled restraint on both sides in every conceivable way that we could.

Secondly, we recognized that the flow of refugees created a tremendous problem for India, and the United States has therefore contributed its material resources, not begrudgingly—much more than any other country in the world. But we accept this as our responsibility to care for the refugees.

Thirdly, in seeking to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, the United States made a valiant but unfortunately unsuccessful effort to achieve withdrawal of the forces

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from both sides of the borders. Pakistan agreed to our proposals, regrettably India did not.

Fourthly, we recognized that counsels of restraint, material support for the care of refugees that I mentioned earlier and proposals to withdraw the forces and thereby to defuse the situation—that all of these were not enough. We felt that a political dialogue to achieve a political accommodation was indeed essential. To this end, we did suggest directly to President Yahya Khan that he meet with opposition representatives. Pakistan was willing, India was not receptive to this approach.

We attach great value to friendly relations with both countries just as the speakers that have preceded me to this podium. We have said before and we repeat that the beginning of the crisis goes back to the use of force by Pakistan in March of this year, but since the beginning of the crisis it should also be clear that India bears the major responsibility for broadening the crisis by spurning the efforts of the United Nations to become involved, even in a humanitarian way, in relation to the refugees, spurning proposals such as the one of our Secretary-General's offer of good offices which could have helped in defusing the crisis, spurning proposals that could have begun the process of dialogue towards a political accommodation.

Having said that, we are not here—any nation—to assess blame. We cannot approach this problem on the basis of rancour or punitive measures. Our task is to bring at this point in history the influence of the United Nations to bear in order to restore conditions of peace which are essential for progress towards a political settlement. It is upon the civilian populations in the areas of conflict that the devastation of war falls most cruelly. The very people, the peaceful farmers of yesterday, are indeed the refugees of today and the emotions of war can be magnified many-fold when they are mixed with long-standing communal and religious differences. We in this body must be particularly mindful of the need to protect lives and the well-being of all civilian populations in the areas where fighting is going on, and we must remind the parties engaged in the conflict of their duty to observe the basic human rights of those involved.

I am hopeful, and I know that others are, that this Assembly can act very soon—perhaps early this afternoon—we would hope, to vote on and adopt overwhelmingly the draft resolution presented so ably by Argentina and its many sponsors. Let us act not with recrimination, not out of any desire to assign blame and not out of an effort to make one country look good or another one look bad. Let us act simply to save lives, to restore peace and to get on with the important business that is and must be the United Nations itself.

Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India

We are glad to welcome the Secretary-General to the Assembly again, and the ovation he received is a measure of the affection and respect in which we hold him personally.

The gravity and importance of the situation which the General Assembly is discussing today is manifest from the manner of our discussion. It is not often that the procedures under which we meet today are employed. In keeping with the importance of the subject and its implications, our discussion should be full and comprehensive and take everything into account before the Assembly takes a decision.

I emphasize the vital need to take all factors into account. It is precisely because this was not done that the General Assembly is faced with this situation which has been developing for many months. The world was aware of it but,

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except for India, which received the refugees fleeing from terror and oppression, no decisive action was visible. As it developed, some of its aspects grew to such dimensions that they could no longer be ignored. But the belated recognition by the world community did not and will not solve the problem unless and until all the aspects are considered simultaneously and comprehensively.

Over the last nine months, India has made repeated attempts to inform international opinion. We did this through extensive bilateral contacts at the highest possible level, and in such international forums as were available within and outside the United Nations. International opinion was also informed by the press, by diplomatic channels and by reports of many international organizations, but most of those reports were not made public.

As is now well known, the present situation began in what was then East Pakistan on the night of 25th March, 1971. As early as 30th March, I gave a note to the Secretary-General and requested him to circulate it to all the Members of the United Nations. I should like to remind Members of that note and, with permission, I shall read parts of it:

> "Since November, 1969, when the President of Pakistan announced that the elections would take place in Pakistan in the latter part of 1970, through which transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people of Pakistan would be effected, the Government and the people of India, who have always entertained the friendliest feelings for the people of Pakistan, had hoped that a democratic evolution in that country would follow its natural course. Consequently, India hoped that after the announcement of the results of the elections in December, 1970, the elected representatives of Pakistan would have evolved a constitution reflecting the urges of the vast majority of the people in that country. In the words of the Prime Minister of India, we had welcomed this, not because we wanted interference in another country's affairs, but because they are values for which we have always spoken."

Many Representatives here will remember that India has perhaps been one of the most active countries to take part in a large number of civilized documents and instruments that we have adopted. We are proud of our participation, but we do think that all these instruments, all these principles, all these codes of morality, must be taken together and not be torn piecemeal to serve the temporary purpose of this country or that. I continue with my quotation:

> "The Government and the people had entertained the belief that a democratic and stable Pakistan would co-operate with her neighbours, and particularly India, in a new attempt to bring about peace and stability in South Asia. Events since 25th-26th March, however, have taken a different and tragic turn. Instead of the peaceful evolution that India and the world were anticipating, there is now a bloody conflict."

> "The political talks between the concerned parties in Pakistan failed. The elected National Assembly did not meet. Meanwhile, the regular units of the Pakistan army were ordered to take massive action against East Pakistanis in order to crush their movement. New martial law orders were issued. Total censorship and curfew were imposed."

> "The magnitude of the loss of life and property in such armed action is self-evident. We are concerned that in these circumstances the international community can and should take suitable action. The scale of human sufferings is such that it ceases to be a matter of domestic concern of Pakistan alone."

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I should like to read that sentence again:

"The scale of human sufferings is such that it ceases to be a matter of domestic concern of Pakistan alone. No country in the world can remain unconcerned in a fast moving situation where thousands of lives are lost."

When I wrote that letter it was "thousands of lives"; since then it has been hundreds of thousands; the general estimate in the press is one to two million.

"Inaction and silence in the face of this human tragedy could be interpreted by all those who suffer as helplessness, if not indifference, of the outside world. While the Government of India have acted with great restraint and scrupulously avoided any interference in this tragic affair of Pakistan, the reaction of the people of India to the massive killing of unarmed people by military force has been both intense and sustained. The Government of India cannot but take notice of this reaction, particularly as reports of increasing repression by the Pakistani armed forces continue to pour in. There is intense shock and sorrow and horror at the reign of terror that has been let loose. The common bonds of race, religion, culture, history and geography of the people of East Pakistan with the neighbouring State of West Bengal contribute powerfully to the feelings of the Indian people."

"In these circumstances, the Government of India believe that unless maximum restraint is exercised by the armed forces of Pakistan and international opinion gives sympathy and succour toward the people of Pakistan, tension in the sub-continent is bound to increase."

On 23rd April, I informed the Secretary-General of the massive influx of refugees who had started coming into India as a result of these tragic developments.

In May, India raised this question in the Social Committe of the Economic and Social Council. In June, we brought this to the Economic and Social Council itself. In subsequent months, we tried to discuss it whenever we could in the General Assembly. Meanwhile, we raised it in many international forums outside the United Nations, such as the International Parliamentary Union. The reaction even of humanitarian concern was halting. When it was expressed, it confined itself to sympathy for the suffering of the refugees, but there was reluctance to look at the events which had caused the suffering and to seek any solution for its consequences beyond the provision of refugee relief.

The Secretary-General issued an appeal for the refugees on 19th May, 1971. Other implications and consequences of the problem were also recognized by the Secretary-General in his memorandum of 20th July, 1971, to the President of the Security Council. But even then, Member Governments were reluctant to analyse and accept the root cause—which had, however, been widely recognized unofficially in various ways.

Before I come to the basic cause, I should like to provide a little background. The geographical, cultural and ethnic peculiarities of East Pakistan are well known. East Pakistan comprises not only the major part of the population of the whole of Pakistan, but it produces the bulk of Pakistan's foreign exchange and export earnings. Those who compare the East Pakistan problem with that of Biafra should remember this particular difference, that not only is there a distance of 1,000 miles between East and West Pakistan, but the majority of the people of Pakistan live in East Pakistan; and, therefore, there is no question of secession of the majority from the minority. Nor was it originally a secessionist movement; it was a movement for autonomy. It was turned into a movement for independence and secession by the military crackdown of the night of 25th March.

For 23 years, there had existed and developed in what was then East Pakistan, and is now Bangla Desh, a demand for autonomy, inspired by continued economic

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exploitation and political domination and discrimination by West Pakistan. Some Delegations dismiss these things as: "Some mistakes are made in all countries", and so on. These are not mistakes made here and there. They are mistakes sustained, continued, and which lead to tragic consequences. This demand for equality was always rejected, and when it was finally expressed in an overwhelming manner through the elections of December, 1970, an attempt was made to suppress it with the utmost brutality amounting to genocide. This is a central fact which is still ignored by many Governments. Apart from the humanitarian concern for the plight of the refugees and the belated recognition of the tensions which have been growing as a result of the influx, it has, of course, been recognized by international public opinion and press. It was expressed succinctly by the Resolution adopted by the Latin American Parliament in Caracas on 27th August, 1971. I shall not read the entire text of that resolution, but it is a very moving one. The reason why I shall not read it is that it would take a little time and I should again be accused of filibustering, which is a peculiarly American political tactic; we are not familiar with it in India.

Had the United Nations recognized these facts earlier, it would have been able to influence the developments of the present crisis, but the concept of domestic jurisdiction, non-interference in internal matters, and territorial integrity, was successfully advanced to inhibit this. These concepts are indeed of fundamental importance, but it is not sufficiently realized that the savage repression applied by the Pakistan Army against the people of Bangla Desh was of such magnitude, so genocidal, and so designed as to annihilate a people that it was beyond the scope of normal standards of reasoning and judgement.

The movement for autonomy was transformed overnight into a movement for national liberation. Fifty thousand regular soldiers and policemen defected. They were joined by another 150,000 people who had obtained arms in Pakistan at the time of the military crackdown. So, there was already a corps of 150,000 armed men when the military crackdown took place. This is not my statement; it is a statement made by the Ambassador of Pakistan in Washington. This is the corps which was the basis of all Mukti Bahini activities. They were joined by massive defection of diplomats, ministers, civil servants, bank clerks, persons from every walk of life you can think of. So, those who talk about interference in Pakistan's affairs, engineered and prompted by India right from the beginning, might do well to consider these facts also.

In turn, that brutality fired and stimulated increasingly large popular resistance. Each and every army action of reprisal against the civilian population produced new fighters for the freedom of Bangla Desh. The truth of the matter is that where there is oppression there is bound to be resistance; when oppression is total, resistance is also total. Thus, the theory that India worked for the dismemberment of Pakistan is both false and misleading. Pakistan broke itself up on the night of 25th March this year. We realized that fact and had to adjust ourselves to the new reality. We hoped that Pakistan would also adjust itself by peaceful means, but it paid no heed to these means and continued its military suppression.

Not only did 10 million refugees come to us as a result—and they still continue to come—but our security was also threatened, our social and economic fabric endangered and international tension increased. There was hardly any response from the international community, which seemed paralysed and did not take any action to prevent the massive extinction of human rights and genocide.

But we could not ignore what was happening next door to us and its effect on our national integrity. Thus, what had started as an internal matter of Pakistan became an internal matter of India, although the events in East Pakistan should have been the concern of the international community. A grave civil aggression

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took place against India. Nonetheless, in spite of these difficulties, in spite of our slow and gradual realization of the indifference of the outside world and the determination of the Pakistani army to continue to hold 75 million persons by force of arms—in spite of all those things, we still hoped that a peaceful solution would be found which would meet the wishes of Bangla Desh.

However, it had also become increasingly clear for many months that the military Government of Pakistan had also come to realize that it could not hold 75 million persons by force and that, therefore, the only possibility open to them was to involve India in a military conflict so that the world's attention would be diverted from what was happening in East Pakistan and so that a face-saving escape might be provided.

After they had come to that conclusion—which, I repeat, was that they could not hold 75 million persons by force of arms—the only question was how the military action against India was to be brought about and when. Preparations were made, threats were issued and a crush-India campaign was launched.

We reacted and warned of the consequences. But Pakistan paid no heed. Pakistan then started shelling our villages, and we retaliated. Then the Pakistan air force attacked our cities and military airfields in an Israeli-type attack by air. By sheer luck we had been forewarned about that attack and were able to disperse our aircraft.

And once again when the realization came that even armed aggression against India would not succeed, United Nations' help was invoked. But, of course, that is a realization one does not like to declare publicly, and it is therefore no wonder that Pakistan did not call for a Security Council emergency meeting.

Pakistan has consistently accused India of interference and involvement in the situation which had led to the establishment of Bangla Desh. I must clearly point out the stage at which we became affected and involved. The demands for autonomy repeatedly expressed, the demands for the granting of official status to the Bengali language, the demands to end economic exploitation and political discrimination were not of India's making. The elections of December, 1970, and their overwhelming results were not of India's making. The armed resistance of the people of Bangla Desh to the brutal military action of the Pakistan Government was not of India's making. The flight of 10 million refugees was not of India's making.

We were deeply concerned by what had been happening on our doorstep since 25th March. It was a movement for national liberation which was rapidly intensifying, with continued military suppression and without any attempt at a political solution. Moreover, it had caused the civilian invasion of refugees into India. On 24th May, 1971, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi said in Parliament:

> "These 23 years and more, we have never tried to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, even though they have not exercised similar restraint. And even now, we do not seek to interfere in any way. But what has actually happened? What was claimed to be an internal problem of Pakistan has also become an internal problem of India. We are therefore entitled to ask Pakistan to desist immediately from all actions which it is taking in the name of domestic jurisdiction and which vitally affect the peace and well-being of millions of its own citizens. Pakistan cannot be allowed to seek a solution of its political or other problems at the expense of India and on Indian soil. Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet point not hundreds, not thousands, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of its citizens to flee from their homes? For us it is an intolerable situation. Not only India but every country has to consider its interests. I think I am expressing the sentiments of this August House and of

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her people when I raise my voice against the wanton destruction of peace, good-neighbourliness and the elementary principles of humanity by the insensate action of the military rulers of Pakistan. They are threatening the peace and stability of the vast segment of humanity represented by India."

The intolerable situation to which our Prime Minister referred has continued and the threat to our stability and security has continued and increased. On every occasion, when we have brought it to the notice of the world, Pakistan has replied to us by accusing us of dismembering it. But it was in fact Pakistan which was dismembering itself all these months. When the People's Republic of Bangla Desh was proclaimed on 17th April, its Prime Minister said that Pakistan was dead and buried under a mountain of corpses, the persons murdered by the Pakistan army.

Late last week, Mr. Bhutto, the West Pakistan leader, himself confessed that old Pakistan is dead. The Secretary-General referred in a memorandum to the conflict between the principles of territorial integrity of States and of self-determination. It was Pakistan which engineered this terrible conflict by its own actions in what was once its own territory. As a result, a new nation has been born in our sub-continent.

We now come to more recent developments. When Pakistan found it could not impose its military solution in Bangla Desh, it sought to create a confrontation with India in the desperate hope that a campaign against India would somehow restore its defunct status. The military suppression in Bangla Desh was deliberately spilled over across Indian borders, and when India reacted quite sharply, Pakistan launched an all-out attack against India's western borders a thousand miles away from Bangla Desh.

That attack, which is now partly documented by the reports of the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) circulated by the Secretary-General, took place on 3rd December. India, which had been suffering under an intolerable strain, aggravated further by military provocations for the last nine months, had once again to react. This time we were determined that these intolerable burdens should be decisively removed.

It is not only a question of removing these burdens; it is also necessary for us to take into account the present and future realities. The genocide being committed in Bangla Desh is a reality. The struggle of Bangla Desh against this genocide is a reality. The existence of Bangla Desh is a reality. No recommendations for solving the present crisis can be effective if they ignore or side-step or postpone these realities, and the Governments which do so not only do not contribute to a solution but also go against the forces of history. Bangla Desh is there. It is the eighth most populous country in the world. Its only goal, as its Prime Minister has said, is to rebuild a new nation from the ashes and carnage left behind by the occupation army of Pakistan.

I quote the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh from his statement made on 17th April:

"We now appeal to the nations of the world for recognition and assistance —both material and moral—in our struggle. Every day it is delayed, a thousand lives are lost and more of Bangla Desh's vital assets are destroyed. In the name of humanity, act now and earn our undying friendship."

The Security Council in its meetings over the last three days wished to work towards a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities and withdrawal. These are all urgent objectives, but they must be completed and not onesided. The hostilities are taking place not only between the armies of India and Pakistan, but also between the Pakistan army and the Mukti Bahini of Bangla Desh. No cease-fire could be realistic or effective if it did not take into account the Mukti Bahini.

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No withdrawal of forces could be effective or realistic if it did not cover the occupation forces of Pakistan in Bangla Desh.

It is impossible to hide from these facts behind concepts which no longer apply to the situation. In our view, the only practical solution for putting out all hostilities is for the Pakistan troops to withdraw from Bangla Desh and to work for the cease-fire and withdrawal in the west. The situation would have been quite different if West Pakistan had any hope of holding onto Bangla Desh against the wishes of 75 million people. What has been taking place in East Pakistan during the past 25 years amounts to nothing but internal colonialism. Like the people of the United States of America nearly two centuries ago, the people of Bangla Desh pronounced and asserted the right to a separate existence as a separate nation. Nor will they forget what the policy, over the years, of arming, funding and defending the military dictatorship of West Pakistan has meant to them in terms of blood and tears, in terms of death and devastation.

The Security Council addressed itself to these matters, but it could not bring itself to see them fully. It could not make up its mind to hear the Representative of Bangla Desh. Without hearing him and so taking into account the wishes of 75 million people, how could it be possible to come to an effective decision? This was one of the reasons for the inaction of the Security Council so far. The General Assembly has no veto, but that does not absolve it from being realistic or considering this grave and grievous problem in all its aspects. Hasty action and nervous measures, however well intentioned, will further complicate an already complex problem.

It is very difficult for the people of Bangla Desh to understand the international concern when they are finally about to throw up the foreign yoke, when not a leaf moved when they were being butchered and killed and raped and burned. What a travesty of truth it is to suggest that the refugees who are running away from these systematic and calculated horrors were being used by us for political purposes. What are these purposes? And how do the refugees help in serving these purposes? I do not wish to repeat all the other points which were discussed in the Security Council and some of which were again referred to by some of the Delegations in our discussions today in the Assembly. I cannot help feeling that some of the chagrin against India is perhaps due to the fact that all that we have been saying would come to pass has indeed happened. But this is no credit to India. We live in the area and should know what goes on there.

The question is what should be done now. Simultaneously, together with the cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of the Pakistani occupation army from Bangla Desh, the leader of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, must be released from the Pakistani prison where he has been languishing since 25th March; and the leaders of Pakistan must initiate with him a peaceful recognition of Bangla Desh. These peaceful means are still possible. And yet it is not too late, perhaps, even for this Assembly, to recommend these steps to the Government of Pakistan.

As everyone knows, India recognized the People's Republic of Bangla Desh two days ago. If reports are to be believed, yet another State has recognized it, and I am sure more will follow. But irrespective of the speed and rate of such recognition, the fact remains that in so far as the implementation of any resolution of the Assembly is concerned, nothing can be done unless it is acceptable to the Government of Bangla Desh. I would request the Assembly not to overlook this central fact.

Much has been said about India's attitude to various proposals and offers made in the past. I shall not go into that part of the history. Those who care to find out what the truth is will have no difficulty. I would, however, like to thank

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all those voluntary organizations and private individuals who have shown such a remarkable selflessness and sensitivity in helping us to look after the refugees. They do not necessarily come from any rich country; they do not necessarily come from any poor country; they come from all over the world, from any longitude and any latitude, and we are infinitely grateful to all these individuals and all these organizations, as indeed we are much grateful to all those Governments who have helped us in looking after the refugees.

In conclusion, I should simply say that the problem the Assembly is facing is one of the adoption of a resolution. What India is facing is the problem of decent survival and the danger of annihilation of proud and friendly neighbours. We shall face this mortal problem with all that we are worth.

Statement by Sir Colin Crowe, Permanent Representative of the U.K.

This is the second time in a decade that the world has had to watch the millions of inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent subjected to what the preamble of the Charter calls, "the scourge of war". For several months, we have all watched with apprehension and growing concern the deterioration in relations between India and Pakistan stemming from the situation in East Pakistan. The tragedy has developed in a way which seemed inevitable and inevitably to render fruitless all efforts to prevent it. Of course, such efforts have been made. There have been bilateral approaches and appeals by many Governments, including my own, to the President of Pakistan and to the Prime Minister of India. There have been the humanitarian efforts undertaken mainly through the United Nations to which many countries, including my own, have contributed in order to relieve distress and cure some of the manifestations of the problem. There have been the reports of the Secretary-General.

But none of these was able to prevent the outbreak of hostilities which occurred at the end of last week. Once that had happened, it was clear that the Security Council had to be seized of the situation. My Delegation joined with a number of others in the Security Council in requesting an urgent meeting to consider the deteriorating situation which had led to resumed clashes between India and Pakistan. Since then, the Security Council has been trying, unsuccessfully, to take action. In that forum, which is the one expressly created by the United Nations Charter to bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the object of my Government has been to try to find if there were some way to stop the fighting and which might lead to a sane and just solution.

The reasons for which the Security Council has so far been unable to act are known to all. My Delegation cannot but deplore them, but we have to face the situation as it is. I said in the Security Council yesterday that, with the dissensions we had heard in the Council still fresh in our minds, I did not see how a discussion in the General Assembly would be likely to change matters, or immediately to overcome the limitations imposed by the nature of the international situation itself.

I am afraid that the course of the debate today has shown that this is still regrettably true. We now have two draft resolutions before us. One has been formally introduced and one so far only distributed, but together they reflect the wide range of opinion in the United Nations. Individually they demonstrate, as did the very similar draft resolutions that were presented in the Security Council, how much progress has yet to be made before there is the necessary basis for agreed action. Showing, as this debate has done, how deeply important sections of opinion among us are divided, we do not think that the passage of either draft resolution would really contribute to a settlement—and that is what counts.

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But this is not a counsel of despair; the Security Council cannot give up. The acknowledgement in both draft resolutions of the Council's continuing role is a welcome recognition of this fact. It would indeed be desperate to admit that the Security Council was incapable of any action or that every effort should not still be made there to pursue a peaceful solution, the end of bloodshed and the promotion of reconciliation and peace. The situation is constantly changing and at no point must we relax our efforts to deal with it. Opportunities may yet open up and we have not yet exhausted all possibilities that are open to the Security Council.

The view of my Delegation is that the Security Council is still the main forum through which, perhaps by means of bilateral consultations inside and outside, we should explore possibilities to try to overcome the difficulties, halt the fighting and find solutions to the desperately complicated issues which gave rise to the outbreak of war.

Statement by Mr. Chiao, Representative of China

India and Pakistan are both close neighbours of China. The Chinese Government and people are seriously concerned over the armed conflict between India and Pakistan. The Chinese Delegation would like to make a few remarks on this question.

Firstly, the Indian Government is an outright aggressor.

Our colleagues here all know well how the war between India and Pakistan was started. The Indian Government has been saying again and again that it was the question of the East Pakistan refugees that had put it in a position in which it had no alternative but to send troops to invade Pakistan. This is indeed absurd to the extreme. The Indian ruling circles had also some time ago forcibly coerced several tens of thousands of the inhabitants of China's Tibet into going into India and set up a so-called government in exile headed by the Chinese traitor, Dalai Lama. To agree that the Indian Government is justified in using the so-called refugee question as a pretext for invading Pakistan is tantamount to agreeing that the Indian Government will be justified in using the question of the so-called "Tibetan refugees" as a pretext for invading China. Is that kind of pretext not utterly ridiculous?

Supported by a certain big power, the Indian Government has become most arrogant and rampant. It openly clamours that, since Pakistan is a neighbour of India, the existence of Pakistan troops in East Pakistan constitutes in itself a threat to India. This is sheer fascist nonsense. India is also a neighbour of China. Does the existence of Indian troops in India then constitute a threat to China?

Indian ruling circles claim that India is a country that loves democracy, freedom and peace. This can only deceive or hoodwink those who are not familiar with the facts. In the world today, only in India can one find several tens of millions of untouchables. Among the new independent countries in Asia and Africa, only India has a "protectorate". Almost all the neighbours of India have been bullied by it at one time or another. What kind of democracy is this? What kind of freedom is this? And what kind of peace is this?

India's expansionism has a long history. In his book *The Discovery of India*, Nehru openly proclaimed that the South Asian sub-continent and the Indian Ocean are in the sphere of influence of India. For years, the Indian ruling circles have never given up their ambitious attempt to become a "super-power" or a "semi-super-power". Their present aggression against Pakistan is the inevitable outcome of the implementation of such an expansionist policy.

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Secondly, the Soviet Government is the boss behind the Indian aggressors.

The Indian expansionists usually do not have much guts. Why have they become so flagrant now? The reason is that a super-power, Soviet social-imperialism, is backing them up. As I said earlier, the so-called Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation is in effect a treaty of military alliance. Since the conclusion of that treaty, the Indian Government has become all the more flagrant, carrying out subversion and aggression against Pakistan without any scruples. On 5th December, Tass published a statement which is full of the smell of gunpowder. It clamours that the tension between India and Pakistan has threatened the so-called interests of the security of the Soviet Union and that it cannot remain indifferent. This is blackmail and is a menace to China as well as all the neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan. I ask the Soviet Representative, what exactly are you planning to do? You might as well tell us here.

In the Security Council meetings of 4th, 5th and 6th December, the Soviet Representative, Mr. Malik, and the Indian Representative, echoing each other, insisted on imposing the Representatives of the so-called "Bangla Desh" on the Security Council. The Soviet Representative unreasonably vetoed two draft resolutions which were supported by the majority of the Council Members. He unwarrantedly assailed at Will all those Representatives who differed with him. He openly declared that he would veto all draft resolutions other than his own. This is indeed arrogant and crude to the extreme. I can hardly find the proper words to describe his behaviour.

It is not at all surprising that the Soviet leading clique is giving such naked support to the Indian aggressors. Ever since the Soviet leading clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism and embarked on the road of revisionism, it has been pursuing a policy of social-imperialism. It has carried out everywhere aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries. In 1968, it flagrantly sent troops to invade and occupy Czechoslovakia. This year, it went so far as to attempt overtly to subvert the legal Government of an African country. The facts are well known to many of our colleagues here. Let me put it bluntly. Making use of the ambition of the Indian expansionists, the Soviet leading clique is supporting India's armed aggression against Pakistan for the purpose of further controlling India and, as the next step, controlling the whole of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the Indian Ocean in order to contend with another super-power for world hegemony.

Thirdly, the United Nations should not repeat the mistakes of the League of Nations.

The current Indo-Pakistan situation cannot but remind us of the situation during the thirties. In 1931, the Japanese militarists unleashed a war of aggression against China by invading and occupying our four north-eastern provinces and set up a so-called "Manchukuo". The German and Italian Fascists closely co-ordinated with them by giving "recognition" to the puppet regime. The League of Nations, which was then under the control of Britain, France and other powers, did not distinguish between right and wrong, between the aggressor and the victim of aggression and, therefore, became helpless and permitted Japan to have its own way in its aggression against China. This was, in effect, an encouragement to aggression. It was in these circumstances that Japan further expanded its war of aggression against China, the Italian Fascists unleashed their war of aggression against Ethiopia and Hitler's Germany annexed one European country after another. In the end, that led to the outbreak of the Second World War, and the League of Nations collapsed thereafter.

The lessons of history merit attention. The United Nations is now facing a situation similar to that of the thirties. The flames of the war of aggression against Pakistan launched by India are spreading, menacing the peace of Asia and

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the world. The United Nations must overcome the obstructions by the Soviet Union and speedily adopt measures to hold back this dangerous situation. First of all, it must draw a clear line of distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, strongly condemn the aggressor and give firm support to the victim of aggression.

It should not take an ambiguous stand; still less should it abet and shield the aggressor. Under the manipulation of the one or two super-powers, the United Nations has in the past made quite a few mistakes in this respect, in contravention of the Will of the majority of Member States. The United Nations must learn from the lessons of history and must in no way embark on the old path of the League of Nations.

Fourthly, China maintains that the United Nations:

1. *Strongly* condemn India's aggression against Pakistan and thoroughly expose the shameless support given by the Soviet social-imperialists to the Indian aggressors;

2. *Call upon* all countries to support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against Indian aggression;

3. *Call upon* the Indian Government to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Pakistan territory the armed forces and armed personnel sent by it and call upon the Pakistan Government to withdraw the armed forces which it has sent into Indian territory for counter-attack;

4. *Call upon* both India and Pakistan to cease-fire immediately on the basis of the withdrawal of the armed forces of each side from the territory of the other;

5. *Recommend* that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw respectively from the border between India and Pakistan and disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between India and Pakistan.

Fundamentally speaking, the dispute between India and Pakistan is a legacy of British imperialist rule in the Indian sub-continent. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the new independent countries of Africa and Asia should resolve their disputes in a friendly way, through consultation on an equal basis. They must not be taken in by the imperialists. That remains our stand today. Should the Indian Government obdurately cling to its course, it will only eat the bitter fruits of its own making. If the Soviet Government acts in the same fashion, it will come to no good end either.

Statement by Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, Representative of France

Since the beginning of these tragic events, that is to say, ever since March, the attitude of the French Government has been guided only by a single concern: to ensure the restoration of peace, to promote a political solution which, with the consent of the peoples concerned, could and can be the only guarantee of a lasting peace and, in the interim, to make its contribution to the international effort undertaken to relieve the sufferings of millions of human beings. This concern is shared by all. Many voices have been raised to express this both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly and everywhere else throughout the world. But the drama took on a dizzy pace and resulted in this armed conflict between two friendly countries. It is all the more our strict duty to urgently seek a realistic and effective solution. This demanded that the Security Council should

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take measures. The Charter intends that it should be so, the facts demand it, for what purpose would it serve to ignore the role that this or that power, a Member of the Security Council, can and must play in order to establish and guarantee the peace.

That is why the French Delegation put all its efforts into the negotiations that were carried out tirelessly in the Security Council. We did not resign ourselves to the failure of the Council, a failure for which people will agree we are not responsible. But there are some, whose feelings we understand and whose impatience we share, who turned to the Assembly. An appeal will be made. It will express the feeling of profound horror, of profound injustice, aroused by this tragedy, as well as the Assembly's Will for peace. But it may not be unanimous. It will not fulfil this wish for consensus which was movingly expressed by the Representative of Chile a few moments ago, and we doubt that it can increase the chances for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

The draft resolutions before us reflect the division which had already been manifested in the Council. If the Assembly confirms this division, how can we hope that the Council can heed its appeal? And, above all, how can we believe that an end will be put to the hostilities?

Our abstention will express this apprehension, but it will testify at the same time to our determination to persevere in the Council in seeking only concerted measures which can really bring about the restoration of peace. What has prevented the Council so far from succeeding are the requirements and the exclusions, with everyone saying that they were asking for the minimum but in fact were demanding the maximum. It seems to us that the resolutions submitted heretofore have been left behind by the progress of events and now we entertain the fear that in the war zones, wherever they are, the people are suffering not only the violence of combat, but also the weight of reprisals that can never be expiated.

The only realistic measure, before all else and without prejudice to what may be decided subsequently, would be to obtain the cessation of hostilities—of all hostilities. That is why we support the appeal of our Secretary-General who, with his usual lucidity and humanitarian feelings, has understood what can and should be done in the immediate future, so that at least these humanitarian measures should be able to command unanimity and to be taken without delay.

Statement by Mr. Jacob Malik, Permanent Representative of the U.S.S.R.

After the lengthy and heated discussion in the Security Council on the question of the tragic events in East Pakistan, which grew into a military conflict between the two biggest States of the region, India and Pakistan, and which has now become an international problem, this question has come before the General Assembly for consideration.

We know, reliably, that the initiators and inspirers of having this question transferred to the Assembly were the same ones who wished to close their eyes to the reality in the Indian sub-continent and to evade a true assessment of the situation which has arisen, and by all means to resist the elimination of the main causes for the conflict and for the serious political crisis in East Pakistan.

One can see how the voting went in the Security Council. Unrealistic draft resolutions were submitted that failed to take into account the real state of affairs in East Pakistan and the sub-continent, that closed their eyes to the facts. As a consequence, the Soviet Union twice voted against such draft resolutions, and the United Kingdom and France abstained. Thus, three Permanent Members of the Security Council did not support those draft resolutions. Who did support them?

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The United States of America, which had submitted their draft first of all—a draft in accordance with their plans in that region—supported by the Delegation of China. This is the picture of the voting. On the other hand, only China voted against the Soviet draft resolution in the Security Council, and for the simple reason that it was a Soviet draft. This is reminiscent of the worst days of the cold war when the Representatives of the imperialist powers rejected even the very best of the Soviet proposals without even reading them. This is how the Representative of China acted and how he evidently intends to act in regard to Soviet proposals.

Passionate speeches by the United States Representative in the Council and no less passionate ones by the Chinese Representative in the Council and here have obliged the Soviet Delegation to make a reply.

If what the United States Delegation said in the Council concerning the sufferings and the tragedy being endured in the Indian sub-continent were to be applied in full, including an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, to the situation in Indo-China, where the sufferings are a million times greater, then peace would come to Indo-China. This is the real picture.

The Chinese Representative both in the Council and here, though he brought up almost all of past history, failed to mention the imperialist aggression in Indo-China at all. In the circumstances, no such thing exists in the Chinese vocabulary. These are the facts, this is the reality; this is their revolutionary line: not a word about Indo-China. The Americans and the Chinese obviously believe that there is no suffering and death in that part of the world.

Yesterday, in the Security Council, we heard the report that came in as to who inspired and initiated the transfer of this question from the Security Council to the Assembly. It was the United States. They worked out a strategic plan for having this question transferred from the Council to the Assembly, and that plan enjoyed the active support of the Chinese Delegation in the Council. Thus, in this area too the duet has been started and now continues. It would be useful for one of the speakers to reflect on this, one who has spoken here and who for many years now has, like a parrot, repeated the slanders against the peaceful Leninist policy of the Soviet Union.

The Delegation of the U.S.S.R. wishes from the very outset to declare its firm conviction that the Council was far from having exhausted its possibilities for settlement of this question. It could find an effective solution to this complex and urgent problem that has arisen in the Indian sub-continent, and it was for that reason that the Soviet Delegation, while voting against the move to have the question transferred to the Assembly, at the same time declared categorically that that course of action could lead only to delay in taking concrete action that might have a positive effect on the unfortunate developments in the region. The reason why the Council was unable to come to a useful decision on the question has become perfectly obvious. It was the fact that two great powers, because of their political orientation and ideological conceptions and military-political commitments, proved unable to rise above their narrow, selfish considerations and aspirations. They did everything within their power to distract the Council from the political realities now existing in the Indian sub-continent as a result of the well-known events that have taken place in East Pakistan and the military actions subsequently undertaken by Pakistan against its neighbour, India.

This approach on the part of two of the great powers was much to the liking of the Portuguese imperialists, those butchers and oppressors of the African peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Judging by the statement from this rostrum today by the Representative of Portugal, when the question of Portuguese aggression is discussed in the Security Council, he fails to appear at

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the meetings; but here, availing himself of the fact that two Members of the Security Council approach the situation in the Indian sub-continent in a manner to the liking of the Portuguese imperialists, he came to this rostrum and delivered a passionate speech, which we all heard.

The last discussion in the Council has left not the slightest doubt that unless account is taken of the real situation that has arisen in the Indian sub-continent, it will be impossible for the United Nations to take early and effective steps to bring an end to the hostilities and to normalize the situation in the region, or to bring about a political settlement in East Pakistan.

The position taken by the Soviet Union, which from the very beginning of this problem has been consistent, was clearly and appropriately set forth in a recent statement by the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, speaking in Warsaw on 7th December, when he declared:

> "Like all partisans of peace and freedom of peoples, we learned with deep regret of the armed conflict that has recently broken out between two neighbouring States of Asia and of the events which gave rise to that conflict. What were those events? The bloody repression of the fundamental rights and clearly expressed Will of the population of East Pakistan, and the tragedy of 10 million refugees."

But the Chinese Representative closes his eyes to this bloody repression of the clearly expressed Will and the fundamental rights of East Pakistan and slanders the Soviet Union, claiming that it is trying to impose its Will on someone in Asia and Africa. The Soviet Union does not kiss the boots of bloody dictatorship. This is what distinguishes the policies of the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet Union", Mr. Brezhnev went on to say, "is decisively in favour of halting the bloodshed and a peaceful political settlement of the problems that have arisen that takes into account the lawful right of the peoples to create conditions for a just and lasting peace in the region without any interference from outside. That is the policy of the Soviet Union. In the course of deliberations on this question in the United Nations, there could scarcely be any doubt that the main cause of the conflict in the Indian sub-continent has been the bloody repression and terror visited by the West Pakistani authorities on the population of East Pakistan. The Representative of Pakistan in the Security Council recognizes the existence of a serious political crisis in East Pakistan. This crisis has now gone far beyond the frontiers of East Pakistan and has become an international problem, provoking serious international consequences and complications. Attempts to get away from this actuality and pass over in silence the true reasons for the conflict and pretend that the struggle of the people of East Pakistan against terror and violence results from some alleged intrigues or machinations by India with the assistance of the Soviet Union—that is what is so funny. That is a fantasy intended for small children or great fools. All this could lead the Assembly away from the substance of the problem and seriously harm the issue. The crux of the matter is that the bloody repression by Pakistani authorities of the 10 million-strong population of East Pakistan has led to the deaths of many thousands and thousands of peaceful people and the flight of almost 10 million refugees to the neighbouring country of India in order to save their lives.

"This is a great human tragedy. It is an event unprecedented in history, and blindness to this reality is possible only for those who encourage and try to hide this bloody terror and violence. The history of events is well known. It has been dealt with in detail here, and I shall not now dwell upon it. All 167 deputies elected to the National Assembly were deprived of the right to participate in the work of Parliament, and the party they represented was denied an opportunity to

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form a Government. It won this right, but it was not allowed to exercise it. On various pretexts, the Pakistani authorities prevented participation by these representatives in the Government. Furthermore, the leader was arrested on charges of state treason, more or less. He is at present under threat of trial.

"The Soviet Union has taken a resolute and persistent position. The Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Podgorny, sent a special message to the President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, urgently appealing to him to take urgent measures to halt the bloodshed and repression against the population of East Pakistan and to switch to methods of peaceful political settlement.

"We are convinced", said the message, "that this would be in the interests of the whole Pakistani people and of the cause of peace in the region. The continuance of repressive measures has complicated the situation. It is now clear to everyone that had the Government of Pakistan heeded the reasonable counsel and appeal of many Heads of States and Governments and, for that matter, Member States of the United Nations, then there would have been no need to discuss this question in the General Assembly. The Pakistani authorities, finding themselves in a difficult position and trying to find a way out, launched an attack on the neighbouring country of India. Their purpose was obvious: to distract attention from the real reason for the deterioration in the situation, to hide their impotence, to try to find another way out. Having initiated the military action, they obviously hoped to transform the domestic problem of East Pakistan into an international one, and therefore to solve it through interference by the great powers and the United Nations. Discussions in the Security Council have completely borne this out. There can be no doubt that without the decisive, rapid and effective elimination of the main causes of the conflict in the Indian sub-continent neither the Council nor the Assembly will be able to arrive at a proper solution. In all their statements, Representatives have quite rightly pointed to the need for and importance of a cease-fire in India and Pakistan. However, some of them—and not a few—either by accident or deliberately, have left out of account another related problem—the need for the immediate elimination of the prime cause of the conflict. A cease-fire merely between the armed forces of India and Pakistan would not benefit the people of East Pakistan; the troops of West Pakistan would thereby virtually be given the right to continue their terror and their bloody crackdown against the East Pakistani population.

"It is quite obvious that what is fundamental is precisely the question of eliminating this main source, the prime cause of the conflict. The question of a cease-fire must therefore be organically bound to the demand that the Government of Pakistan forthwith halt the bloodshed and quickly and unconditionally recognize the Will of the Pakistan population as expressed in the December elections.

"As many Representatives have already said, these questions are closely inter-related, which means that only the people of East Pakistan, through their elected representatives, can decide their destiny. No one should deny the right of the elected representatives to act. The General Assembly cannot and must not close its eyes to the political reality that has arisen in the region and try to solve only part of the problem—the cease-fire, the cessation of hostilities, ignoring the need to take measures to deal with the real cause of the conflict.

"As is now clear to everyone, this is what gave rise to what has become an international problem. If the General Assembly without taking reality into account, began to take a one-sided path, which might at first seem more attractive, far from helping to solve the problem and bring the conflict to a rapid end, that could well complicate attainment of a cease-fire and an end to the bloodshed in the region."

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Bearing in mind this serious political reality in the Indian sub-continent, my Delegation has submitted for consideration by the General Assembly the draft resolution contained in document A/L. 648. I shall not explain its contents since they are familiar to all Delegations. The gist of our proposal is that there should be, simultaneously, a cease-fire, an end to the bloodshed and hostilities, and the beginning of a political settlement of the problem of East Pakistan on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of its people. This approach to the problem under discussion could lead not only to a cease-fire, but also to an end to the bloodshed throughout the region, an end to the destruction and suffering of the peaceful population, an end to the bloody repression, an end to the untold suffering of the people of East Pakistan.

The Delegation of the U.S.S.R. firmly upholds the just approach to this problem in the Security Council, and we just as resolutely press for a decision of this kind here in the General Assembly.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words concerning the latest attack on the Soviet Union by the Chinese Delegation. Members of the United Nations can see more and more clearly that the rostrum of the United Nations, both in the Assembly and in other bodies, was necessary to the Chinese, not for co-operation among peoples with a view to strengthening peace and security or achieving disarmament, eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism, and so forth. It is being used for base slander and anti-Sovietism by the traitors to socialism and schismatics of China. Day after day, they have been using the organs of the United Nations for this thankless, sordid task, above all this completely useless undertaking.

The same old mendacious phrases : one-sided falsifications of history; the monotonous juggling with historical facts; the listing of past events, including references to the notorious Manchukuo, which is totally irrelevant. Day after day, they repeat the term " social-imperialism ". But, gentlemen, social-imperialism is as great an absurdity as fried ice. This has, of course, begun to bore Representatives and they look with bewilderment upon this show put on for them by the Chinese Representatives here in the United Nations.

At the same time, the Chinese Delegate here, almost literally word for word, repeated what other Representatives have said in the Security Council, and the only thing he did not tell the Assembly was how the war criminal and Quisling, the former Manchukuo Emperor, placed on the throne by the Japanese militarists, was taken prisoner by Soviet troops and handed over to China. The Chinese, instead of punishing him—and everywhere Quislings and war criminals were punished: hanged at Nuremburg, hanged or shot in Belgium, not spared in Norway either—made him a librarian. This is something the Chinese did not choose to remember. These are the facts of history.

If they enjoy putting on such spectacles from the rostrum of the United Nations body, let them go on doing so. The overwhelming majority of Representatives have begun to be bored with this, and Representatives of the imperialist circles both inside and outside the United Nations, derive great entertainment and delight from this show.

One cannot help pointing to one circumstance. All the spite, all the malice of the traitors to socialism, are focused on the Soviet Union. That is understandable. Our policy is just, peace-loving; we enjoy friendship with all peoples, where possible; to the extent of our ability, we give economic and moral assistance. Our great programme of peace and friendship among peoples was outlined at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is why they slander us. But at the same time, they say nothing at all about imperialism. Moreover, in a number of instances there is joint contact and joint action from common

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positions. Slander against the friendship between India and the Soviet Union: we are proud of that friendship; we cherish it as the apple of our eye. This was Lenin's dream and we have realized it, the dream of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, a true, genuine and fraternal friendship and co-operation. The Chinese traitors to socialism are pretending that it is the intention of the Soviet Union to conquer the Indian sub-continent and launch further aggression against China. Who will believe that? That is a fairy story for little children or great fools, as I have said.

Representatives of the non-aligned countries, the countries of the Third World, are you not alerted by a very interesting Peking concept? If friendship means control, if it means rule, if a stronger country strikes up a friendship with a weaker country, this necessarily means that the stronger country must control and rule the weaker one. Does this not reflect the true concept, the true intentions of China? Under the slogan of friendship with all States, particularly the non-aligned countries, the small and medium-sized countries, to subject them to its influence, to control them? This should put them on their guard, it should alert them. And I think that many of those sitting here should reflect seriously on this.

The Soviet Union has never threatened anyone, nor does it do so now. The statement made from this rostrum today that the Soviet Union is threatening China is a fabrication, it is entirely false. It is not in the Soviet Union that war psychosis is fanned against China. We extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to China and its people. It is China that in recent times has done everything it could to whip up war psychosis and to inculcate hatred against the Soviet Union. Why, then, shift the responsibility from a sick head to a healthy one? In order to mask one's own true intentions: this is the only possible explanation.

Finally, the Chinese Representative showed interest in what the Soviet Union is planning, what it intends to do. I might recommend that you read the proceedings of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which you will find a programme of peace, of strengthening international security, development of friendship with all peoples of the world, and measures to liberate those people that are still languishing under the colonial yoke. That was the programme as approved by the Party, and that is what we plan.

Statement by Mr. Agha Shahi, Permanent Representative of Pakistan

The Pakistan Delegation indeed rejoices at seeing the Secretary-General in his accustomed seat in this hall. Eversince the inception of this crisis—from 25th March—I have had occasion to remain in close touch with U Thant, and no one knows more than I how much he has contributed in trying to avert this great tragedy which has overtaken the peoples of India and Pakistan. I mean no disparagement of the other organs of the United Nations when I say that the Secretary-General, who heads the Secretariat, which is a principal organ of the United Nations, has single-handedly and with the assistance of his devoted colleagues and collaborators, done more than all the other four organs combined to try to avert this tragedy and in spurring the efforts for humanitarian relief of the millions who have become its victims.

For its part, the Pakistan Delegation finds it entirely appropriate that the opening substantive statements in this debate have been made by Member States other than the two parties directly concerned.

We find it appropriate because we believe that although the war which has occasioned this debate is between India and Pakistan, the issue that has been joined is between the Charter of the United Nations and the forces that would destroy it. The issue that the Assembly has to face is whether the principles of

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the territorial integrity of Member States and of the non-use of force in international relations are to be regarded as the corner-stones of the Charter or not. The issue is whether these principles are absolute and unconditional, or whether they can be qualified and compromised.

Looked at in this perspective, the issue involves not only Pakistan but every Member State that wishes to guard a peaceful world order. It involves all who cherish freedom from the fear of aggression. Today, it is Pakistan whose territorial integrity has been violated; tomorrow, it may be any of you. Today, it is Pakistan which is fighting outside armed interference; tomorrow, the challenge may have to be taken up by any other Member State.

Today, it is Pakistan which invokes the principle that international disputes, whatever their cause, origin or magnitude, have to be settled without recourse to force. Tomorrow, some other Member State may have to make the same appeal.

Pakistan therefore is not asking for any partisan support from the Assembly. Our case is vindicated if the principles of the Charter are respected. We lose, if those principles are set aside or compromised.

Pakistan is one-fourth India's size. Its two parts are separated by the whole breadth of northern India. It has been grieved and torn and rent by a domestic crisis. It may have, as a people, mishandled that crisis. Nevertheless, Pakistan prizes its personality and regards its dignity and its honour as more precious than life. Pakistan may be small compared to India, but it values its freedom and unity no less than India values its own. Pakistan has therefore resolutely taken up the challenge flung at it by India. Whatever be the outcome of debates in the General Assembly or the Security Council, Pakistan will not falter or fail. But Pakistan wants every other nation—every other nation that is smaller than its neighbour—to understand that Pakistan is fighting a battle which, in the final analysis, is not only its own.

There are three aspects of the question which are of immediate relevance to the decision of the General Assembly.

The first is the fact of the invasion of Pakistan territory by India. This began on 21st November and my Delegation has adduced in the Security Council detailed evidence of this aggression. The fact of aggression is admitted by India.

The second is India's armed interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. This has consisted chiefly of creating an irregular army from the persons displaced from East Pakistan and making it operate from Indian bases and encouraging armed incursions into the territory of Pakistan. Again, this is admitted by India.

The third is India's avowed goal—avowed publicly—of breaking up the integrity of Pakistan and promoting a separatist East Pakistan under the name of Bangla Desh which would be subservient to India and thus raise India to the status of a dominant power in the South Asian region. The Indo-Soviet Treaty has been a crucial factor in India's choosing war as the instrument for achieving this end.

For each of these three causative factors of the present situation in the sub-continent, India, of course, advances a justification.

The plea regarding invasion is that Pakistan had been planning a war with India to divert attention from its domestic discord. Sometimes, the argument is varied and it is alleged that Pakistan turned on India out of frustration at its inability to organize its polity. Was Pakistan, in reality, planning a war? If so, why would it have initiated or accepted every proposal—every conceivable means—by which the situation would have been defused and hostilities averted?

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Firstly, Pakistan sought the good offices of the Security Council in August. India blocked the move.

Secondly, Pakistan accepted the proposal for a pull-back of Indian and Pakistani armed forces from the borders to peace-time stations. India rejected it.

Thirdly, Pakistan proposed that the two sides withdraw their armed forces at least to agreed safe distances to meet India's contention that its lines of communication were longer. Again the Indian answer was "no".

Fourthly, Pakistan accepted the good offices of the Secretary-General as soon as these were offered in October. India's refusal was couched in terms of such lofty disdain that it puzzled the Secretary-General.

Fifthly, Pakistan also asked for United Nations observers to be stationed on both sides of the border to safeguard against violations. India rejected this proposal as well.

Sixthly, on 29th November, Pakistan signified that it would be willing to accept these observers on its own side of the East Pakistan border to obviate a threat to peace resulting from India's invasion which had commenced on 21st November.

I must also mention here that on 20th November, the President of Pakistan extended his hand of friendship to India. What was the response? India launched its aggression on East Pakistan the very next day.

Let me now turn to India's justification for the armed incursions into East Pakistan from Indian sanctuaries with Indian arms, equipment and directions for the past several months. The justification given is that India had a moral duty to extend maximum support to the so-called liberation forces. We are accustomed, by now, to India's self-righteousness. But what about India's moral and legal duty under the Charter and solemnly re-affirmed in so many declarations of the General Assembly to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorism in another State?

The third causative factor of the present situation relates to India's sponsorship of the so-called Bangla Desh. But what is this Bangla Desh? The same correspondent whom the Indian Representative is so fond of quoting has this to say in a report filed from Calcutta yesterday and appearing in *The New York Times* of today:

> "Until now, their Government of Bangla Desh has been an All-Indian show—functioning on Indian soil, following Indian advice and in general being dependent on India for its official existence."

Further on the report says:

> "Some diplomatic observers think the Bangla Desh Government will not actually move into East Pakistan until Indian troops have taken the entire country."

The dispatch adds:

> "The Indians, to insure their objective of having a friendly nation on their eastern border"—and we all know what big powers mean by friendly nations on their borders—"have tried to guide the Bangla Desh leadership into paths acceptable to New Delhi. For example, an advisory committee was attached to the government that included pro-Moscow leftist parties, which won not a single seat in last year's pivotal elections..... The inclusion of the leftists was

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a concession to the Soviet Union, which has been India's staunchest supporter throughout this crisis."

Thus, India's design is clear. It is to impose the so-called Bangla Desh on the people of East Pakistan under the bayonets of an Indian army of occupation. This is the kind of government which India calls upon the international community to recognize.

We have been told that Pakistan must respect the Will of the population of East Pakistan. Did the people of East Pakistan opt for submission to such a regime in those elections? Can anyone assert that the people of East Pakistan—who are the most politically conscious part of our nation and have a long history of struggle against upper caste Hindu domination—wished for the re-imposition of that same domination?

To respect the Will of the people of East Pakistan imposes on us the obligation to resist with all the forces at our command the attempt to convert East Pakistan into an Indian protectorate.

Let me make it clear that the issue involved here is not that of self-determination. Pakistan yields to none in espousing this principle. But the electorate of East Pakistan voted for autonomy in last year's elections, not for separation. This is conceded by India itself when it says that the goal of the Awami League was autonomy, not independence. Secondly, as the Secretary-General so clearly stated at a Press Conference in Accra on 9th January, 1970;

"Regarding the second question of self-determination, I think this concept is not properly understood in many parts of the world. Self determination of peoples does not imply self-determination of a section of the population of a particular Member State. If the principle of self-determination is to be applied to 10 different areas of a Member State or 5 different areas of a Member State or 20 areas of Member State, then I am afraid there will be no end to the problems. What is relevant for the concept is the simple basic principle of the Charter.

"When a State applies to be a Member of the United Nations and when the United Nations accepts it, then the implication is that the rest of the Membership of the United Nations recognizes the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of this particular Member State."

While the issue has been clouded by unprecedented Indian propaganda and by the world press which, unfortunately, cannot forget—it has long memories of Moslem-Christian wars and crusades and cannot deal objectively with certain countries of the world—the fact is beyond challenge that it was India which, by its interventionist role, caused and aggravated Pakistan's internal crisis and then used that crisis as a pretext for unleashing aggression against Pakistan. The Indian Representative, in trying to deny the facts, used the name of Mr. Bhutto, the leader of the largest political party in West Pakistan, the other day and alleged that in his book, *The Great Tragedy*, Mr. Bhutto had said "not a word" about India's complicity in attempts to break up Pakistan. Let me read out from Mr. Bhutto's book, *page* 54:

"India's hostile attitude, although expected, has been unbecoming in the extreme. She has blatantly interfered on the side of the secessionists. She has openly supported the forces seeking to destroy Pakistan. The Prime Minister of India waxed eloquent in support of the secessionists in the Lok Sabha, and declared that the problems of East Pakistan could not be regarded as the internal affair of Pakistan. Both Houses of Parliament unanimously passed a resolution in support of the aspirations of the secessionists. West Bengal has been

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turned into a spring-board for Indian infiltrators to penetrate East Pakistan. It has also been turned into a haven for the insurgents. The Border Security Forces of India have been sent in civilian clothes to East Pakistan. Large quantities of arms and ammunition have been supplied to the rebels. Indian forces have actively aided the rebels on the borders particularly in Sylhet, Khulna and Jessore. The Indian Navy harassed Pakistan's merchant ships and even attempted to blockade the Bay of Bengal. Funds for the secessionists are being collected throughout India. The State Legislatures are whipping up Indian public opinion in support of the secessionists.

"India's actions cannot be passed off as sponteneous demonstrations of support for an independent Bangla Desh. The conspiracy is as old as the partition of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan in 1947 and since the Agartala Conspiracy Case it has been considerably intensified. India always had a covetous eye on East Bengal, as a first step in destroying Pakistan."

The General Assembly is aware of the circumstances under which this situation of war between India and Pakistan has been brought to its consideration. The Security Council was reduced to complete impotence by the arbitrary use of the veto by one Permanent Member, which is in military alliance with the aggressor State, and which never ceases to claim to be a paragon on non-alignment. The Pakistan Delegation is confident that this body, representing the Will of 132 sovereign and equal nations, will take a decision on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations whose unconditional validity seems now to be cast into doubt by those who have been the loudest in proclaiming their contribution to the strengthening of international security.

There are now two draft resolutions before the General Assembly. These are contained in documents A/L. 647/Rev. 1 and A/L. 648. From the debate in the Security Council and from today's debate in the General Assembly it is quite clear that an overwhelming majority of the Members of this World Organization would favour only that draft resolution which, without doing violence to any of the principles of the Charter and as a minimum first step, seeks an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces. That is the draft resolution contained in document A/L. 647/Rev. 1.

But, while the imperatives of the situation require a condemnation of the aggression and the provision of a mechanism to ensure that there is no repetition of attacks by armed forces or other armed personnel against the territory of Pakistan or, for that matter, the territory of India, and inasmuch as these provisions are not included in the draft resolution contained in document A/L.647/Rev. 1, my Delegation considers it to be suffering from a serious deficiency. My Government had proposed the introduction of United Nations observers on both sides of the India-Pakistan border, which would have provided adequate assurance in regard to the question of implementation of any decision that the United Nations might adopt. It will be recalled that when Pakistan welcomed the good offices of the Secretary-General which could be utilized to defuse the situation between India and Pakistan, we had pointed out what were the basic minimum conditions for achieving that result. Nevertheless, as the draft resolution contained in document A/L. 647/Rev. 1, despite its inadequacies, gives expression to the collective Will of a large number of Member States, Pakistan has taken note of this collective Will of the international community.

As for the draft resolution sponsored by the Delegation of the Soviet Union (A/L. 648), I had occasion to comment on it last night in the Security Council when an identical draft had been submitted. I therefore do not need to dwell on it. But I must repeat that by linking the cease-fire with what it calls a political settlement in East Pakistan, the draft resolution wants the Government

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of Pakistan to negotiate with the secessionists under the duress of the presence of the Indian occupation forces on Pakistan soil. The Soviet draft resolution provides for no cease-fire; it provides for no withdrawal; it in effect implies the continuation of the Indian war of aggression until Pakistan submits to dismemberment.

The Soviet draft resolution would have Pakistan sign away its national integrity. Needless to say, no self-respecting State can ever countenance such a proposal.

At this moment of trial for Pakistan and its people, when death and destruction are being rained on our civilian population, in both the western and eastern parts of our country, when its valiant armed forces are fighting against heavy military odds, when suffering is our companion, and tears and blood our portion, the people of Pakistan, of east and west, are driven by one will: to confront the aggressor with all their strength of spirit and to flinch from no sacrifice in defending the nation's unity, freedom and honour.

Statement by Mr. Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India, in exercise of his right of reply

I have listened with great attention to the various comments made in this important debate. Without going into a detailed analysis, I think it is fair to say that four trends of thought against India have emerged: one led by the United States of America, one by Portugal, one by China and one by Pakistan. Now, what is there in common among all these four countries? The United States is a great democracy; Portugal is a great fascist State; China we know nothing about; Pakistan is full of animosity against India.

The Representative of the United States said: "You gentlemen of the United Nations, put out the flame. Let us stop worrying about the blame". But before he said that he had already put the blame squarely on India. That is his privilege. Those who care for facts either about the sub-continent or elsewhere will know how United States policies are formed and how they are executed. I shall leave it at that.

As for Portugal, a most fantastic, fascist, colonialist territory has the gumption to come here to the United Nations and stand on this rostrum and defend Goa—a little pimple on the face of India which would have been wiped out a long, long time ago. We tolerated it through 14 years of peaceful negotiations. Nothing happened. We took it. We are proud to have taken it. I hope all of my African and Arab friends would support that action; indeed, they did, and we are most grateful to them for so doing. We have nothing to be ashamed of.

And it is extraordinary: the great revolutionary State of China, the beacon-light of our future, still tolerates Macau. I leave you to draw your own lesson from this.

The Representative of Pakistan was quite right. I was quite touched hearing his moving speech about the break-up of his country. If I were in his position I would be equally moved. No one, no human being, no man with any decency can feel anything but extreme sadness, extreme worry that his country has broken up. But the question is not whether we feel sorry. Of course we must feel sorry, but we have to face the fact that it has broken up. Nothing on earth can stop it. It has happened. Whether it was a succession of faults that brought it about, whether it was the wisdom, or lack of it, of the leaders—whatever may have been the reasons, it has broken up. This is a fact which we have to face today and this is why I have come to comment on the draft resolutions before us.

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The first draft resolution, moved with extremely good intentions, with extreme goodwill and with great sensitivity for this Organization, by Argentina and others, to our mind is unrealistic, irrelevant and, may I say, even dangerous. It is unrealistic because it is not one kind of battle that is going on in the sub-continent, it is two kinds of battle that are going on. There is a battle between Indian soldiers and Pakistani soldiers brought about by Pakistani aggression, and a battle between the Mukti Bahini and Pakistan soldiers brought about by Pakistani repression. What this draft resolution tends to do is to stop one kind of battle and leave the repression part, resistance part alone. This obviously will not work. All men of goodwill, all countries represented in this hall, would want all hostilities to cease, all violence to cease. And we do not need any lessons about what Mahatma Gandhi did and what Jawaharlal Nehru did, and how we have failed our idols and their ideals. We do not need any lessons from that. We have never been foolish enough to believe that all of us are like our greatest men. We only hope that with our efforts and through trial and error we shall contribute to their ideals. We never feel that we have reached those ideals; we try for them.

Therefore, you are trying to put a damper on one conflict while encouraging the other—the other one which is much worse, namely the conflict of the soldiers of a country repressing the civilian population, destroying their villages, killing their men, women and children, raping the women, and taking part in the most sadistic orgy ever known in human history. If that is the result you want to achieve, go ahead and do it. I do not for a moment deny that your intentions are pure, your goodwill is beyond suspicion; but if this is the use to which the United Nations is to be put, you will wreck the United Nations. You cannot expect the Delegation of India, which has sought faithfully for so many years to uphold all the principles we believe we should uphold, to be a party to that. We shall therefore be obliged to vote against it.

Apart from that, there is our peculiar position in the sense that we have to look after these people, these refugees from oppression, from terror, from incredible brutalities. Do you think we could now turn around and say to them: "We have now accepted a cease-fire because it will allow Pakistan's army to continue with their brutalities. We, being a faithful Member of the United Nations, could not do a thing for you when you were being butchered, raped and looted. But today, now at last you are on the threshold of some self-respect, some decent existence, we shall see that you are back again to the game of being looted, raped, burned and killed"? We cannot be a party to that, let there be no doubt about that.

I was extremly gratified, in this context, by the statements made by the Ambassadors of the United Kingdom and France. They represent great powers. We have many difficulties with those powers, but I hope that neither India nor its Representatives have ever lacked the courage to pay tribute when and to whom it is due. These distinguished Representatives of great powers have seen the problem, have seen its complications, have seen its tragedies, and I would like to believe that their store of knowledge is much greater than that of many of us. If they have shown that wisdom, let us not decide on an action that would only mean bringing about—with the greatest of good intentions—a situation where the United Nations will not be in the vanguard of all the good values our civilization stands for, but will instead become an object of ridicule and may indeed even break itself up.

Statement made by Mr. Agha Shahi, Permanent Representative of Pakistan

I have already indicated earlier that the draft resolution just adopted by the General Assembly by such an overwhelming majority was full of defects. I

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indicated specifically what were the defects of that draft resolution, and it is not necessary for me to repeat what I stated then.

At the same time—and although my Delegation had no instructions from the Government of Pakistan—out of deference to the overwhelming Will of the general Membership of this Assembly we voted in favour of the draft resolution.

It is necessary for me to emphasize that in construing the provisions of the Resolution just adopted my Delegation reads the third and fourth preambular paragraphs together as a whole, and we would emphasize that any efforts made by the General Assembly of the United Nations

"to deal....at a subsequent stage....with the issues which have given rise to hostilities"

and the expression of views about

"....an early political solution (being) necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area"

must be construed within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, meaning thereby that all such attempts by the General Assembly or the international community must be within the principle of the territorial integrity of Pakistan and no attempt should be made to disrupt the national unity of Pakistan either partially or totally.

It is in that sense that we understand the third and fourth preambular paragraphs of the Resolution just adopted, and we would further emphasize that the meaning of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, which states:

"Urges that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes"

is also very clear, namely, that the "conditions necessary for the voluntary return" must be consistent with the territorial integrity and national unity of Pakistan, and any attempt to construe that paragraph as meaning a demand on the Government of Pakistan to negotiate with secessionist elements will be rejected by my Government.

It is with that understanding that we voted for this Resolution, although we had no instructions from the Government of Pakistan.

Furthermore, may I express the deepest gratitude of the delegation of Pakistan for this overwhelming historic vote. It is the first occasion when the general membership of the United Nations decided to be seized of the situation when the Security Council had been prevented from acting by the veto of a permanent member of the Security Council. In that sense this Assembly has risen to great historic heights, which does credit to the United Nations, retrieves its honour and revives the hopes of the people of the world in this Organization.

D. INDIA SPEAKS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, DECEMBER 12 to 21, 1971

A short note on discussions at the Security Council December 12 to 21, 1971

The Security Council considered the situation in the Indian sub-continent again from December 12 to 21, 1971. A draft resolution tabled by the U.S.A. for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces was vetoed by the U.S.S.R on December 13, 1971. Meanwhile, the situation in the sub-continent

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changed with the fall of Dacca and India's unilateral declaration of a cease-fire resulting in a better understanding of India's position in the U.N. circles. The recognition of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh by India and the unilateral declaration of cease-fire in the western sector, following the unconditional surrender by Pakistani military occupation forces in Dacca on December 16, 1971, confirmed the repeated assurances given by India that it had no territorial designs on Pakistan. Pakistan's attempt to collect signatures to take the whole issue back to the General Assembly failed as it was able to collect only 23 signatures out of 104 countries which had earlier voted for the General Assembly Resolution. This was clearly indicative of the understanding of the realities of the situation in Bangla Desh by the Members of the United Nations.

The Security Council was eventually able to adopt a Resolution on December 21, 1971 which took note of the unilateral declaration of cease-fire by India in the western sector and Pakistan's agreement thereto with effect from December 17, 1971, and demanded that "a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to positions which fully respect the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan". The voting was 13 in favour, none against and 2 abstentions.

Speech by Foreign Minister of India, Sardar Swaran Singh
December 12, 1971

This is the second time within a fortnight that the Security Council is meeting to deal with the tragic events in South Asia. The concern of the international community regarding this conflagration and its anxiety to stem it as early as possible are understandable. The deliberations in the Security Council between 4th to 6th December and later in the General Assembly on 7th December under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution indicated the common concern of all with the situation which is causing untold suffering to millions of people in my part of the world.

But we should frankly ask ourselves—and I would be failing in my duty, if I did not ask the Council—if this common concern extends to all aspects of the situation, its causes and development to the present stage. The situation today is the culmination of the sufferings brought upon the people of Bangla Desh because of the unwillingness of the rulers of Pakistan to respond to the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people who formerly were part of the State of Pakistan.

My Government has taken note of the Resolution which the General Assembly adopted at the end of its discussion on the situation in Bangla Desh and on the Indian sub-continent. While it constitutes a testimony of the unimpeachable concern of the United Nations for the cause of peace and the good intentions of most of the world community, it is also, in our minds, an acknowledgement of a fundamental and unfortunate limitation from which the United Nations suffers in dealing with such situations. The United Nations had been faced for over nine months with a most challenging problem and the solution which it suggested was—if I may say so—unrealistic. My country finds it all the more regrettable because India is totally committed to the objectives and ideals of the Charter. If the international community had willed and acted in concert in time we would not have faced today the clouds of war which have now burst over the Indian sub-continent.

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While the General Assembly made an appeal for cease-fire and withdrawal, there appears to have been no deliberation on whether such a cease-fire and withdrawal by itself would meet the immediate problems that today confront the people of India and Bangla Desh, problems which we have attempted to meet with restraint, caution and peaceful means; problem which are not of our creation and which we have had to face over the last nine months.

The compound tragedy originates in the denial, by coercive authority and brutality, of the legitimate and declared aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh. My country has been accused of having ulterior motives and subversive intentions against the neighbouring State of Pakistan. There have been consistent attempts at projecting the tragedy of Bangla Desh as a creation of India and a dispute between India and Pakistan. Those attempts have, to my mind, unfortunately succeeded in adding another dimension to the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh against the Government of West Pakistan. This new dimension is the confrontation today between the armed forces of India and Pakistan.

It is a matter of grief for us that a military confrontation has come about. We believe that it has occurred because of the failure of the international community to act upon the realities of the situation as it developed and to meet it with objectivity and promptness in a manner which would have prevented it from deteriorating into this present stage.

My Delegation has endeavoured, since the eruption of the crisis in what was East Pakistan on 25th March, 1971, to put the problem in perspective in world capitals, as well as here at the United Nations. The effort was made by us at the highest possible level; and though the genesis of the problem was explained and the prognosis of its implications outlined repeatedly, we regret to say that the international community failed to understand the problem in terms of its fundamental causation and thus found itself unable to remedy it at its root.

Since we are meeting today at a moment of deep crisis on the sub-continent, with violence and war stalking the land, the events which led to the present tragedy bear repetition. I feel compelled to recount these details as it is imperative to remove misunderstandings regarding the reasons for the present crisis, if the problem is to be resolved decisively and in a constructive manner.

The immediate origin of the crisis occurred some time between December, 1970 and March, 1971. After 23 years of unrepresentative rule, and 13 years of military dictatorship, which were matched by continuous economic exploitation and political discrimination by the vested interests of Pakistan against the east, the first-ever free general elections were organized in Pakistan by the Government of President Yahya Khan in December, 1970.

We welcomed the elections in the hope that apart from restoring the long-suppressed rights of the people of Pakistan to them, they would also open a new chapter of improved relations with this important neighbour of ours.

Our hope found further confirmation in the electoral victory of political parties, both in the eastern and western wings of Pakistan, that really embodied the aspirations of the people of those regions.

This positive political development in Pakistan was, however, prevented from evolving to its logical, legal and political conclusion by the decision of the military regime of Pakistan to reject callously the clearly expressed demand of the East Bengali people for autonomy. This deep-seated urge found incontrovertible expression in the massive victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of the Awami League, not only in elections to the Provincial Assembly, but in elections to the National

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Assembly of Pakistan in which the Awami League commanded an absolute majority by winning 167 seats out of 313 seats. The Awami League won 98 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly allotted to East Pakistan. It had 167 out of a total of 169 seats.

Instead of transferring power to the duly elected representatives of people, President Yahya Khan repeatedly postponed the convening of the national and provincial legislatures until mid-March.

The final preface to the brutal suppression of the declared wishes of the people of East Bengal took the form of a pretended negotiation between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the early part of March, 1971, while in fact the Government of West Pakistan was undertaking a massive augmentation of its armed forces in East Bengal to terrorize and suppress the people of that area.

The climax of the conspiracy against the people of Bangla Desh occurred on the infamous night of 25th March, when the West Pakistani army went into action against them. Events took a catastrophic course and an international problem with explosive potentialities was created overnight. Informed international opinion, as reflected in the media and at least some Governments, recognized this straightaway. But the international community as a whole responded to the humanitarian aspects of the problem sooner than to its political and other implications.

The Secretary-General issued his appeal for relief to the refugees on 19th May, 1971. His memorandum to the President of the Security Council was sent on 20th July, 1971.

In the meanwhile, a massive exodus into India of the people of Bangla Desh commenced on the night of 25th March, which still continues. This is an exodus unprecedented in known history across an international frontier. The threat to our security, stability and economy by what has been called the massive civilian invasion of refugees into India cannot be determined in tangible terms.

I had explained the implications, the brutal and continuing suppression of the people of East Bengal by the West Pakistani army in terms of its grave socio-economic-political consequences to India to the General Assembly in my statement on 27th September this year. I had underlined that the exodus of East Bengal refugees into India had created intolerable demographic pressures on the most densely populated neighbouring states and territories of India. I had pointed out that the entire administration of the Indian States into which these refugees came had to be geared to the relief of these refugees. The economic implications of the number of refugees, which now stands at 10 million, and the generated economic pressure on India can be discerned from the fact that our Finance Minister has made two additional provisions of nearly 330 crores of rupees, or approximatly $ 500 million, in our annual budget for the year 1971–72, which ends on 31st March, 1972. A smaller State would have collapsed in the face of such an influx.

Social friction, the fear of epidemics and the possibilities of communal and other tensions had to be countered. The refugees became an incalculable hindrance to our economic development for years to come. Their continuing exodus, without any hope of their return, was a destructive obstacle to the very socio-political fabric of India.

Pakistan's repressive policies, compelling the unabated flight of millions through terror into our territory, posed a threat to the fundamental principles on which we have tried to build our society and to the hard-earned stability that the Indian people had achieved by the labours of over a quarter of a century.

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Our problems were accentuated by a deliberate and false propaganda offensive by the Government of Pakistan, first questioning the existence of the refugees and then ultimately describing them as a few miscreants and secessionists put up by India. When the facts became too manifest to be questioned, Pakistan then resorted to questioning their numbers as mentioned by India.

The people of Bangla Desh resorted to the only course open to them in the face of the violent and repressive denial of their declared aspirations, accompanied by unimaginable terror, brutalization and genocide. They became totally alienated from West Pakistan and took the decision to declare their independence on 10th April, 1971.

The West Pakistani military regime continued in its unimaginative, callous and fatal course. Things went from bad to worse. Mr. Bhutto, who now leads the Pakistan Delegation, himself acknowledged in July that the military could not solve Pakistan's problems. In spite of the counsels of reason by the international community, in spite of the appeals of the Secretary-General to seek a political reconciliation taking due account of the welfare and fundamental human rights of the people of East Bengal, in spite of the humanitarian response of the international community to the refugee problem, in spite of the restrained and non-interfering and humanitarian reaction of the Government of India, the Government of West Pakistan refused to come to terms with the people of Bangla Desh and their already elected representatives led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was, from the beginning, imprisoned in West Pakistan and subjected to secret military trial carrying, we are told, the penalty of death. We do not even know whether he is still alive, but we do know that no one has been able to contact him.

The policy of repression and genocide continued unabated over the last nine months. In his statements and pronouncements, President Yahya Khan, since May last, refused deliberately to deal with the basic problem which he himself had created; on the contrary, he banned the Awami League, arbitrarily disqualified a large number of the elected representatives of the provincial and national assemblies of East Bengal, and continued to hold the people of Bangla Desh to ransom at gunpoint. To confuse the issue, Pakistan shifted the blame onto India. To confuse the issue further, Pakistan put out that the popular Awami League policies and decisions were inspired by the Government of India. India was accused of encouraging secession. The widespread resistance movement which emerged in Bangla Desh in the face of Pakistani repression was described as a subversive force organized by India. The mounting international pressure to recognize the aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh was sought to be countered by declarations of so-called amnesty—which did not cover the elected representatives of the people—and by imposition of a civilian government in East Bengal constituted by quislings and unrepresentative politicians who had even lost the elections in December, 1970.

These policies of the Government of Pakistan had the inevitable consequence of alienating even further the people of Bangla Desh and of strengthening their determination to break the colonial yoke of the West Pakistani regime and of channeling the freedom movement in a manner which would inevitably lead to emergence of Bangla Desh as an independent nation. Pakistan's military action and the snuffing-out of all human rights and the reign of terror which continues, have shocked the conscience of mankind. The popular revolt against these actions has a hard core of fighters who are former members of the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles, who took the cause of their people to their hearts. They were joined by thousands of highly motivated young men determined to end the tyranny once and for all.

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During the general debate in the Assembly in September, I had attempted to explain the developing situation in its true perspective and I had appealed to the international community and to the United Nations to persuade the Government of Pakistan to see reason and to evolve a political settlement with the already-elected representatives of the people of East Bengal. I had stressed that in such an atmosphere of strife and ferment, the United Nations remains the only hope for States and peoples; I had pointed out that it is in such moments that we all can prove that the ideals of the Charter are not static norms to which we re-dedicate ourselves for form's sake every year. I had fore-warned the international community of our apprehensions that if, in spite of our declared commitments to the Charter, we found ourselves unable to face realities in the face of crisis born of violations of the very principles of the Charter, violations which were deliberate and calculated, as they are in case of Bangla Desh, then the United Nations would indeed be failing in its fundamental purpose, that it would be questioning its very existence and its principles.

It was our earnest hope that the incalculably grave consequences of the crisis created by West Pakistan in the East would be comprehended by the nations of the world, and that their undoubted influence would be brought to bear on the Government of West Pakistan to restore the fundamental rights of the people of East Bengal to them. Our hopes that the counsels of reason would prevail were, however, not fulfilled. The consequence is the conflict that we face today.

It is essential that in seeking a solution to the current conflict, the Security Council takes note of the events which led to this crisis. I shall come a little later to the immediate genesis of the problem over the last few days.

I would be failing in my duty, however, to the Council if I did not draw its attention to the consistent pattern of antagonism and hostility which has characterized Pakistan's policies towards India since the emergence of India into independence. The origins of the present conflict are to be found in the psychosis of hatred and war, continuously whipped up by the rulers of Pakistan, of which India has been repeatedly the victim.

We have repeatedly been accused of desiring the break-up of Pakistan, of nurturing not merely political but social, communal and cultural antagonism against the people of Pakistan, of having been parties to alleged subversions against this neighbouring State of ours. I could resort to an interpretative and even rhetorical rebuttal of these allegations, but we all will agree that facts unmistakably reveal intentions even better than do arguments.

The leaders and the people of India accepted the desire of the Muslim majority areas of India to constitute themselves into a separate State, the State of Pakistan, nearly 25 years ago. But India, on its part, refused to accept the two-nation theory on which the demand for Pakistan was thought to be based. The result was that, at the time of the partition, India continued to have nearly 40 million Muslim citizens, whose number today is nearly 70 million. These are honoured and equal citizens of the secular, democratic Republic of India. The partition of the sub-continent was accepted by us as an irrevocable political fact essential for the future welfare of the peoples inhabiting it. If there was any desire to prevent the creation or to question its separate existence, the people of India had sufficient political means to prevent the creation of Pakistan. Students of history will acknowledge the veracity of this assertion. Hardly had the ink dried on the agreements arranging for the partition of the country when we were faced with brazen aggression by our new neighbour, in Kashmir in 1947, a few months after the emergence of India and Pakistan as independent countries, an aggression motivated by a wish for territorial aggrandizement.

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While we tried to stem the aggression, we brought it to the notice of the United Nations. Though the fact of aggression was proved and the identity of the aggressor incontrovertibly established, the United Nations, due to reasons which are incomprehensible, has not yet been able to arrange for the evacuation of the parts occupied by the West Pakistani troops. Though an uneasy peace prevailed in the area, India continued its attempts at reconciliation and a building up of relations with Pakistan on positive and constructive lines. In spite of the military conflict imposed upon us soon after partition, we unilaterally honoured our economic and financial obligations towards the new State of Pakistan, in glaring contrast to Pakistan's refusal to honour its commitments in this regard, regarding assets, evacuee property and border arrangements. We continued our efforts at increasing economic and cultural relations. Even at great sacrifice we were willing to share our resources with our neighbour, an outstanding example of which was our agreement to share our river water resources with Pakistan under the Indus Water Treaty of 19th September, 1960. The provisions of the Treaty constituted a drain on our own resources. While our policy of reconciliation continued, the response from Pakistan remained negative, even abrasive. The Government of Pakistan undertook a deliberate policy of pushing out its minority communities into India. Substantial sections of minority population were either massacred or driven into India from West Pakistan in the wake of partition. An unending trek of refugees from East Bengal into India started in 1947 where the minority communities were more populous. Pakistan made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to convert its aggression in Kashmir into an instrument of harassing India in the chancelleries of the world and in the United Nations. When those attempts failed, it reverted to the naked use of arms against India in 1965, by undertaking armed instrusions into the Rann of Kutch first and indulging in an all-out unprovoked aggression against India in Kashmir. India again came to the United Nations in the hope of finding redress. The events of the conflict of August-September, 1965, in Kashmir, and the spirit of reconciliation which the Government and people of India showed at Tashkent following the conflict, are well known to the international community.

If India at any time had harboured design of territorial aggrandizement in what is now Bangla Desh, those designs would surely have been manifested in the conflicts of 1947–48 and 1965.

Our expectation was that the Agreement at Tashkent would open a new chapter of friendship and co-operation between India and Pakistan. Our hope was that the spirit of Tashkent would overcome the bitterness of the past. It was this hope that led the Government of India to send a high level delegation consisting of three Cabinet Ministers and five Principal Secretaries of the Government of India to Rawalpindi early in 1966 to work out the details of implementing the Agreement of Tashkent. This Delegation faced an intransignent and un-co-operative Government of Pakistan. India still remained understanding and felt that some unilateral action on India's part would persuade it to take the hand of friendship extended by India. India unilaterally withdrew the trade embargo against Pakistan after the 1965 conflict. We returned all the goods and properties. We proposed the signing of a mutual no-war declaration. Pakistan's response to each of those gestures was unfortunately negative. The attitude of recrimination and hostility continued. Not only in bilateral relations, but every internal crisis in Pakistan born out of the unwisdom of the successive Governments of Pakistan continued to be laid at the door of India, holding India responsible by some curious logic.

The picture will not be complete if I do not recount how the successive regimes of Pakistan, dominated by its western wing, treated the people of East

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Bengal. To put it in the words of the acting President and Prime Minister of Bangla Desh :

"It is well known that the people of Bangla Desh were subjected to a long period of ruthless colonial domination, systematic exploitation and gross political and cultural discrimination by the successive regimes."

This pattern of discrimination and exploitation was evident in the beginning years themselves. Since 1948, the wish of the people of East Bengal to have their own language—Bengali—as one of the official and working languages of Pakistan has been consistently rejected. The demand for an equal share in the wealth of the country, in holding responsibility for the administration of the nation, was rejected. When this intolerance of the West Pakistani ruling circle resulted in the emergence of regional movements for meeting the legitimate economic and political aspirations of the people of East Bengal, the movements were suppressed with police techniques and coercive authority. When political parties, representing the wish of the people of East Bengal, formed governments on the basis of local elections, they were dismissed on flimsy political and legal pretexts and subjected to martial law and military rule.

The history of political developments in East Bengal and the relations between the two wings of Pakistan from 1952 to 1971, is a sad chapter characterized by intolerance, repression and the ruthless denial of the fundamental rights and liberties of the majority of the population of Pakistan, the 75 million people of East Bengal. The political inequity of this is compounded further when one realizes, as I said, that the people of East Bengal constitute nearly 60 per cent of the total population of Pakistan. They earn most of the foreign exchange for Pakistan on which the economic development depends. It was the agricultural and industrial resources of East Bengal that sustained Pakistan's economy, and yet the fruits of the resources of East Bengal were not available to them. They served only one purpose; the perpetuation in power of an unrepresentative business-*cum*-military ruling circle and the ensuring of their continued prosperity at the cost of the sufferings of the millions in Bangla Desh.

Not only were their political aspirations denied, their will thwarted, their liberty suppressed, even the integrity and *bona fides* of their intentions were questioned by the unimaginative rulers of West Pakistan; their patriotism to their country was questioned. The legitimate expression of their grievances was characterized as conspiracies hatched by India. Their political movements were ignored and each of their protests was perversely described as an Indian machination.

This policy of political discrimination and repression became unbearable not only in East Bengal but also in West Pakistan. The result was the political upheaval in Pakistan, led by the present Representative of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Bhutto, which resulted in the former President Ayub Khan's handing over power to President Yahya Khan who assumed the direction of the affairs of his country with a welcome promise of returning power to the people of the country.

India watched the developments in Pakistan during the elections of 1970 with expectations and also hope. When President Yahya Khan announced the decision to hold free elections and agreed to the Awami League of East Bengal fighting elections on its declared and well known manifesto for provincial autonomy within a federal structure of Pakistan, we had every hope that a new era of democracy and freedom was due to emerge in Pakistan and also that relations between India and Pakistan would take a turn for the better, on more constructive lines. The elections were held in December, 1970, and what followed is aptly described in a communication from the acting President and Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, dated 15th October, 1971, to the Prime Minister of India.

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This has been published and distributed widely:

"Over the last several years, our people had waged a peaceful and non-violent struggle for the attainment of our basic rights. Even after the successive postponements of the convening of the National Assembly by the military regime of Pakistan, we did not resort to violence but continued our non-violent struggle. The military rulers of Pakistan took advantage of this to gain time to employ the ruse of so-called negotiations till the night of 24th March while they were augmenting their military strength. Their plans became visible to the whole world on the black night of 25th March when they let loose their army under a premeditated plan on the innocent and defenceless men, women and children of our country. They made a special target of the intellectuals, the elite of the youth and the leaders of the workers, peasants and students. This left us with no alternative but to resort to arms."

I should like to add that these aspects were noted in one of the public statements made by no less a person than the distinguished leader of the Pakistani Delegation.

That is the historical background in which the tragedy on the Indian subcontinent has been enacted since March last; I recounted some details of this in the earlier part of my statement. But the tragedy had to reach greater depths in terms of human sufferings, in terms of death and violence. By the middle of October, the continuing influx of refugees from East Bengal had swelled their number in India to nearly 9.5 million. Apart from being a testimony to the continuing repression and brutality of the West Pakistan army, it also became the cause for a spontaneous and strong resistance movement within Bangla Desh itself.

We were informed by the acting President and Prime Minister of Bangla Desh that nearly half the territory of East Bengal was under their effective military and civil control at that time. That was borne out by the pronouncements of President Yahya Khan during the month of October, when he repeated his assertions of July and August that any success of the Mukti Bahini, the freedom-fighters of East Bengal, would be considered by him as an act of aggression which would justify his having "total and open war against India". His pronouncements to the press from that stage on became progressively more bellicose and assumed a threatening posture against India.

On 12th October, in an address to the country, he blamed India for encouraging what he described the "secessionist" movement in East Bengal. Within a few days, a massive build-up of the Pakistani army, including armour and artillery, against India's western frontiers, including the areas adjacent to the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir, was organized by the West Pakistan military regime. It is relevant to mention that the Chief United Nations Military Observer's inquiries regarding these troop movements were met with a blatant falsehood. He was informed that the troop movements were purely for training purposes.

India understandably responded to this impending threat to its territorial integrity and security and moved its troops forward in the western sector more than a week later. I should here emphasize that we did this while keeping the United Nations military observers in Kashmir fully informed.

The political propaganda was accompanied by continuing military provocations by Pakistan against us over the last 9 months. From 25th March to 15th November 1971, there were over 600 military intrusions or border incidents committed by Pakistani forces on the Indo-East Bengal border. India had to lodge 1,980 complaints against cease-fire violations in the Kashmir sector of our frontier with Pakistan during the same period. This sabre-rattling was accompanied by war hysteria. Important cities

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of West Pakistan held rallies and sent out processions with "Crush India" and "Conquer India" slogans. Photographs of this have appeared extensively in the international press. Apart from a threatening deployment of its land forces against India, Pakistani air intrusions into Indian territory, both in the east and west, were stepped up.

While these military provocations continued, Pakistan made suggestions regarding troop withdrawals—and this was mentioned by the Representative of the United States of America—posting of United Nations observers, and so forth, a series of deliberate gimmicks to hide its real intentions. The hypocrisy reached new heights in a so-called message of goodwill and friendship addressed by President Yahya Khan on 20th November to the Prime Minister of India. The Prime Minister of India reciprocated the message and made the suggestion that the tragedy in the sub-continent could be avoided by means of a political settlement between the Government of West Pakistan and the already elected leaders of East Bengal. While these messages were being exchanged, Pakistan was planning further aggression.

On 21st November, the West Pakistani army mounted a massive attack against Indian border posts in the Indo-East Bengal border in the Boyra area. After coming into conflict with the units of the freedom-fighters of East Bengal, the West Pakistani troops continued their thrust towards the Indian border. It was a full-scale attack with armour and artillery, and when Indian resistance was firm, Pakistan brought its air force into action. Similar incidents took place on the Assam-East Bengal and Tripura-East Bengal borders between 15th and 22nd November this year. The Pakistani attacks were successfully resisted by the local commanders of the Indian army, and Pakistan also suffered losses of its planes while attacking Indian troops over our territory. Two of the Pakistani pilots who were piloting these planes were captured on Indian territtory after they had bailed out. These incidents were followed by the declaration of emergency by President Yahya Khan on 23rd November, and on the same day, in a press interview to the magazine *Newsweek* he stated that he expected to be "off on a war within 10 days". I would add that he kept the date.

Gravely concerned at the fast-deteriorating situation and hoping to retrieve it, the Prime Minister of India made a statement in the Indian Parliament on 24th November, in which she said:

> "Even though Pakistan has declared an emergency, we shall refrain from a similar step unless further aggressive action by Pakistan compels us to do so in the interest of national security. In the meantime, the country should remain unruffled. The rulers of Pakistan must realize that the path of peace, of peaceful negotiations and conciliation is more rewarding than that of war and the suppression of liberty and democracy."

She also described the military actions between 21st and 22nd November as "purely local action", thereby clearly indicating India's intention of doing all that is possible to de-escalate the situation.

The Government of Pakistan, as was shown later, was, however, bent on escalating the situation further. The shelling of villages and armed intrusions on the Indian side of the border continued, and to hide the reality of the situation, as well as their aggressive intentions, President Yahya Khan addressed several communications to the Secretary-General of the United Nations during the last week of November, accusing the Indian army of acts which are entirely fictitious and baseless. The truth of the matter was different and I shall come to it presently.

During the period, the Mukti Bahini's suceesses inside East Bengal continued. Being frustrated in East Bengal, the West Pakistani army stepped up its military

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activities against India. We had received two communications—one on 15th October and another on 23rd November—from the Acting President and Prime Minister of Bangla Desh requesting the Prime Minister of India to acknowledge the increasing control of the Bangla Desh Government over East Bengal territory and to give it formal recognition. India, however, did not wish to exacerbate the deteriorating military situation by any precipitate political action. We still hoped at that late stage that the Government of Pakistan would accept the reality of the situation in East Bengal and negotiate a settlement with the already elected representatives of the people of East Bengal. This hope of ours was reflected in the tour of the five West European countries and the United States undertaken by the Prime Minister of India to persuade the world leaders to exert their undoubted influence on President Yahya Khan to come to a rational and practical political settlement of the problem. We are aware of the strenuous efforts made by many of the world leaders and would like to acknowledge the valuable efforts that they made in the cause of peace.

Taking note of the deteriorating situation, the Prime Minister of India and I myself addressed communications to various world leaders in the third week of November, requesting them to do whatever they could to persuade the Government of Pakistan to avoid further violence in East Bengal and an aggressive war against us. These efforts were of no avail, as the events on 3rd December revealed when Pakistan carried out a premeditated and massive aggression against India.

Pakistan has accused us of starting the present conflict, but the following facts would undoubtedly clarify the situation.

Friday, 3rd December, was allotted for unofficial work and Private Members' Bills in the Parliament of India. Three senior members out of five of the Political Affairs Committee of the Indian Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, were in different parts of the country. The Prime Minister was in Calcutta addressing a massive public meeting. The Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, was in Patna, in eastern India. The Finance Minister, Mr. Chavan, was in Bombay in western India. Only I was in the capital to deal with parliamentary work connected with a private resolution moved by a Member of Parliament about relief to the East Bengal refugees. I had just finished addressing the Upper House of the Parliament, the Rajya Sabha, on this bill and was attending a function organized in connection with the silver jubilee of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, which was being presided over by the President of India, when, a little before 6 p.m., the first air-raid warnings were sounded over Delhi. We heard over the All India Radio at 6 p.m. that the Pakistani Air Force had carried out an extensive and unprovoked air strike against our cities and major air bases in northern India, namely, Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra from 5-47 p.m. We later learned that this was an air strike carried out by the Pakistan Air Force in the hope of destroying our Air Force as a prelude to launching a full-scale ground attack against us. It was only one hour after the air strikes were initiated that Radio Pakistan announced at 7 p.m. on 3rd December that India had started a ground attack against Pakistan in the western sector. The air attacks were followed by a massive artillery barrage from Pakistan on the Indian border posts and defence positions in Sulaimanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors of the Western front by the Pakistani Army.

The Prime Minister was informed of the Pakistani air attacks as she finished addressing the meeting in Calcutta, about 900 miles away from Delhi. We were still anxious not to get involved in an open war. We limited our instructions to our armed forces to keep in defensive positions. The Prime Minister addressed the

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nation a little after midnight between 3rd and 4th December and she described the situation as follows:—

"Today, the war in Bangla Desh has become a war on India. This has imposed upon me, my Government and the people of India a great responsibility. We have no other option but to put our country on a war footing. Our brave officers and jawans are at their posts mobilized for the defence of the country".

Even in face of this unprovoked aggression, India did not respond with a declaration of war. The President only declared a state of emergency for the whole of India, and we awaited further events. But the Pakistani air strikes continued through the night and their armed forces attacked us in strength right across India's western frontiers. Whatever little doubts we had about Pakistan's intentions, were clarified on the morning of 4th December when President Yahya Khan stated that "a state of war exists between India and Pakistan". It is in this context that India was compelled to take the necessary steps to defend its territorial integrity and security.

The Representative of the United States has posed certain questions, asking me what our intentions are. I should like to put across to him my thought that it was President Yahya Khan who declared war against India. Has the United States inquired from him as to what his intentions were when he declared war?

It was after Pakistan's massive attacks on us and its extensive military provocations against India, both in the east and in the west, that India decided to move into Bangla Desh in support of the freedom-fighters of Bangla Desh, and also to repel Pakistani aggression in the west by all means and methods available. It is a well-known principle, recognized by the international community, that an aggressor cannot compel the aggressed to fight at a place of the aggressor's choice. Once we were attacked in a massive way, we had to take all defensive action to safeguard our position and to defend the integrity and sovereignty of our country.

The Acting President and Prime Minister of Bangla Desh addressed a communication to the Prime Minister of India on 4th December, informing her that in view of the direct aggression committed by Pakistan against India on 3rd December, the freedom-fighters of Bangla Desh were ready to fight the aggressive forces of Pakistan in Bangla Desh, in any sector or on any front.

They repeated their earlier request that India recognize the existence of the free Government of Bangla Desh, which was in control of the majority of the area of East Bengal. As Pakistan's blatant aggression on 3rd December killed the hope of a political settlement leading to the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh, the normal hesitation on our part to do anything which would come in the way of a political solution, or which might be construed as intervention, lost significance. The people of Bangla Desh, battling for their very existence, and the people of India, fighting to defeat aggression, found themselves partisans in the same cause, and therefore the Government of India accorded recognition to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh on 6th December. We delayed recognition of the Government of Bangla Desh to avoid any precipitation of the crisis, but the emergence of Bangla Desh was based on the declared and manifest Will of the people of East Bengal. The Government of Bangla Desh is constituted by the freely elected representatives of the people of East Bengal, who contested the elections of December, 1970. It was they who took the decision to declare the independence of their country on 10th April in the face of Pakistani repression. Still, we stayed our hand and did not accord any recognition, but waited until 6th December.

An important consideration in our according recognition to Bangla Desh was that the brutalities and repression of the Pakistan Army against the civilian population there were increasing in proportion to the successes of the Mukti

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Bahini. The Government of Bangla Desh conveyed to us the urgent need to restore normalcy and order in their territory. They requested us to come to the assistance of their freedom forces to re-establish order. Recognition was therefore necessary to provide a proper basis for our presence in Bangla Desh.

Secondly, we wanted to make it absolutely clear that the entry of our armed forces into Bangla Desh was not motivated by any intention of territorial aggrandizement. That should satisfy the Representative of the United States of America. We recognized Bangla Desh to provide a proper juridical and political basis for the presence of our army in support of the Mukti Bahini and the Bangla Desh Government in the country—apart from the fact that our action was in exercise of the defence of our country.

We have a clear and formal understanding with the Government of Bangla Desh that the armed forces of India shall remain in Bangla Desh territory only as long as the people and Government of Bangla Desh require and welcome their presence. The alternative to those arrangements would have been chaos and repression in East Bengal and a misinterpretation of our intentions by interested parties. To sum up, therefore, recognition of Bangla Desh is, apart from being an acknowledgement of an inevitable political reality, also an imperative requirement for the restoration of peace and stability in the area and for our own defence and security.

That is the perspective in which the Security Council should deliberate on the situation and devise means to restore normalcy to the region. The military conflict waging in the sub-continent, apart from being unfortunate, is unimaginable in terms of its violence and destruction. We do not doubt the motives and concern which prompted the General Assembly to adopt the Resolution of 7th December asking for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal.

It is my submission that the appeal should be directed to the Government of Pakistan. It was not India which declared war or started war; it was not India which is responsible for creating the original conditions that led to the present unfortunate conflict; it was not India which deliberately and systematically refused to meet the aspirations of the 75 million people inhabiting the country which was once part of Pakistan; it was not India which perpetuated the repression, genocide and brutality which provided the springboard for the freedom movement of Bangla Desh which led to the decision of the people of that region to create for themselves a free and independent nation; it was not India which forsook the long period of nine months during which a reasonable political settlement could have been evolved with the leaders and people of Bangla Desh; it was not India which refused to listen to the counsels of reason and the impulses of wisdom generated by the international community for dealing with this situation.

It is not India which has tried to convert the issue of East Bengal into an India-Pakistan dispute for narrow purposes of power and exploitation. It is not India which has subjected the undisputed leader of the people of East Bengal, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, to the unthinkable suffering of imprisonment and secret trial, which might even lead to a death sentence. It is not India which has set a record in political persecution, the genocide of a people and the suppression of human rights that inevitably led to the present conflagration.

If India has been guilty of anything, it has been of its restraint, its willingness to keep all the options for peace and reason open for a period of nine long months, while 75 million people in the neighbouring region underwent untold suffering, and while nearly 10 million political victims facing their own tensions and problems came to our territory.

The Government of Pakistan did not merely fail to utilize those intervening months to redress the situation, but deliberately took decision after decision which

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could have only one ending, which is the present tragedy. The repression continued by the West Pakistani army in East Bengal over these intervening months; the deliberate flouting of the popular Will in appointing civilian governments constituted by quislings and stooges; the repeated refusal to accept the true nature of the freedom movement of the people of East Bengal and the consistent and repeated attempts to inveigle India into a military conflict so that attention would be diverted from the evil and destructive policies of West Pakistan in East Bengal—all lead to only one conclusion: that President Yahya Khan and his Government did not look upon the nine months of restraint by India and patience by the people of East Bengal as a period of option to settle the matter peacefully.

As the Government of Pakistan's policies have shown, they utilized this time to foreclose each option offered to them by the international community, deliberately and finally. This present conflict between Pakistan and India, and Pakistan and Bangla Desh, is the inevitable consequence of a Government which believes that the feeble power of the sword can overcome the Will of a people, the forces of democracy and the impulse of liberty.

It is in this context that I should like to deal with the views expressed by some Representatives, particularly the Representative of Pakistan, about India's so-called unwillings to co-operate with efforts made by the United Nations to normalize the situation. The efforts made by the United Nations fall into two broad categories: the first, dealing with the humanitarian and relief aspects of the problem created by the massive influx of refugees from East Bengal into India, and the unsettled conditions created by the military repression by the West Pakistani army inside East Bengal.

India was prompt in bringing this problem to the notice of the United Nations and all its relevant forums, and pointed out at the very outset that a final remedy to the humanitarian aspect of the problem cannot be found without a rational political settlement of it, according to the wishes of the people of East Bengal. While mentioning this, India assured full co-operation to the United Nations in whatever interim measures the United Nations wished to take to bring succour and relief to the unfortunate millions of East Bengal.

Indeed, India has shouldered the major burden of taking care of the refugees; though the response of the international community has been generous, from the very nature of the circumstances it is inadequate if we take into consideration the colossal size of the problem. India agreed to the location of the United Nations Focal Point office in Delhi and rendered full co-operation and all facilities to the representatives of this office in organizing relief operations for the refugees. India has also responded to the legitimate wish of the international community to assess the situation objectively by allowing free access to observers from all over the world to come and study this situation on the spot.

India has given all its resources and man-power, to the maximum extent possible, to alleviate the sufferings of the people of the neighbouring region and India remains committed in this regard until all the refugees return to their homeland for rehabilitation and resettlement. Although India is doing all this, as a trust on behalf of the international community, it is the responsibility of the international community to look after these millions of refugees.

We have appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary-General in this regard, but we remain convinced that the international community was mistaken in the hope that giving relief assistance to the refugees would be sufficient to overcome the declared wishes of the people of East Bengal. The real problem was the prevention of the re-imposition of the tyrannical rule of West Pakistan over them. The validity of our assessment has unfortunately but tragically been confirmed by events.

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I should now like to come to the second category of views expressed in regard to the political aspects of the problem. The Secretary-General, in his *aide memoire* of 19th July addressed to the Government of India, and in his memorandum addressed to the President of the Security Council on 20th July, had acknowledged that one of the important reasons for the continuing stalemate in East Bengal was the breakdown of civilian administration in East Bengal and the lack of progress in achieving a political reconciliation. He had again rightly pointed out, in his annual report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, that a disaster of such vast proportions can only be met and remedied with due respect to the humanitarian and political principles.

At the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly, the outgoing President, Ambassador Hambro, as well as several Representatives, including the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and Sweden, had drawn attention to the root cause of the problem. It was the denial of the wishes of the people of East Bengal which led to the evolving crisis. In spite of this correct appreciation of the problem, the international community and the United Nations found themselves unable to exert effective influence on the Government of Pakistan to bring about a political settlement of the problem according to the wishes of the people of East Bengal.

We in India, as well as people all over the world, noted with regret that this inability of the United Nations to deal with the root cause of the problem was frustrated by the tactics adopted by Pakistan. Pakistan made proposals for locating United Nations observers on both sides of the India-Pakistan border, for the deployment of contact groups. None of these proposals, even by implication, dealt with the political situation in East Bengal resulting from repression carried out by the Government of West Pakistan in that region. It was deliberately sought to convert an issue which was primarily between the people of East Bengal and the Government of Pakistan into an India-Pakistan issue which would not have in any manner achieved the imperative requirement for a solution to the problem, namely, the restoration of the freedom, liberty and fundamental human rights of the people of East Bengal to them, and the creation of a political system in East Bengal according to their wishes.

The voluntary return of the refugees to their homeland under conditions of dignity and honour, with guarantees of rehabilitation and resettlement in their homeland, and the discontinuation of the military repression of East Bengal by the Government of Pakistan are directly interlinked. We had mentioned this apprehension of ours to the Secretary-General in our reply to his *aide memoire* of 19th July, on 2nd August, 1971. We had reiterated this point of view in our statements to the General Assembly, its Committees and the Security Council, as well as in various other relevant forums.

Informal consultations in the Security Council in July and August indicated that the international commitments could not, due to some limitations born of its commitments to the doctrine of domestic jurisdiction, act in the matter. In the face of a direct and consistent violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the provisions of Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter by Pakistan, the Security Council and the United Nations should have found themselves in a position to intervene in the matter and persuade Pakistan to return to the path of reason. This did not happen. While developments proceeded on their inexorable course towards the present tragedy, the United Nations continued to be inhibited by considerations of domestic jurisdiction. When Pakistan initiated its massive military build-up against us in October, and wished to stem the tide of freedom in East Bengal by a direct armed confrontation with India, the Secretary-General made a last, much appreciated, but unfortunately fruitless, attempt to prevent the

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situation from deteriorating any further. He offered his good offices to both India and Pakistan in a communication addressed to President Yahya Khan and the Prime Minister of India on 20th October. But even this offer of good offices was not aimed at the root cause of the problem. The Secretary-General offered his good offices to mediate between India and Pakistan to de-escalate the military situation. But the fact of the matter was that the military situation was created by Pakistan in direct response to the increasing success of the freedom movement in East Bengal.

Pakistan accepted the Secretary-General's offer in the hope that the dignity of his office could be utilized, not only to prevent India from taking effective defensive action, but also to bolster the strength of the West Pakistani army against the freedom movement in East Bengal.

President Yahya Khan is on record that he would consider the success of the Mukti Bahini a sufficient justification to launch a war on India. Since he himself had linked the military situation inside East Bengal—which was primarily a matter between the West Pakistani army and the people of East Bengal—with the military situation on India's western border, India could not but take note of the situation and react accordingly.

India was aware of Pakistan's motives in accepting the Secretary-General's offer and, therefore, while replying to the Secretary-General's communication of 20th October, the Prime Minister of India stated in a letter of 16th November that the offer of good offices by the Secretary-General could be a constructive step provided it was directed towards bringing about a political settlement between the Government of Pakistan and the people of East Bengal, according to the declared aspirations of the latter.

India assured its full co-operation to the Secretary-General if he undertook such an initiative to deal with the basic problem. India also assured the Secretary-General, and through him the United Nations, that it had no aggressive intentions against Pakistan and that it would not start a military conflict.

The President of Pakistan made the last and desperate attempt to involve the prestige of the United Nations in perpetuating his policy of repression in East Bengal when he made a suggestion in his communication of 23rd November to the Secretary-General that he would be willing to locate United Nations observers on the East Bengal side of the India-East Bengal border to verify the facts of so-called Indian aggression. This was, to our mind, a deliberate attempt at tarnishing the image of the United Nations by making it a party to the repression of the people. Pakistan's repeated assertions of co-operation with the United Nations in dealing with the problem has no meaning whatsoever in the context of President Yahya Khan's intransigence, till today, in coming to terms with the already elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh and their undisputed leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

It would indeed be unfortunate if Pakistan's calculated policy to get the United Nations involved as a party to its oppression in Bangla Desh were passed off as adherence to certain stipulations of the Charter.

There is one other consideration of fundamental importance which I would like to raise. International law recognizes that where a mother State has irrevocably lost the allegiance of such a large section of its people—as represented by Bangla Desh—and cannot bring them under its sway, conditions for the separate existence of such a State come into being. It is India's assessment that this is precisely what has happened in Bangla Desh.

The overwhelming majority of the elected representatives of Bangla Desh have declared themselves in favour of separation from the mother State of Pakistan,

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and have set up a new State of Bangla Desh. India has recognized this new State. The armed forces of the new State have long been engaged in a struggle against the forces of West Pakistan in Bangla Desh. In these circumstances, is it realistic to call upon India to cease fire without at the same time giving even a hearing to the Representatives of Bangla Desh, whose armed forces numbering about 150,000 are engaged against the forces of West Pakistan?

India earnestly hopes that, in the light of the facts set out above, the United Nations will consider once again the realities of the situation so that the basic causes of the conflict are removed and peaee is restored. Given an assurance of a desire to examine these basic causes with objectivity, India will not be found wanting in offering its utmost co-operation.

The struggle that the people of India and the people of Bangla Desh are engaged in today, is a struggle for their territorial integrity and security; for their fundamental liberties; for the preservation of the ideals of democracy, secularism and non-alignment; for the strengthening of the forces of peace; for upholding the very principles of the Charter which Pakistan is guilty of violating. This is a struggle, not merely for survival in dignity and freedom of nearly one-sixth of mankind, but for survival of the international community within the framework of international covenants and agreements which the peoples of the world have so laboriously built up after two holocausts during this century.

In this context, I should like to assure the Council that India has no territorial ambitions in Bangla Desh or in West Pakistan. India would be willing to discuss any cease-fire or withdrawal which would ensure the freedom and aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh, and which would ensure the vacation of aggression by Pakistani troops from Indian territory.

During the conflict, India stands committed in dealing with the enemy forces according to the Geneva Conventions. India's Chief of Army Staff has assured his Pakistani counterparts of this commitment of the Government and the people of India on 7th December. He has gone one step further in assurring the West Pakistani troops in East Bengal of their safe evacuation to West Pakistan if they would surrender and discontinue their repression of the civilian population of Bangla Desh.

We are meeting to day to deal with a crisis unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations. India's record of co-operation with the United Nations over the last 25 years and its unqualified commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, are well known and there for all to see. While repeating the Government of India's assurance that it will co-operate with the United Nations in any realistic effort that it would make to deal with the root cause of the problem, I should like to add that India will not be deflected from the vital task of ensuring its own territorial integrity and security by any attempts undertaken from any quarter.

I would also be remiss in defining the realities of the situation if I did not reiterate that any solution to the present conflict will have to take into account the views of the Government and people of Bangla Desh. Initiatives by the United Nations or from other quarters which ignore the existence of a nation of 75 million people with a Government of their own choice, who are the main party affected by this crisis, cannot succeed.

I cannot but affirm our determination in this regard, because India is fighting today for the preservation of the basic principles on which its people and its Government have sought to build a future. When our very survival is in question we cannot but commit our total mental, moral and material resources for its sake.

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It is our earnest hope that the international community will appreciate the realities of the situation, as perhaps the future stability and peace of South-East Asia depend on the resolution of this conflict on a rational and realistic basis, ensuring peace, prosperity and justice. I should like to assure the Council that India will do its utmost to meet this objective.

The Council is the instrument of the United Nations to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council is bound by the noble principles and purposes of the Charter. These principles and purposes have to be applied to each concrete situation. The Security Council has failed in many cases in the past to ensure international peace and security because it has failed to take note of the realities of each concrete situation. If the Security Council wants to ensure peace and security in the present crisis—and I presume it does want to do this—it would be failing in its duty if it did not take note of the glaring fact that is there for everyone to see, namely, the successful struggle of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh to assert their birthright of freedom and independence. Any proposal or resolution of the Security Council that does not take note of the existence of the Government of Bangla Desh, established by the democratic Will of the people, and the fact that it is in effective control of its territory, would be a hollow and empty resolution devoid of any effect.

I would, therefore, submit most earnestly and with due respect that the participation of the Representatives of Bangla Desh, and giving them a hearing to state their case, is imperative for the success of any proposal for a cease-fire, not only in Bangla Desh, but also in the west. The situation in the west has been created by Pakistan in order to cover up its failure in the east. The Security Council must recognize this link between the situation in the east and the west, and the fact that no cease-fire can be effective on the ground unless it has the consent of the Government of Bangla Desh. Without this there can be no durable peace, there can be no just, peace or security in the Indian sub-continent. I am glad that this question was raised in the earlier discussions and it is my earnest hope and appeal that it will not be shelved again.

Before I conclude, I should like to read out the communication addressed by my Prime Minister to the Secretary-General as it sums up our basic approach to this problem:

"Excellency,

"India's dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter is well known. It is borne out by our record over the last twenty-six years. India has not been content merely by giving verbal or moral support to the United Nations, but has been in the forefront of a selfless struggle in the defence of peace, against colonialism, imperialism and racialism. Indian soldiers have sacrificed their lives in carrying out missions of peace in Korea, in Congo and in West Asia.

"Decisions of the United Nations and Resolutions adopted by its various organs and agencies have always received our most earnest and careful consideration. Consequently, the Government of India have studied with great care the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on the 8th December, 1971, on the present grave situation in the Indian sub-continent.

"We are glad to note that the Resolution acknowledges the crucial importance of the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes. It may be worth-while to recall briefly the circumstances in which these millions of refugees were driven out of their homeland.

"On 25th March, 1971, the Government of Pakistan launched an assault on the people of their eastern province, whose only crime was that they had

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voted democratically. Millions of innocent, unarmed citizens were uprooted from their homes, and hundreds of thousands were killed or maimed. However great our concern for justice and sympathy for human suffering, we could perhaps have taken a detached view had these terrible events not occurred along the borders of several of our eastern States. More than 10 million people have so far sought shelter in our territory to esape death and dishonour at the hands of the West Pakistan army. The burden of taking care of such a large influx in so short a time has been a crushing one. Our entire administration in the eastern region is at a standstill and the daily life of the people dislocated, because of schools, hospitals and other public buildings being occupied by the refugees. Social and political tensions have been generated throughout the country and our economy has been disrupted, adversely affecting our growth. Even more serious, our security has been imperilled. Has the United Nations considered the unprecedented situation created by one member of the United Nations for another member?

"India has always stood for total non-interference by one State into the domestic affairs of another State. However, if one State deliberately drives millions of its citizens across the territory of another State and casts upon the receiving State unconscionable burdens, what remedies are open to the receiving State which has become a victim of domestic policies of a Member State of the United Nations?

"Has any country faced such a gigantic problem for no fault of its own? For nine long months, India staggered under this load and exercised the utmost self restraint. Even if other countries were not moved by the agony of the people of East Bengal or the difficulties created for India, we had hoped that their desire to preserve peace in this area would lead them to take some steps to reduce the tension.

"However, India's efforts were in vain. The military rulers of Pakistan have not been able to comprehend the forces of history and the people's deep desire for justice and democratic rights. The military rulers are impervious to the fact that through their callous policies they have irrevocably alienated the people of East Bengal.

"Pakistan has based its propaganda on two points:

Firstly, it is alleged that the entire trouble is of Indian instigation. This allegation has been proved false by the democratic elections in which the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats, and by the many Dacca-based foreign correspondents who have been sending eye-witness reports of what is happening there. Secondly, the whole question is projected as one of religion. It is relevant to remember that the bulk of the people of East Bengal, who have revolted against the military Government of West Pakistan, are of the Islamic faith and no less devoted Muslims. In fact, the majority of the total population of both wings of Pakistan lived in its eastern province.

"Despite the Pakistan Government's effort to explain away their predicament as the result of alleged interference, India on her part did everything to prevent the issue from becoming internationalized, and consistently advocated a political solution between the Government of Pakistan and the genuinely elected leaders of East Bengal. If the world were anxious to treat this as an internal question of Pakistan, it should have ensured that such vast proportions of the population of East Bengal were not driven out of their homes and their homeland into our country.

"When nations have talked to us of peace, they have overlooked the slaughter of men, women and children; they have forgotten the fate of 10 million

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refugees, and thus totally ignored the moral and legal responsibility of the rulers of Pakistan. A call to cease-fire, coupled with expressions of hope that the refugees would voluntarily return, appears to India to have no purpose other than to cover up the annihilation of an entire nation. How can foundations of peace be built on such a basis? India cannot be a party to the violent suppression of the rights of the aggrieved people of Bangla Desh. If the United Nations is interested in the whole truth, the Representatives of the Bangla Desh Government should be heard. Why should it depart from this tradition?

"Any objective consideration would show that the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and the return of millions of refugees can be created only through the withdrawal of West Pakistani forces. It is cruel to expect that these refugees who have suffered so much at the hands of the West Pakistani forces should contemplate return to their homeland while it is still under their occupation. So far as the armed forces of India are concerned, there can be a cease-fire and withdrawal of India's forces to its own territory, if the rulers of West Pakistan would withdraw their own forces from Bangla Desh and reach a peaceful settlement with those who were until recently their fellow-citizens, but now owe allegiance to the Government of Bangla Desh which has been duly constituted by the representatives chosen freely in the elections held in December, 1970. Merely to express a wish for the return of the refugees without taking into account the necessary pre-conditions is to show a callous disregard for the immense suffering which these people have endured.

"The Government of India is prepared to consider the call for cease-fire. Indeed, India concluded cease-fire agreements with Pakistan in 1948 and 1965. Neither gave assurance of continued peace. The last one of 1965, which was followed by a solemn inter-State Agreement signed at Tashkent, failed to bring about the peaceful relations we so ardently desire.

"India feels legitimately aggrieved that in calling for a cease-fire, the United Nations makes no distinction between the aggressor and its victims. It is, therefore, necessary to restate the facts.

"On 3rd December, 1971, when Prime Minister of India was in Calcutta, the Defence Minister in Patna and the Finance Minister in Bombay, Pakistan's armed forces launched aggression against India. On that day around 5-30 p.m., the Air Force of Pakistan made simultaneous attacks on India's airfields in the following towns: Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. The West Pakistan army opened an attack by continuous shelling of our defensive positions on a wide front including Sulaimanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors. The Government of West Pakistan has alleged that India had attacked 'sometime in the course of the day', but since there was no basis whatever for their allegation, it could obviously not mention the places. These are uncontested facts. India, which is exercising the inherent right of self-defence, cannot be equated with Pakistan. India is a victim of yet another unprovoked Pakistani aggression, and is engaged in defending its national sovereignty and territorial integrity in the exercise of its legitimate right of self-defence.

"There is one other consideration of fundamental importance which India would like to urge: International Law recognizes that where a mother State has irrevocably lost allegiance of such a large section of its people as represented by Bangla Desh and cannot bring them under its sway, conditions for the separate existence of such a State come into being. It is India's assessment that this is precisely what has happened in Bangla Desh. The overwhelming majority of the elected representatives of Bangla Desh have irrevocably declared

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themselves in favour of separation from the mother-State of Pakistan and have set up a new State of Bangla Desh. India has recognized this new State. The armed forces of the new State have long been engaged in a struggle against the forces of West Pakistan in Bangla Desh. In these circumstances, is it realistic to call upon India to cease-fire without, at the same time, giving a hearing to the Representatives of Bangla Desh whose armed forces are engaged against the forces of West Pakistan ?

"India earnestly hopes that in the light of the facts set out above, the United Nations will consider once again the realities of the situation, so that the basic causes of the conflict are removed and peace is restored. Given an assurance of a desire to examine these basic causes with objectivity, India will not be found wanting in offering its utmost co-operation."

The Representative of the United States of America has raised certain points. Some of these are covered in what I have already stated, but I would like to examine and consider very carefully all his points. With these observations at this stage, I should like to reserve my right of further comment upon certain specific points that have been raised by the Representative of the United States of America.

Speech by Foreign Minister of India, Sardar Swaran Singh
December 13, 1971

Mr. President, it is not my intention to challenge your ruling, but I thought it better that the position should be clarified. You stated that your ruling did not mean that persons who might be competent to give information about what is happening there would be barred. The Representative of the Soviet Union has pointed out that he had not suggested that they should be invited as Representatives of the State, but under rule 39 as persons competent to supply the Council with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence.

This is a matter which is not denied by anyone—and I suppose it will not be denied even by the Representative of Pakistan—that apart from the armed forces of India and Pakistan being engaged in the conflict in Bangla Desh, there is also a large number of persons armed, organized and accepting the orders of the Government of Bangla Desh who are participating in partisan activities and carrying on their fight for maintaining their freedom. Whereas I can understand the reluctance to invite them as Representatives of the State, any discussion which is calculated to restore normalcy in that area and create conditions in which the hostile armed activities should come to an end, is not practical and does not have any content or meaning unless a group which is functioning there, according to us in their capacity as persons who belong to the armed forces of the Government of Bangla Desh, is heard by the Council. Other countries may not recognize them, but the reality is there, and in that capacity persons who might be competent to give information regarding what is happening in the area, information which will enable the Security Council to decide on adequate measures in accordance with whatever may be the wish and desire of the Council, should give that information within the meaning of rule 39. Those decisions will actually have to be implemented in the area. By that process, those persons will also be involved in establishing a durable peace. It appears to be absolutely essential that an opportunity should be given to such persons to enable the Security Council to understand the issues involved and also to allow them to assist the Security Council in enforcing any decisions that it may take to restore peace and to bring about normalcy in that region.

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With these observations, I would strongly urge the Security Council or you, Mr. President, to consider the desirability of affording an opportunity to such persons, within the meaning of rule 39.

* * * *

I listened with great attention to the speakers and the interventions made yesterday. I was deeply impressed by the anxiety and sincere desire of the Security Council to find a lasting and durable solution to the tragic situation that has developed in the sub-continent. I should like to pay a special tribute to you, Mr. President, for the able manner in which you conducted the deliberations on such an important and delicate subject. I should also like to say that whether we agree with the points made by various Delegations or not, we appreciate their efforts to find a solution that is acceptable to the parties concerned as well as to the members of this Council. It is in this spirit of co-operation and understanding of the necessity of viewing all aspects of this problem that I should like to place before you the point of view of the Government of India on some of the issues that have been raised.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I refer to some of the points made so vehemently and rhetorically by my friend, the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Pakistan. I have admiration for his ability, and we in India recognize him as the democratically elected leader of the largest single party of West Pakistan. We hope that the time is not far off when military rulers of West Pakistan will also respect the verdict of their people and give Mr. Bhutto an opportunity to form a representative Government with whom, we hope, it will be possible for us to deal in order to remove the root causes of tension existing between our two countries and usher in an era of peace, friendship and mutual co-operation.

I should like to emphasize that we have nothing but the friendliest feelings for the people of Pakistan. We wish them well. There are many historical links that bind us together. Geography makes us close neighbours. I was, therefore, very happy to hear from my friend the Foreign Minister of Pakistan when he said that both India and Pakistan, which are poor countries in spite of their vast natural resources, could work together towards social and economic progress of both of their peoples and for peace on the sub-continent. I wish to assure him that we sincerely share those feelings.

While it is necessary and laudable to cherish these common objectives, it is not enough. We have to work together in order to achieve them. Let us examine what are the impediments in our way. If India has done anything to hamper the development of friendly relations between our two countries and peoples, I would be the first to admit it. If Pakistan or other countries have wittingly or unwittingly created conditions which have made it difficult for our two countries to come closer in peace and friendship, they must make amends so that the situation improves.

We accepted the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 without reservations. We respected the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan and made every possible effort to come closer to them. I need not go into past history to prove this. What is much more important is the present and the future relationship of our two countries.

Taking the present situation, let us examine how and why it has arisen and come to its present dangerous pass. The distinguished Foreign Minister of Pakistan rightly emphasized the principle of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. But what is Pakistan's record in this respect? May I ask him who

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armed and trained some of the tribal dissidents on our eastern frontiers for a number of years? May I also ask him who started the war in Kashmir in 1947? It is well-known that up to May, 1948, Pakistan had denied the presence of its troops in Kashmir, and it was only when the United Nations Commission discovered their presence that the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, had to admit that Pakistani regular troops had been sent into Kashmir. I am referring to this fact not because I wish to convert the present debate into a debate on Kashmir, but only to remind the Members of this Council that it is necessary to bear in mind the past history of the relations between India and Pakistan in order to assess the present situation.

I was somewhat shocked, but not surprised, to hear from my friend, Mr. Bhutto, references to the past 1,000 years and more in which he referred to the incursion by Mohammad Bin Qasim. I was shocked to hear from him that, according to his reading of history, Pakistan had been denied areas or territories in the sub-continent at the time of partition. However, I was not surprised to hear Mr. Bhutto's threat about 1,000 years of war, because we have heard these threats from him from time to time. Is Mr. Bhutto still harbouring dreams and visions of conquering India and coming to Delhi as a victor? He made the astonishing statement yesterday that if Pakistan had received half the military aid that India had received, Mr. Bhutto would be sitting in Delhi today. May I remind him of the $ 2,000 million worth of military hardware that Pakistan received from its great benefactor and ally from 1954 onwards which enabled Pakistan to invade India in 1965 and which is being used again today against both Bangla Desh and India? I do not wish to go into all these facts, but I think it necessary to do so, because Mr. Bhutto's reading of history throws more light on his dreams and ambitions than on historical facts.

I shall not take it upon myself to reply to the charges which he has levelled against the U.S.S.R. The Representative of the Soviet Union has already made some comments in this respect. I, however, feel duty-bound to answer some of these uncalled for attacks that he has made about the implications of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation which was signed on 9th August of this year. It hardly lies with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to shed crocodile tears on the so-called abandonment of India's policy of non-alignment when, according to Mr. Bhutto himself, Pakistan is still a member of two military alliances. However, just to set the record straight, I should like to draw his attention to Article IV in the Indo-Soviet Treaty, which expresses the Soviet Union's respect for India's policy of non-alignment as an important factor for peace. Mr. Bhutto's concept of non-alignment does not carry conviction. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship is not aimed against any country. It seems, however, that Mr. Bhutto, who perhaps harbours dreams and visions of conquering the whole sub-continent, regards this Treaty as an impediment in the achievement of these aims.

Mr. Bhutto made a reference to the United States Seventh Fleet. I do not wish to take this up with him. That is a matter for the Representative of the United States of America to deal with. But I should like to correct him on an incorrect statement that he made, perhaps out of ignorance, or may be deliberately. India has not made a declaration about the blockade of the Bay of Bengal, as Mr. Bhutto asserted. India has issued only a contraband control order, which every country against which a state of war has been proclaimed by another country is entitled to do under international law. India has no desire to interfere with the freedom of the high seas, or genuine trade and commerce, or the shipments of food and relief goods to Bangla Desh. But India has the right to ensure that no contraband goods reach Pakistan, which has declared war on India. Nothing in the Charter or in international law prevents a country from

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taking steps to safeguard its security and defend its territorial integrity if another country declares war on it.

We should like to assure all Governments of the world that India will do everything possible to protect the persons and properties of their nationals who are entrapped in the areas of conflict. We are signatories to the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of prisoners of war and civilian personnel. We have issued strict instructions to our armed forces to adhere faithfully to the letter and spirit of these Conventions. We do not think that there is any reason for any Government to feel unduly concerned about the safety and security of their nationals in this area so far as India is concerned. It is for them to consider whether they should approach the authorities of Bangla Desh, who are in effective control of most of these areas, and ask the forces of West Pakistan not to take any steps which may endanger the lives of their nationals there.

In this connexion, I should like to inform the Members of this Council that India, on more than three occasions, had given categorical assurances to the Secretary-General of the United Nations that India would give facilities for foreign and United Nations personnel to be evacuated from Karachi as well as Dacca. It was not India, but Pakistan, which put obstacles in this operation. However, we are glad that almost all the persons have been safely evacuated from those areas and only a handful remain at their own wish.

May I revert to some other observations made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan? Mr. Bhutto seems to be suffering from some imaginary fears. No one has asked Pakistan not to be friendly with other countries. We would ourselves like to be friends with Pakistan. But we will not give up our friendship with other countries if Pakistan demands this as the price for our friendship with it. We welcome the trends towards lessening of tension and normalization of relations between all countries of the world. It is our earnest desire to be able to normalize our own relations with Pakistan in the not too distant future.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan referred to a number of countries, neighbours of India, with which India has the friendliest of relations. He took it upon himself to insinuate that they were in danger of being gobbled up, as he described it, by India. I do not know who gave him the authority to speak on behalf of these friendly neighbours of India. However, it is Mr. Bhutto's privilege to speak as he likes and I should not like to reply to these baseless and deliberate calumnies levelled against my country. Suffice it to say that India harbours no designs on the territory, sovereignty or integrity of any of its neighbours. Mr. Bhutto is perhaps irked by the fact that these countries do not see eye to eye with him about the genesis and the solution of the situation in Bangla Desh.

Mr. Bhutto gave a long discourse on secession and autonomy. He even went so far as to threaten the creation of Bangla Deshes in Europe, in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. If the majority population of any country is oppressed by a militant minority, as is the case in Bangla Desh and in southern Africa, or in Palestine, it is the inalienable right of the majority population to overthrow the tyranny of the minority rulers and decide its destiny according to the wishes of its own people. The birthright of the majority of the population of a country to revolt against the tyranny and oppression of a militant minority cannot be denied under the principles and purposes of the Charter or according to international law.

Mr. Bhutto has painted a picture of India as a big predatory power which is "trying to bulldoze small nations". He has argued that Pakistan which is smaller than India could not possibly have any aggressive designs against its big

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neighbour. Perhaps Mr. Bhutto is deliberately forgetting that there are instances in history—if I may add, recent history—where military dictatorships of smaller countries have launched aggressive wars against larger countries. I need quote only the example of Hitler's Germany and its aggression on the Western allies and the Soviet Union.

I do not wish to elaborate on the brief description I gave yesterday of how the present tragedy started. I should, however, like to re-emphasize that India did not start this war and is prepared to stop it if Pakistan is also prepared to do so and remove the root causes of this conflict so that we will not have to go from cease-fire to cease-fire and from one war to another war. The people of Bangla Desh, who formed a majority of the population of what was Pakistan and who have today declared their independence, have to be necessary party to any cease-fire or withdrawal of troops. This must be recognized. There cannot be any effective cease-fire or durable peace in the sub-continent without this. Whether Pakistan likes it or not, whether we like it or not, the reality of the sovereign State of Bangla Desh is there for all to see.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan waxed eloquent about the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. Was it India that drove 10 million refugees into another country or was it Pakistan that drove them out of East Bengal at the point of the bayonet? Is this interference or not in India's internal affairs? Who trained the Nagas and the Mizos whose cause Mr. Bhutto chose to champion? Who violated our borders on the land and in the air before the present conflict escalated? Who flouted the Will of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh ? Certainly not India. It was Pakistan, and not India. And yet Mr. Bhutto waxed eloquent and praised the Bandung principles and Panch Shila. Deeds surely are much more eloquent than words.

It was not India that sought to dismember Pakistan. It is the oppressive regime of West Pakistan which has dismembered Pakistan by its own actions. The struggle for freedom of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh, which has now been crowned with success, speaks for itself. History is replete with examples of people's struggles to form new States free from domination by others. This is what the freedom of Bangla Desh represents. No one can twist the principles of the United Nations Charter to deny the rights of the majority of a nation to assert its independence from a minority military dictatorship which denies them fundamental freedoms, human rights and democratic liberties.

An attempt has been made by the Representative of Pakistan to say today that if Bangla Desh is accepted and recognized, every other country will be threatened with dismemberment. This is a grave misrepresentation of the issues at stake. Of course, there are in every country some people who are discontented or dissatisfied. But what holds a nation together is a spirit of understanding and accommodation, which is a political process, and not tanks or machine guns. What is distinctive and unique about the Bangla Desh situation is that it represents the majority of the people of Pakistan as a whole, and its demand for autonomy expressed through approved constitutional channels were met by a military, repression which killed more people than the Vietnam war or the Middle East war, and resulted in 10 million human beings fleeing to a neighbouring country for refuge.

The Representative of the United States raised a number of points yesterday and addressed some questions to me. I answered some of them very briefly yesterday. I should like to answer him in greater detail now.

The Representative of the United States tried to argue that the United States efforts towards a political settlement had been making good progress and seemed

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to imply that India had impatiently precipitated the conflict and therefore bore the major responsibility for it. This one-sided and partisan attitude of the Representative of the United States has shocked and surprised us. The United States is entitled to its own opinions and interpretations. So are we. But facts are facts and must be stated.

Right from the beginning of this unfortunate situation that has arisen in the sub-continent, India had been asking for a political settlement acceptable to the elected and acknowledged representatives of the people of Bangla Desh. Last September, I had the honour of urging this on the Honourable President of the United States, when he was good enough to grant me an audience. More than a month ago, our Prime Minister came to re-emphasize the urgency of this problem. We went so far as to suggest that a gesture by President Yahya Khan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would automatically defuse the situation and pave the way for a peaceful political settlement. But after all these months of so-called quiet diplomacy by the United States, what has been the result? According to the statements of the United States Government itself, no United States Representatives have been allowed to catch even a glimpse of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. All that the United States got from President Yahya Khan was permission to have access to the defence counsel of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We do not know whether they have so far been able to use this privilege granted to them by President Yahya Khan, and if so, with what results. Nothing has been told to us. We are entitled to ask this question of the Representative of the United States.

The second declaration made by the Representative of the United States was that the President of Pakistan was prepared to consider—only consider—appointing a nominee who would have a dialogue with a nominee of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, while Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who could have been either the Prime Minister or the President of the whole of Pakistan, remained *incommunicado* in prison, unaware of what is happening, and while no one would know if the nominee was really his or that of President Yahya Khan. This generous offer of President Yahya Khan speaks for itself and needs no comment. The United States Government may have been satisfied with it, but no one in Bangla Desh was.

The third proposal conveyed to us by the United States Government was that President Yahya Khan was willing to appoint a nominee who would talk to an approved Awami League leader in Bangla Desh against whom there was no major charge levelled by Pakistan. I need hardly remind the Representative of the United States that such a member of the Awami League hand-picked by President Yahya Khan could hardly be expected to speak on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh. In fact, the President, the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Bangla Desh Government have all been charged with heinous crimes. No wonder this so-called proposal was not taken seriously by anyone.

While these were the proposals which the United States Government had been able to extract from President Yahya Khan for a political settlement, the realities were quite different. There was a deliberate attempt by President Yahya Khan to obstruct and defy the Will of the people through a number of measures that he undertook, such as banning the Awami League as a political party, declaring 78 out of the 167 elected leaders of the Awami League as disqualified, as having lost their membership, holding farcical by-elections and declaring 58 discredited and previously defeated candidates as having been elected unopposed to these very seats. What is more, he had promised to hand over power to these stooges and quislings and to hold a session of the National Assembly represented by these people by 27th December, 1971. This was the "one

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month more" to which the Foreign Minister of Pakistan was referring so frequently yesterday. He asked with his usual rhetoric, if India could wait patiently for nine months, why it could not wait for one month more. I should like to tell the Representatives of both the United States and Pakistan that all these proposals were categorically rejected by the elected leaders of the people of Bangla Desh, who now form the Government of Bangla Desh. A government formed by stooges and quislings could not exist even for a single day except with the help of the West Pakistan army in Bangla Desh. In fact, the people's wrath was roused to such an extent that some of those quislings and stooges had to be given protection by the Pakistani police and armed forces in their very homes. They cannot even move about. It was not India that did not wait, but Pakistan which thought it necessary to start military aggression against India on 3rd December in order to cover up its failure in the East and to internationalize the conflict. Far from being able to persuade President Yahya Khan to agree to a political settlement or to the withdrawal of West Pakistani forces from East Bengal, we are now being accused by the United States of intransigence. It is indeed strange logic to put the blame on India for the intransigence of President Yahya Khan or for the United States failure to persuade him to come to the path of peace and reason.

The Representative of the United States wanted to ask me a few more questions about India's intentions. I should like to ask the Representative of the United States whether he has asked Pakistan what its intentions are, and what were its intentions in declaring a war, as President Yahya Khan did on 4th December and committing aggression against our land and air frontiers. I shall refrain from asking the Representative of the United States some questions about the intentions of the United States in other parts of the world, thousands of miles away from America, where United States' troops have been engaged for years in bloody conflict which has not been brought to the Security Council, where appeals have been rejected and where withdrawal of foreign forces has been resisted. I shall refrain from asking those questions, because this is not the occasion to do so. I shall, however, not hesitate to answer the three questions that he asked me.

Let me reiterate what I stated yesterday. First, we have no intention whatsoever of acquiring any part of West Pakistan or of Bangla Desh by conquest or otherwise. Our recognition of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh makes it quite clear that we have no territorial designs on Bangla Desh. Secondly, if Pakistan removes the threat to our security, we shall be glad to consider any reasonable proposals for a cease-fire and mutual withdrawals in the wake of a political settlement in the east acceptable to the elected representatives of Bangla Desh.

As for Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, I would suggest to the Representative of the United States to put this question to Pakistan concerning what its intentions are, because it appears to be concentrating only on that part of Jammu and Kashmir which is on our side of the cease-fire line. Pakistan has used force against our territory of Kashmir on two occasions in the past, in 1947 and 1965, and is at this very time concentrating practically all its infantry, artillery, armour and air force in a massive attack across the cease-fire line in order to extend its occupation and aggression in Kashmir. We shall certainly use force to repel Pakistan's renewed aggression, whether it is in Kashmir or anywhere else in India. Let there be no mistake about it. It is Pakistan that has violated and is violating the cease-fire line, as is proved by the fact that we had to lodge about 1,000 complaints of violations of the cease-fire line by Pakistani forces with the military observers of the United Nations between the end of March and the end of November this year. The violation of the cease-fire line by Pakistan on 3rd December

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by the mounting of a massive attack on the Indian part of Jammu and Kashmir, which is on our side of the cease-fire line, was confirmed by the report by UNMOGIP in document S/10412.

We are shocked and surprised that, instead of tackling the basic cause of this grim tragedy and its consequences, the United States Government should think it fit to apportion blame without ascertaining the correct facts and to lay the major responsibility for this situation on India, and not on Pakistan on which the entire responsibility of the situation rests.

We hope that, even at this late stage, a great country like the United States will not try to score debating points and thereby further complicate the already complicated situation and make it even more difficult to defuse the situation and thus de-escalate the conflict.

I now turn to the draft resolution in document S/10446 which is before the Council. The one-sided approach in the statement of the Representative of the United States to which I have referred is amply reflected in this draft. While preambular paragraph 6 pays lip service to the desirability of finding a political solution, there is nothing in the operative paragraphs to implement this pious wish. No resolution which does not recognize the existence and the rights and obligations of the people of Bangla Desh in any cease-fire agreement can be effective or of any practical value.

The draft resolution is also defective in that it applies Charter principle selectively, instead of applying them consistently. For example, it totally ignores those Charter principles, as well as other instruments, which prohibit the massive violations of human rights. The world has not so far seen such a massive violation of human rights since the Charter was promulgated as in Bangla Desh during the past nine months. This has been recognized by the world. Even the other instruments suggested in the draft resolution are selectively applied. For example, preambular paragraph 8 recalls the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted unanimously last year. I should like to point out that operative paragraph 22 of that Declaration makes it clear that the massive violation of human rights is a direct threat to the security of nations. And yet, this principle accepted by us all last year, and so relevant to the Bangla Desh situation, finds no place in the draft resolution.

It has been suggested that the vote in the General Assembly is a vote against the Indian position on this question. We do not regard it as such; the Resolution in the General Assembly acknowledged that the root cause of the trouble lay inside East Pakistan even though no effective formula to solve the basic problem was suggested. It therefore becomes the duty of the Security Council to ensure that this is incorporated in the operative part of any resolution that the Security Council might adopt.

Furthermore, a vast majority of the Delegations which supported the Resolution did not take a position on Bangla Desh, as Mr. Bhutto has asserted.

A cease-fire and withdrawal in any Resolution of the General Assembly dealing with the situation of the armed conflict is natural and understandable, and we respect these sentiments. We have ourselves advocated such measures in other appropriate situations. We are not opposed either to a cease-fire or to a withdrawal. However, there can be no viable cease-fire or durable peace without going into the reasons, the origin and the development of the situation which has resulted in an armed conflict. No two situations are exactly similar. Nor can a simple formula be applied to all situations, some of which are more complex than others. I have already stated that India has no desire or intention to

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continue this armed conflict a day longer than necessary in the right of our self-defence. Any assessment, any resolution, any recommendation on the present situation must, therefore, take into account all the basic factors which have led to the present situation. I would, therefore, earnestly urge this august Council to consider the following important suggestions for dealing with the situation effectively: (*a*) the right of the people of Bangla Desh to be heard in any discussion of the problem; (*b*) the right of the people of Bangla Desh to be made a party to any cease-fire arrangements that may be proposed; (*c*) a political solution of the situation in Bangla Desh in accordance with the wishes of the people of Bangla Desh as already declared by their representatives elected in the December, 1970, elections.

If the above three essential ingredients are accepted as an integrated whole, then we are confident that a cease-fire can be brought about without any further delay and withdrawals of the armed forces of Pakistan from Bangla Desh as well as the armed forces of India from there and mutual withdrawals of both India and Pakistan from each other's territory arranged through appropriate consultations.

In order to achieve the above objectives, it is necessary to recognize the fact that Golden Bengal, as graphically described by the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan, belongs neither to Pakistan nor to India. Golden Bengal belongs to the people of Bangla Desh and to nobody else.

Speech by Foreign Minister of India, Sardar Swaran Singh
December 16, 1971

I have to give some very brief information to this Council. The Prime Minister of India has made a statement and I have been informed that I should convey this information to the Security Council. I quote the statement that the Prime Minister of India has made:

> "We have repeatedly declared that India has no territorial ambitions. Now, as the Pakistani armed forces have surrendered in Bangla Desh and Bangla Desh is free, it is pointless in our view to continue the present conflict. Therefore, in order to stop further bloodshed and unnecessary loss of life, we have ordered our armed forces to cease-fire everywhere on the western front with effect from 2000 hours repeat 2000 hours I.S.T. (Indian Standard Time) on Friday, the 17th repeat 17th December, 1971. It is our earnest hope that there will be a corresponding immediate response from the Government of Pakistan."

I should like to add only one word, that Friday, 17th December, 1971, at 2000 hours in Indian Standard Time is equivalent to 10.30 a.m. New York Time on 17th December. This is the information that I wanted to convey to the Council.

In a nutshell, the fighting in Bangla Desh has already stopped, and in the west, the Prime Minister of India has unilaterally issued orders to stop fighting, effective from 10.30 a.m. on 17th December. I thought that this information would be relevant in the context of the problem that is before the Security Council.

* * *

I would earnestly make a suggestion that the announcement made by the Indian Prime Minister that she has issued orders for a unilateral cease-fire effective from 2000 hours Indian Standard Time on 17th December is an important announcement. I appreciate the anxiety of the international community to bring about the cease-fire immediately. The response of the West Pakistan Government to this unilateral proposal of the Prime Minister of India is not yet available. In

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consonance with the general desire expressed by the international community to bring about a cease-fire immediately, I believe that the proposal made by the Government of India is a positive and a constructive one. After this peace proposal is consolidated and the cease-fire actually becomes operative, all other matters can be gone into.

I have already answered the inquiry which the Representative of Somalia has made, and if he cares to go through the record he will find the answer to it. But at the present moment, I would earnestly suggest that this Council may think it more profitable to bring about the cease-fire, and that thereafter all other matters can be discussed. I am not shying away from any discussion. It is a very important and a very relevant matter, and I am prepared to discuss it. But I thought that in response to the universally expressed desire for bringing about a cease-fire, the proposal made by the Government of India is a positive one. I would appeal to the Security Council to bring about a cease-fire before we discuss the juridical or other matters.

Speech by Foreign Minister of India, Sardar Swaran Singh
December 21, 1971

The Resolution which has just been adopted by the Council is, we understand, the result of almost continuous discussions among various Members of this Council. We are most appreciative of the efforts made by the Ambassador o Somalia, ably supported by many of his colleagues in the Council, to work out a draft resolution which has found general acceptance in the Council. I should like to take this opportunity to make a few observations on the Resolution and to mention some basic points.

The Resolution refers in its second preambular paragraph to General Assembly Resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7th December, 1971. My Delegation had voted against that Resolution in the General Assembly. The position of the Government of India has already been stated in its communication contained in document S/10445, dated 12th December, 1971, to the Secretary-General, and we stand by that position. The substance of the General Assembly Resolution was introduced soon after in the Security Council in a different form, but the Council did not adopt it. We are, therefore, entitled to question the relevance of the reference to that Resolution in the Resolution which the Council has just adopted.

The last preambular paragraph of the Resolution states that cease-fire and cessation of hostilities prevail. We are glad that the initiative taken by the Prime-Minister of India led to a response from Pakistan and that cease-fire became effective. We are willing to arrive at agreed arrangements with the parties concerned, to settle not only withdrawals but also other problems which have arisen as a result of this conflict, by mutual negotiation. This point has been stressed by several Members of the Security Council.

As regards the eastern theatre, the existence of Bangla Desh and of the Bangla Desh Government cannot be ignored. We have always taken the view that the Bangla Desh Representatives must be heard. Unfortunately, inspite of our protests, the Council did not respond to this suggestion.

We have made it amply clear that the Indian armed forces shall be withdrawn from Bangla Desh as soon as practicable. With the independence of Bangla Desh and the surrender of Pakistani troops there, their earliest possible repatriation from the eastern theatre has to be arranged. They are under our protection and we have undertaken to treat them in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. The presence of the Indian forces in Bangla Desh is, therefore,

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necessary for such purposes as the protection of Pakistani troops who have surrendered to us and for prevention of reprisals and the like. We shall withdraw our troops from Bangla Desh as soon as these tasks have been accomplished. The Government of Bangla Desh has already set up a civil administration which will, we hope, relieve us in the nearest possible future of the necessity of being present there. We have no desire to stay there a day longer than necessary.

I must also add that Pakistan has no longer any right to keep any troops in Bangla Desh, and any attempt by Pakistan to enter Bangla Desh by force would create a threat to peace and security and could endanger peace and stability once again. This is a reality which the international community cannot ignore.

As regards the western theatre, the international frontier between India and Pakistan is well defined. However, as a result of hostilities, certain areas of Pakistan are now under the control of Indian troops, and a much smaller area of India is under the control of Pakistani troops. We accept the principle of withdrawals. This is a problem we wish to negotiate and settle with Pakistan as early as possible, and we look forward to co-operation from Pakistan in this regard.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. However, in order to avoid bloodshed and for preserving peace, we have respected the cease-fire line supervised by UNMOGIP. In the course of this conflict, as also in 1965, it was crossed by troops of Pakistan at various places. India had therefore to cross this line then, as now. There is thus need to avoid the repetition of such incidents by making some adjustments in the cease-fire line in order to make it more stable, rational and viable. This we propose to discuss and settle with Pakistan.

Operative paragraph 6 of the Resolution requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of developments. The Government of India will be glad to keep the Secretary-General informed of all important and significant developments. However, it is our hope that negotiations between the parties themselves will start in all seriousness and with speed, and resolve all the problems that have arisen.

The Ambassador of Somalia has been kind enough to mention the unilateral declaration by India and say that India has no territorial ambitions. While we adhere to this declaration, we regret that no similar declaration has yet been made by Pakistan.

I have made these observations on the Resolution in order to make our position clear so that there may be no doubt about it in any future discussions on the subject. The Government of India will give due consideration to the Resolution of the Council and make further comments if they deem any necessary.

I would have liked to conclude on a note of hope. At last in Pakistan a democratically elected leader, who was with us only a few days ago, has become President of that country. We welcome his coming to power and we look forward to working with him to improve our bilateral relations. When he was here, he spoke of the need for a vision of the future. However, we are disappointed at the tone and content of his very first statement after becoming President. India regrets that there is so far no visible change in Pakistan's policy of conflict and confrontation. We had hoped that Mr. Bhutto would make a fresh beginning. While we still hope that second thoughts will prevail, we cannot ignore the declaration made by him as President and Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan.

Perhaps, after making a careful assessment of the situation, and keeping in mind the interests of his own people and the peace and progress of the whole sub-continent, Mr. Bhutto may in the near future adopt a more objective and far-sighted attitude.

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I agree with the Representative of France that this tragedy could have been prevented if the international community had acted earlier, particularly when atrocities were being committed in what was at that time East Pakistan. We agree with the Representative of Belgium that real efforts will have to be made by India and Pakistan themselves, and the door for dialogue should remain open. That is our approach—to finding a satisfactory solution of our problems with Pakistan.

This is not an occasion to indulge in recrimination or polemics. It is more important to think of steps to consolidate the cease-fire and arrive at a durable peace in our area. Therefore, I do not think it necessary or desirable to reply to the slanderous allegations and baseless charges made by a certain country. We should not like to interpret its views as an indication of a desire to interfere in our affairs. I believe it is the wish of this Council, as much as that of the people of the sub-continent, that we should work out our own solutions.

We have no feelings of animosity against the people of Pakistan. We wish them well. We want to work in co-operation with them for our mutual benefit. As many Representatives have said, we are blood brothers, to use the words of the Representative of Burundi, or twin brothers, to use the words of the Representative of Nicaragua.

I agree with the Representative of Pakistan that an untold number of lives was lost and that the United Nations failed to take timely action. If the international community had taken action on the basic causes of the conflict before it started, it could perhaps have been avoided. The Representative of Pakistan used a dangerous word—genocide—in speaking of what is happening now in Bangla Desh. Would he not call the killing of 1 million persons on grounds of differences of race, culture and language a genocide?

The Will of 104 Members of the General Assembly has been misinterpreted by the Representative of Pakistan. We share the desire and the anxiety of the General Assembly for peace, for a cease-fire and withdrawal, but there can be no durable peace unless the root cause of the problem—respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the 75 million persons of Bangla Desh—is recognized.

Not only Pakistan, but India too has gone through a most difficult time. Bangla Desh has had a most tragic and traumatic experience, resulting in 1 million persons being killed and 10 million driven out of their homes. We regret that no reference has been made to that in the Resolution. Now that hostilities have ceased, it is our earnest hope that the three countries of the sub-continent—Bangla Desh, Pakistan and India—will co-operate and usher in an era of peace, progress and prosperity.

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INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER

The PAKISTAN Eastern Command agree to surrender all PAKISTAN Armed Forces in BANGLA DESH to Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA, General Officer Commanding in Chief of the Indian and BANGLA DESH forces in the Eastern Theatre. This surrender includes all PAKISTAN land, air and naval forces as also all para-military forces and civil armed forces. These forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops under the command of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA.

The PAKISTAN Eastern Command shall come under the orders of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA will be final, should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA gives a solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with the provisions of the GENEVA Convention and guarantees the safety and well-being of all PAKISTAN military and para-military forces who surrender. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of WEST PAKISTAN origin by the forces under the command of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA.

Jagjit Singh

(JAGJIT SINGH AURORA)
Lieutenant-General
General Officer Commanding in Chief
Indian and BANGLA DESH Forces in the
Eastern Theatre

16 December 1971.

AAK Niazi Lt Gen

(AMIR ABDULLAH KHAN NIAZI)
Lieutenant-General
Martial Law Administrator Zone B and
Commander Eastern Command (PAKISTAN)

16 December 1971.

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CHAPTER XI

BANGLA DESH ATTAINS FREEDOM

I. PAKISTANI SURRENDER TO THE JOINT COMMAND OF INDIAN AND BANGLA DESH FORCES AND UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRE BY INDIA

INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER
December 16, 1971

The Pakistan Eastern Command agree to surrender all Pakistan Armed Forces in Bangla Desh to Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding in Chief of the Indian and Bangla Desh forces in the Eastern Theatre. This surrender includes all Pakistan land, air and naval forces as also all para-military forces and civil armed forces. These forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

The Pakistan Eastern Command shall come under the orders of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora will be final, should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora gives a solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention and guarantees the safety and well-being of all Pakistan military and para-military forces who surrender. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of West Pakistan origin by the forces under the command of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

(Sd.) JAGJIT SINGH
(Jagjit Singh Aurora)
Lieutenant-General
General Officer Commanding in Chief
Indian and Bangla Desh Forces in
the Eastern Theatre
16*th December*, 1971

(Sd.) A. A. K. NIAZI
(Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi)
Lieutenant-General
Martial Law Administrator Zone B
and Commander
Eastern Command (Pakistan)
16*th December*, 1971

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI IN PARLIAMENT ON PAKISTAN ARMY'S SURRENDER IN BANGLA DESH
December 16, 1971

I have an announcement to make. The West Pakistan forces have unconditionally surrendered in Bangla Desh. The instrument of surrender was signed in Dacca at 1631 hours I.S.T. today by Lt.-Gen. A. A. K. Niazi on behalf of the Pakistan Eastern Command. Lt.-Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, GOC-in-C of the Indian and Bangla Desh forces in the Eastern Theatre, accepted the surrender. Dacca is now the free capital of a free country.

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This House and the entire nation rejoice in this historic event. We hail the people of Bangla Desh in their hour of triumph. We hail the brave young men and boys of the Mukti Bahini for their valour and dedication. We are proud of our own Army, Navy, Air Force and the Border Security Force, who have so magnificently demonstrated their quality and capacity. Their discipline and devotion to duty are well known. India will remember with gratitude the sacrifices of those who have laid down their lives, and our thoughts are with their families.

Our Armed Forces are under strict orders to treat Pakistani prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention and to deal with all sections of the population of Bangla Desh in a humane manner. The Commanders of the Mukti Bahini have issued similar orders to their forces. Although the Government of Bangla Desh have not yet been given an opportunity to sign the Geneva Convention, they also have declared that they will fully abide by it. It will be the responsibility of the Government of Bangla Desh, the Mukti Bahini and the Indian armed forces to prevent any reprisals.

Our objectives were limited—to assist the gallant people of Bangla Desh and their Mukti Bahini to liberate their country from a reign of terror and to resist aggression on our own land. Indian armed forces will not remain in Bangla Desh any longer than is necessary.

The millions who were driven out of their homes across our borders have already begun trekking back. The rehabilitation of this war-torn land calls for dedicated team work by its Government and people.

We hope and trust that the Father of this new nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, will take his rightful place among his own people and lead Bangla Desh to peace, progress and prosperity. The time has come when they can together look forward to a meaningful future in their *Sonar Bangla.* They have our good wishes.

The triumph is not theirs alone. All nations who value the human spirit will recognise it as a significant milestone in man's quest for liberty.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI IN PARLIAMENT ON UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRE BY INDIA

December 17, 1971

On March 31, 1971, six days after the great upheaval in Bangla Desh, I had the honour to move a Resolution in this House.

I said then that India's permanent interest in peace and our commitment to uphold and defend human rights demanded the immediate cessation of the use of force and of the massacre of the defenceless people of Bangla Desh. I had called upon all peoples and Governments to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to immediately end the systematic decimation of a people.

I had concluded my statement by expressing the profound conviction of this House that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal would triumph. We also gave an assurance that their struggle and sacrifice would receive the wholehearted sympathy and support of the people of India.

Today, the pledge we then made together in this House and in the country stands redeemed.

It is natural that the people of India should be elated. We can also understand the great rejoicing of the people of Bangla Desh. I share the elation and the joy. But as the *Gita* says, neither joy nor sorrow should tilt the balance of our equanimity or blur our vision of the future.

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All those who have borne arms, all those who have been involved in the planning and direction of the operations, all the people of India who have responded so generously—these are to be thanked and congratulated.

It is a victory, but a victory not only of arms but of ideals. The Mukti Bahini could not have fought so daringly but for its passionate urge for freedom and the establishment of a special identity of Bangla Desh. Our own forces could not have been so fearless and relentless had they not been convinced of their cause.

India has stood for breadth of vision, tolerance of the points of view of others, of being in the battle, yet above it.

We stand for democracy, for secularism and for socialism. Only this combination opens the way for full freedom, gives protection to the weaker sections and the opportunity for the growth of different personalities. We believe that no nation can be built on concepts which are negative or which do not have meaning for all its people. Unfortunately, Pakistan had based its policies on hatred for and confrontation with India.

While we re-dedicate ourselves to our ideals, I hope the people of Pakistan will seek a path which is more in keeping with their circumstances and needs. These 24 years we have heard many aggressive speeches and much abusive and false propaganda against us. We cannot believe that this is the true voice of the Pakistani people. They have been kept in darkness by their successive regimes.

We want to assure them that we have no enmity towards them. There are more things in common than those which divide us. We should like to fashion our relations with the people of Pakistan on the basis of friendship and under standing. Let them live as masters in their own house and devote their energies to the removal of poverty and inequalities in their country.

It is this sincere desire which prompted us last evening to instruct our Army, Navy and Air Force to cease operations from 2000 hours today on all fronts in the West.

I am grateful for the support which all political parties of the country have given throughout this difficult period, and specially to this initiative on behalf of peace.

This offer was communicated to the world community by our Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, in New York. We also had it formally conveyed to the Government of Pakistan through the Swiss Embassy. We hope that the people and rulers of Pakistan will appreciate and reciprocate this offer.

The consequences which flow from a failure to do so will rest squarely upon the military rulers of Pakistan. However, regardless of what happens on the Western front, let us not be complacent. The coming months specially will bring new and complex problems. We must be ever vigilant to safeguard our integrity and our interests, and above all the fundamental beliefs of our national existence.

II. WORLD PRESS AND PUBLIC REACTIONS

JUBILANT BENGALI CROWDS GREET CONQUERING INDIANS AS HEROES IN JESSORE

JESSORE, EAST PAKISTAN: Jubilant crowds poured into the streets yesterday (December 7) to shout Bangla Desh slogans and cheer conquering Indian troops.

They emerged from their homes waving the red-green-and-gold flags of Bangla Desh they had concealed for so long, and the women who had fled to villages deep in the paddy fields in fear of Pakistani soldiers returned to their homes.

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The Indian Army entered Jessore Tuesday after a lightning thrust which splintered the Pakistani forces and put them to flight.

Tanks and armored personnel carriers thundered past rows of shabby rundown shops, most of them locked and shuttered.

Turbaned Sikhs and brown-faced little Gurkha riflemen mingled with the crowd as cheerleaders led them in their chant of "Joi Bangla!"—Long live Bengal!

For the survivors of Jessore, an independent Bangla Desh at last had become more than a cherished dream.

Out in the streets, too, were the Mukti Bahini, nationalist guerrillas who have waged an eight-month war of sabotage and ambush against President A. M. Yahya Khan's Army.

Modern automatic rifles, supplied by India, were slung over their shoulder, and in their secret camps in the woods and banana groves they had mortars and light machine-guns.

They played a minor role in the battle of Jessore. But there was a swagger in their walk as they enjoyed the day of triumph.

Major-General Dalbir Singh, whose division conquered this Pakistani barracks city, said if the enemy "had fought sensibly we should have been fighting here for a month".

General Singh, Commander of the Indian 9th Division, said an anti-tank ditch and a little Maginot Line surrounded Jessore, but his troops entered almost unopposed.

His report had little in common with official accounts issued by Army spokesmen in Calcutta. They told of fierce fighting in Jessore.

Most of the fighting took place well away from the town. General Singh remarked of the Pakistanis: "They have been fighting since April and are fairly disorganized".

Shell-fire has blasted an occasional house, but otherwise Jessore is little damaged.

Most of the Pakistanis now are withdrawing toward the port and mill town of Chalna.

"I've got some of them in a pocket and even for the rest there is no way out", General Singh added. "I don't want to kill them yet. I want to catch them. I'm of a gentle nature."

(THE SUN, Baltimore—December 9, 1971)

BENGALIS DANCE IN 'LIBERATED' JESSORE

JESSORE, PARISTAN, December 8: The Bengalis danced on the roofs of buses. They shouted independence slogans in the streets. They embraced, they cheered, they reached out in spontaneous emotion to clasp the hands of visitors from other lands.

For Bengalis, today (December 8) was "liberation day" in Jessore—the strategic city in East Pakistan that, for eight months until yesterday (December 7) had been under the control of West Pakistani troops, who had come last spring to put down the Bengali rebellion.

The "liberators" are Indian troops. They are almost as happy as the Bengali secessionists whom India supports, but they did not have much time today to stop

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and celebrate, as they continued to chase the retreating West Pakistani forces south-east toward Khulna.

The Indians, too, waved and smiled and posed for pictures from the tops of their armored personnel carriers and tanks while they waited, four miles from Jessore, for orders to move farther down to the Khulna road.

"They are fleeing in panic", an infantry captain of the Seventh Punjab Regiment said of the Pakistani troops. "They've got good equipment and defenses, but their morale is in their boots".

Most of the Indian troops are as different from the Bengalis as the predominantly Punjabi troops from West Pakistan were because the Indian soldiers are also heavily Punjab. But cultural gaps between the Bengali secessionists and their Indian backers have been temporarily erased.

The jubilant Bengalis have pitched in to sustain the Indian drive by working with Indian troops to throw pontoon bridges across rivers whose permanent bridges are being blown up by the Pakistanis as they pull back.

A major bridge has been expertly demolished on the main road from the Indian border to Jessore, which is 23 miles inside East Pakistan. Five of the six spans of the steel and concrete bridge lie in the Kabathani River, as does the railway bridge 200 yards downstream.

The Pakistanis blew these bridges two night ago as they retreated to Jessore.

The scene today at the site, which is the town of Jhingergacha, nine miles from Jessore, looked like a cross between a bucket brigade and the building of the pyramids.

On the muddy bank below the blown road bridge, hundreds of Bengalis in long rows passed logs down the line to be laid as planking for the approaches to a new pontoon bridge. As they worked in machine like precision, brawny troops from the army engineers inflated huge pontoons with a compressor, carried them through knee-deep muck to the water and then began placing the aluminium spans across them. In four hours, the bridge was finished.

(SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG in **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—December 9, 1971)

JUBILANT BENGALIS CELEBRATE FREEDOM

JESSORE, EAST PAKISTAN: Jubilant East Bengalis danced around the bodies of their fallen oppressors as 1,000 doomed West Pakistan troops and their families fled toward the sea and certain death or capture by Indian "liberation" forces.

The road from Jessore, which fell to the Indians three days ago without a fight yesterday (December 8), was littered with Pakistani dead, burned out jeeps and rucks and abandoned enemy weapons.

Surrender or die

Even if they manage to reach the sea, the fleeing Pakistanis and their wives and children will have to swim, if they go any farther. For the Indian Navy is waiting for them there and the Indian Air Force, which has undisputed control of the air, is having a field day shooting up Pakistani shipping.

Isolated by land, sea and air, under attack from all directions, and harassed by vengeful East Bengalis, the 60,000 West Pakistani troops in the East face the choice of surrender or death.

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With the fall of Jessore in the West and Comilla in the East, two of their principal strong-points, it was doubtful if the Pakistanis will even make a fight for Dacca, the capital and apex of their triangular defense line.

Indian army officers, who seemed almost embarrassed by the ease with which they vanquished the supposedly fierce Pakistani fighters, said they were pursuing the enemy with deliberate slowness.

"We keep urging them to surrender", said Major Sabhu Singh, an artillery officer. "They haven't a chance anyway: And we are refraining from using our air because of the women and children."

The dark-skinned Bengalis lined the roadside to weleome the advancing Indian troops and shouted "Hail Bangla Desh", their self-proclaimed new nation which has been recognized by New Delhi.

At one point along the road between Jessore and Khulna, the Bengalis danced around the bodies of a dozen slain Pakistani soldiers and shouted "Hail Bangla" for the benefit of foreign television cameras. None of them ever has seen TV. They don't even have electricity.

While they may have some reservations about their Indian liberators, it was clear the Bengalis were overjoyed to be free from the West Pakistanis, who for the past eight months have slaughtered them by the tens of thousands in a vain attempt to stamp out Bengali nationalism.

Mass killings charged

The retreating Pakistanis left a trail of blasted bridges and stories of mass atrocities. Indian army engineers, with commendable efficiency, rigged pontoon bridges and by-passes over the larger streams.

In town after town, excitable Bengalis told of mass murders by Pakistani troops. One man told how the Pakistanis came in search of a Mukti Bahini (Bengali freedom-fighter) leader named Ghillal, a common name in these parts. When they failed to find him, they shot everybody in the village by that name—10 people in all, the Bengalis said.

(KEYES BEECH in **THE EVENING STAR**, Washington—December 10, 1971)

WAR IN EAST ENDS—INDIANS ENTER DACCA TO MARIGOLDS AND CHEERS

DACCA, December 16—Indian army troops entered Dacca today to the cheers of thousands of Bengalis shouting "Jai Bangla" (Victory for Bengal).

The composite force of Indian troops and East Pakistani guerrillas, commanded by Major-General Gandharv Naagra, assaulted a bridge on Dacca's outskirts in the early morning and then received word that the Pakistani command here had accepted India's ultimatum to surrender.

Naagra said he sent a note across town to the Pakistani military headquarters at about 8-30 a.m. local time (10 p.m. Wednesday EST) and received an immediate reply that there would be no further Pakistani resistance. He then entered the city with his men.

He met with Pakistan's commander here, Lt.-Gen. A. A. K. Niazi, about 10 a.m. "We are old friends", Naagra said, "from college days".

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The Indian General then went to Dacca airport to await the arrival of the Chief of Staff of India's Eastern Command, Maj.-Gen. J. F. R. Jacob, who came by helicopter from his Calcutta headquarters.

At the airport, the General, with only three Indian soldiers nearby, stood twirling his rough-wood walking stick, while the Pakistani airport defence units grouped at the far end of the runway to move to their surrender point.

Armed Pakistani soldiers far outnumbered Indians in the streets for several hours, and there was sporadic shooting. Several Indians and Pakistanis were killed, including an Indian officer shot outside the Intercontinental Hotel.

Mukti Bahini men—Members of East Pakistan's liberation army—mingled with civilians in the happy crowds and fired their rifles in the air.

Naagra sent Brig. H. S. Kler, Commander of the 95th Mountain Brigade, to the Intercontinental Hotel, a neutral zone under Red Cross auspices, to attempt to protect foreigners and the former civilian government of East Pakistan, which has taken refuge there.

Kler's car was repeatedly mobbed by Bengalis as he moved through the streets. At one point, the crowd tried to yank his driver out of the car and Kler stepped out, only to have Bengalis throw themselves around his neck while one pressed a bunch of marigolds into his hands.

"Thank you, thank you", the Bengalis yelled at him.

Naagra and Kler fought their way into Dacca from the north after crossing the Pakistani border on the morning of December 4 with slightly more than two brigades.

They covered 160 miles—partly by bullock-drawn cart and foot—fighting at every town.

"We were relying on you to get us home for Christmas", a reporter told Naagra at the airport. "Well, we have done it", the General replied.

Naagra said that the road into Dacca down which he came was littered with the bodies of Pakistani soldiers. "It was pathetic", he said, "we could not bury them. We did not have time."

"We were cheered all the way", Naagra continued. "At Mymensingh, all my patches and badges were snatched off by the crowds."

"I hope everything is peaceful and quiet", Jacob said. "We have given our guarantee that the soldiers and West Pakistanis will be protected, and we mean to keep it."

About eight Bengalis rushed through the airport gate onto the runway to greet Jacob. "May I shake your hand", they asked one after another. "They have killed us like rats for nine months", one told Jacob, referring to the Pakistani army.

Turning to a reporter, the Bengali asked: "What country are you from?" "America", the reporter replied.

Not happy with America

The Bengali spat: "We are not happy with America", he said, refusing to shake hands.

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Bengalis bitterly resent President Nixon's support for the central Pakistan Government throughout the civil war that led to the Indian-Pakistani war here.

Now the Bangla Desh (Bengal Nation) that they have been hoping for is born. One of Gen. Naagra's aides carried a Bangla Desh flag as the General stood at the airport.

Other Bangla Desh flags are being waved in the streets by civilians who stop every passing car to shake hands and shout their happy slogans.

Along the sides of the streets, for the most part ignored by the crowds, soldiers and police of the defeated Pakistani Government file by—still carrying their weapons—but heading for the collection points where they are to be disarmed.

The surrender and Indian army arrival came suddenly, after some bleak early-morning hours in which it appeared that plans to surrender had been snagged in West Pakistan and that heavy fighting, plus waves of new air strikes, would cause serious damage and many deaths in Dacca.

India's halt to air strikes against the city was to run out at 9-30 a.m. local time (10-30 p.m. Wednesday EST), and shortly before 9 a.m., United Nations and Red Cross officials learned that the Pakistani command had lost its communications and could not send its message of acceptance to New Delhi.

Lost communications

During a hurried meeting at the Pakistani military headquarters, Maj.-Gen. Farman Ali Khan, who has been acting for Gen. Niazi in the attempts to negotiate a cease-fire, informed U.N. officials of the command's unconditional acceptance. The message was then sent to Delhi through U.N. radio facilities at 9-20 a.m. 10 minutes before the bombing was to resume.

The formal surrender took place at 5 p.m., local time (6 a.m. EST) on the race track in-field, with firing and shouting from surrounding areas.....

Each bus-load of Indian soldiers is mobbed with cries of thanks, and Bangla Desh flags are being pulled out from the hiding places where they have been kept since last March 25, when the Pakistani army began its brutal compaign to keep control here.

(LEE LESCAZE in **THE WASHINGTON POST**—December 17, 1971)

OUR OBJECTIVES WERE LIMITED

The Tiger of East Pakistan, Lieutenant-General A. A. K. Niazi, capitulated yesterday (December 16). The military leader who had boasted that his troops would "fight to the end" surrendered unconditionally with his 80,000 trapped men.

His formal defeat at the hands of jubilant India's eastern war leader, Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora, marks the end of 24 years of Pakistani rule.

"Tiger" Niazi looked grim-faced as he signed surrender terms at a table in front of Dacca Race Course. He was almost crying when he was led away to be placed under house arrest.

Within five minutes, Indian Premier Mrs. Indira Gandhi was telling a wildly cheering Parliament: "Dacca is now the free capital of a free country".

She said later in a nationwide broadcast: "Now that the Pakistan armed forces have surrendered in Bangla Desh, it is pointless to continue the present conflict.

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"Our objectives were limited—to assist the gallant people of Bangla Desh to liberate their country from a reign of terror".

The surrender was signed at dusk. But the decision to give-in was made early in the morning.

Before dawn, said Indian officials, they had intercepted messages from Niazi to his soldiers, ordering them to lay down their arms.

Soldier to soldier

At breakfast-time, Major-General Gandharv Nagara, whose troops ringed Dacca, was told that the Tiger wanted a cease-fire.

Two hours later, he and his aides met the Pakistani general.

"He was full of beans", said paratroop commander Colonel Pannu.

"We talked soldier to soldier and swapped dirty jokes".

India's Eastern Command Chief of Staff, Major-General J. F. R. Jacob, flew to Dacca from Calcutta to discuss the surrender with Niazi over lunch.

Then, as dusk was falling, General Aurora arrived to sign the pact.

Hundreds of cheering Bengalis were held back by Indian troops who cordoned off the race course.

Aurora, a turbaned Sikh, was hosted on to soldiers' shoulders by the slogan chanting crowd.

Fusillades of celebration shots and cheers greeted Indian paratroops as they entered the city.

The first jeeps that swept into the city were packed with burly Sikhs who were hugged and kissed.

The excited crowds threw garlands of flowers—marigolds and red frangipanis.

But, in the background, there was still the crackle of gunfire as Mukti Bahini guerrillas mopped up "collaborators" and pockets of fanatical Pakistanis who refused to surrender.

Green and black "Bangla Desh" flags sprouted from buildings in the city as the inhabitants came out into the open after hiding from shells, bombs and bullets for days.

The mobs were chanting: "Long live Bangla Desh".

The sound of small arms fire faded out as the surrender was accepted by the scattered groups of defenders.

Or as they died.

And within hours, an Indian Government spokesman said that the first four members of a "civil Government of Bangla Desh" were being sent to Dacca to set up a transition administration.

The final decision to surrender came only 10 minutes before the expiration of an extended Indian ultimatium.

Overall Chief of Staff, General Sam Manekshaw, had called off the battering of the city while 'Tiger' Niazi made up his mind whether to surrender....or die.

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Ground and air attacks halted.

Then came the Tiger's decision—as terrified people streamed out of the city, fearing the re-start of Indian rocket attacks.

It took the Indians just 12 days to cut through the Pakistani defences in East Pakistan.

At the end, Pakistani troops were virtually surrounded in Dacca and their few remaining strongholds at Comilla, Khulna, Dinajpur and Chittagong.

The Indians admitted losing almost 4,000 men dead, wounded or missing in the fighting up to Tuesday.

Pakistani casualties are not yet known—but are thought to be much greater.

Under the surrender terms, India has promised that General Niazi and his forces will be properly treated as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention.

Similar treatment will be given to the para-military forces, who have been accused of rape, looting and violent crimes against the local population since the Pakistani army moved against the secessionist movement in East Pakistan, nine months ago.

The safety of all foreign nationals, West Pakistani citizens and " ethnic minorities " —a reference to non-Bengali Moslems, whose security had raised fears—is also guaranteed.

(**THE SUN**, Baltimore—December 17, 1971)

JOY AND MARIGOLDS

DACCA, PAKISTAN, December 16—Shouting " Joi Bangla! " and waving the Bangla Desh flag, Indian troops in trucks and buses poured into the Pakistani military camp north of town today just after the Pakistanis had accepted an ultimatum to surrender.

Indian soldiers with marigolds in their gun barrels passed armed Pakistani soldiers in great traffic jams within the camp. Pakistani officers saluted Indian officers. Officers of both armies, many of whom attended the same schools under the British, shook hands and asked about mutual friends.

In Dacca itself, there were spontaneous eruptions of joy and celebration in the streets. Bengalis kissed Indian Punjabi soldiers, tossing flowers at them and at the rebels who accompanied them. Most of the soldiers looked exhausted and bleak-eyed.

Pictures of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who was the Awami League leader until he was imprisoned in West Pakistan in March, were hoisted above cars. Bengalis surrounded them, shouting " Joi Bangla " (Victory for Bangla) and " Sheikh Mujib ".

One rebel leader, trying to stop Bengali mobs from seeking revenge on West Pakistanis and Bihari Moslems who co-operated with the Pakistani Army, reportedly said: " Now they are our prisoners, but unlike them, we must be civilized ".

Ten minutes before the time limit given by the Indian Commander to the Pakistani army here to surrender to prevent the destruction of the city, word was flashed through United Nations radio channels that the Pakistani second in command, Maj.-Gen. Rao Farman Ali, had accepted the ultimatum.

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United Nations officials, who feared that the city would be destroyed, drove to the military cantonment just north of town and found commanders there unable to get word to the Indians of their decision. Word was immediately relayed through walkie-talkie to United Nations headquarters here for urgent transmission. Minutes later, the first Indian Army officers arrived to announce the surrender decision through their channels.

The surrender arrangements were first discussed at talks held in the cantonment in the afternoon. But two Indian Generals had arrived there earlier, Maj.-Gen. Gandharv Naagra and Brig.-Gen. Hardev S. Kler, who led the assault from the north on the city.

At 3 p. m., the Indian officers said the cease-fire would become permanent, but there was sporadic shooting in the city. Some artillery shells fell on the Pakistan fortifications in the early morning after their commander had accepted the surrender ultimatum. Maj.-Gen. J. F. R. Jacob, Chief of Staff of India's Eastern Command, sent a message expressing regret that some of his units had not received the cease-fire orders, according to Brig.-Gen. Baquir Siddiqui, Chief of Staff for the Pakistani Eastern Command.

General Kler praised the Pakistani army, saying, "They fought well, but they didn't hold out to the last man—that's good".

(JAMES P. STERRA in THE NEW YORK TIMES—December 17, 1971)

PAKISTANI GENERAL NEAR TO TEARS

DACCA, December 16—Shooting still sounded in the background as in fading light crowds surrounded a table set up in front of Dacca Race Course and Lieutenant-General A. A. K Niazi, looking grim, signed the terms of surrender.

Hundreds of Bengalis shouting *Zindabad* (Long live) were kept back by Indian troops who cordoned off the race course. General Niazi was near tears as he moved away, surrounded by cheering Bangla Desh people.

Lieutenant-General J. S. Aurora, the Indian Commander a turbaned Sikh, was hoisted on to soldiers' shoulders, as dusk fell.

Shouts of *Jai Bangla* (Victory to Bengal), fusillades of shots and the cheers of thousands of Bengalis greeted Indian parachute troops as they entered Dacca today. Bengalis mobbed the first jeeps that swept into the city, hugging and kissing the burly Sikhs of the 2nd Parachute Regiment.

They threw garlands of marigolds and bunches of red frangipani. Excited crowds danced on the roofs of buses carrying Indian troops and pitchers of water were brought from homes for the thirsty soldiers.

The Indian troops were commanded by Major-General Gandharv Naagra, whose men had been in action until 8.30 a.m. local time, when word was passed to him from Pakistan headquarters that it had agreed to a cease-fire. General Naagra met General Niazi at about 10 a.m.

Colonel Pannu, Commander of the 2nd Parachute Regiment, said General Niazi was "full of beans". "We talked soldier to soldier and swapped dirty jokes", he said.

Lieutenant-Colonel B. P. Rikhye, an Indian officer who witnessed the surrender ceremony, said that contingents of Pakistan and Indian troops were drawn up nearby as the documents were signed.

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"Then Aurora stripped Niazi's insignia of rank off his shoulders—it is the custom", he said. "The Pakistan troops who had arms laid them down. Aurora was raised on the shoulders of the crowd and every Indian officer was mobbed by people throwing flowers."

(PETER O' LOUGHLIN in **THE TIMES**, London—December 17, 1971)

'TIGER' NEARLY IN TEARS

Gen. "Tiger" Niazi, the East Pakistani Commander who boasted he would "fight to the end", was seen to be near tears after he had signed surrender terms on a table at Dacca Race Course.

He stripped off his epaulette of rank from his right shoulder, unloaded his revolver and handed over his ammunition to Lt.-Gen. J. S. Aurora, the turbaned Sikh leader of the Indian forces. Then he pressed his forehead to that of the Indian General as an act of submission.

Gen. Aurora was hoisted on his soldiers' shoulders amid cheering crowds crying "Zindabad" ("Long live").

The besieged capital had erupted into a tumult of rejoicing as the victorious Indians entered the city. Shouts of "Jai Bangla" (Victory to Bengal), fusillades of shots and cheers of thousands of Bengalis greeted the burly Sikh para-troopers.

Bengalis mobbed the first jeeps that swept in, hugging and kissing the troops and throwing garlands of marigolds and frangipani.

Col. Pannu, Commander of the 2nd Para-troop Reg. said he found Gen. Niazi "full of beans", adding: "We talked soldier to soldier and swapped dirty jokes". The Colonel's jeep, which had blood still wet on the seat beside him, was mobbed in front of the Intercontinental Hotel.

The green and black Bangla Desh flag sprouted from buildings and cars. Jubilant Bengalis stuffed flowers into the barrels of guns and shouted, "Long live Bangla Desh".

With the news of the surrender in Dacca spreading like wildfire, it suddenly seemed as though all roads led to the capital. A Pakistani tank squadron moved off, followed by a motley queue of trucks, scooters, and tri-shaws.

As Brig. D. N. Mishra, Commander of the 57th division, which made the fast north-east thrust, entered Dacca, a crowd rushed forward and a Pakistani in a jeep opened machine-gun fire.

Two people fell before the Pakistanis were disarmed and led off for court-martial. "I just couldn't believe it", said Brig. Mishra.

As the Indian column advanced into the city, they commandeered vehicles wholesale from the sad-looking, frightened Pakistani troops. "That one looks handy", said one Colonel jumping into a mini-bus.

At the battered airport, the Brigadier joined others in greeting the arrival of Indian V.I.P.'s, including Gen. Aurora and Major-Gen. J.F.R. Jacob, Chief of Staff Eastern Command, in a string of 10 helicopters. From there, a procession headed for the race course surrender ceremony.

(**THE DAILY TELEGRAPH**, London—December 17, 1971)

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THE MARCH TO JUBILATION

Liberation day for the people of Dacca came yesterday (December 16). They wept and were delirious with joy.

They pelted Indian troops with flowers and wrapped their arms around them like lost brothers.

Old men danced in the streets like youngsters, and everywhere the city rang with the independence cry of " Jai Bangla, Jai Bangla, Jai Bangla (Victory to Bengal) ".

There was chaos and confusion. And there was bloodshed.

Reality

Diplomatic niceties have yet to be observed, but for the long suffering people of Dacca, the independent State of Bangla Desh—once known as East Pakistan—had already become a reality.

Defeated in battle, Pakistani troops, fearful now for their lives, streamed into barracks to be disarmed.

At the centre of it all, Lieutenant-General 'Tiger' Niazi, the Pakistani Commander, maintained his stern and stolid dignity. He was vilified and publicly humiliated, but he kept his soldierly dignity.

The Indians behaved correctly. But within the limits of correctness, they made the most of their 13-day victory.

Ten helicopters flew in army, navy and airforce brass for the surrender ceremony, and, with them, India sent the International Press so that the world should miss no detail of what they had done to India.

Indian para-troops, air-dropped north of the city on Saturday, were the first to enter Dacca. They swept in with the green, red and gold flag of Bangla Desh flying from their trucks and jeeps.

Bangla Desh guerrillas—the Mukti Bahini—were on hand to greet them with volleys of shots from their rifles and sub-machine-guns.

In the excitement, Pakistani troops opened fire, and in the ensuing shoot out, a Pakistani soldier and an Indian major were killed.

It was not the only violence in Dacca yesterday. Many Pakistani troops had not received word of the surrender and continued to fight. At the Lakhya River, on the eastern approaches, the elite Indian guards brigade ran into determined resistance.

It was a set-piece battle. As the tanks pumped in shells, foot soldiers moved up behind a steep embankment.

The duel went on for an hour. Then, a Pakistani officer walked out waving a white flag. Major M. S. Dhillon, a Sikh, strode forward to the wall of a factory compound to complete his enemy's surrender.

"Are you moving or not?" he shouted. "I want you to move in just one minute."

Silent

Finally, led by Brigadier R. N. Misra, they crossed the river and drove along an eerily silent road from the side of which steel-helmeted Pakistani troops peeped from their foxholes.

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Preceding Misra in a separate vehicle, was the Pakistani colonel who had negotiated his sector's surrender.

Four hundred yards ahead, as they touched the outskirts of Dacca, a great crowd surged on to the street to greet their liberators.

At Dacca airport, damaged by days and nights of bombing, India's top brass was already arriving. Niazi was there to meet them.

He shook hands with Eastern Front Commander, Lt.-Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, and in fading light, drove with him to Dacca's Race Course to sign East Pakistan's unconditional surrender.

Squads of Indian and Pakistani soldiers flanked the plain wooden table on which the surrender document was signed. Niazi sat beside Aurora, grim faced and silent.

Bengalis screamed their 'Jai Bangla' slogans. For Niazi, it was a humiliating, terrible moment. He fought back his emotions and never flinched.

Someone rushed forward to wave a Bangla Desh flag above towers.

Niazi signed, rose to shake hands with Aurora and walked toward his car, surrounded by a cordon of Indian troops linking arms to keep back the crowd.

Lt.-Gen. 'Tiger' Niazi, who had vowed to fight to the end, had had his day.

(DENNIS NEELD in **THE DAILY MAIL**, London—December 17, 1971)

DACCA DANCES AS YAHYA'S ARMY GIVES IN

Dacca danced with joy last night as crowds erupted into the streets to greet the Indian troops, throwing flowers, shaking hands and shouting "Long live India-Bangla Desh friendship!"

The thump of field artillery and the crackle of small-arms fire faded into silence as the news of an unconditional surrender spread among the scattered Pakistani units.

The new Bangla Desh civil administration is expected to arrive in Dacca today, though Indian troops will be in the country for some time, certainly until the initial repair and rehabilitation work is done.

India's Eastern Front Commander, Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, led a column of army, navy and airforce chiefs to the Dacca Race Course in the city centre where the formal surrender was signed just ten minutes before the Indian surrender ultimatum ran out.

Despite the unconditional surrender of the Pakistan army in Bangla Desh, Washington informed sources said that the U.S. naval task force led by the world's biggest aircraft carrier, Enterprise, was still heading up into the Bay of Bengal.

(**THE MORNING STAR**, London—December 17, 1971)

A NEW NATION TO BE FORMED

Bangla Desh was born of a dream twice deferred. Twenty-four years ago, Bengalis voted to join the new nation of Pakistan, which had been carved out of British India.... Before long, religious unity disintegrated into racial and regional bigotry as the autocratic Muslims of West Pakistan systematically exploited their Bengali brethren in the east. One year ago last week, the Bengalis thronged the

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polls in Pakistan's first free nationwide elections, only to see their overwhelming mandate to Mujib brutally reversed by West Pakistani soldiers.

The crackdown took a terrible toll: perhaps 1,000,000 dead; 10 million refugees, untold thousands homeless, hungry and sick. And so at week's end, the streams of refugees who walked so long and so far to get to India began making the long journey back home to pick up the threads of their lives. For some, there were happy reunions with relatives and friends, for others tears and the bitter sense of loss for those who will never return.

But, there were new homes to be raised, new shrines to be built, and a new nation to be formed. The land was there too, lush and green.

(The TIME Magazine, U.S.A.—December 20, 1971)

END OF AN ILLUSION

Amid the wreckage of the battle of Bangla Desh lies a host of illusions. They, too, are the casualties of war.

Despite American help to India, she could not influence her policy. So ends the dream that money can buy loyalty.

(THE DAILY EXPRESS, London—December 17, 1971)

BANGLA DESH GOVERNMENT IN DACCA SOON

Everyone will be thankful that Pakistan has surrendered and the war has ended in East Bengal. The *de facto* authority of Pakistan has been removed from the eastern province. The Government that India has recognised will soon be in Dacca and try to establish its authority both internally and internationally.

(THE TIMES, London—December 17, 1971)

MOST REMARKABLE VICTORY

She (Mrs. Indira Gandhi) has had a most remarkable victory. She, a woman, was once scorned by the professional soldiery of Pakistan. What did she know about war?

The generals of Frederick the Great's Prussia once talked that way about another mere woman, Maria Theresa of Austria. A few battles later, Frederick's generals were sadder and wiser. 'A mere woman' of those days understood war very well.

So too does Mrs. Gandhi. Her victory has been the most complete and decisive since World War II. It took her exactly two weeks to bring down the proud soldiery of Pakistan and convert what was their eastern province into a new so-called Republic of Bangla Desh.

This is the end of a double Pakistan. From now on, there is only one Pakistan, to the west.

(THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston—December 17, 1971)

NOT TO BE DOMINATED BY PAKISTAN

The wildly enthusiastic welcome that the people of Bangla Desh have given to their Indian liberators was a demonstration of their determination not to be dominated by their Muslim brothers from the West.

(THE NEW YORK TIMES—December 17, 1971)

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CEASE-FIRE—STATESMAN-LIKE ACTION

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's orders to Indian forces to cease-fire was a statesman-like action. Mrs. Gandhi's action gives the lie to those whether in Pakistan or in Peking and Washington who have been levelling India as an aggressor whose aim is to smash Pakistan....Mrs. Gandhi's latest communication to President Nixon is trenchant, reasoned and convincing.

(THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, London—December 17, 1971)

ANDRE MALRAUX'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON

Even if your aircraft carrier was able to threaten Calcutta, the United States would never have gone to war against these crowds of dying people. And when the world's most powerful army, namely yours, has failed to defeat the bare-footed fighters of Vietnam, do you believe the army of Islamabad can ever re-capture a country exalted by its independence, a country which lies 1,200 miles away?

....To send aircraft carriers into the Bay of Bengal, when the fate of the world is at stake, is not a policy, it is a relic from the past.

(ANDRE MALRAUX, in an open letter to President Nixon.)
(LE FIGARO, Paris—December 17, 1971)

CEYLONESE M. P. ON LIBERATION OF BANGLA DESH

We, who are lovers of freedom, join the Bengali people in their hour of rejoicing.

It was the courage of the Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the unstinted support she got from the Soviet Union to her lone fight for justice, that was responsible for the liberation of Bangla Desh. When the whole world just sat watching the massacre of Bengali people by the West Pakistani military junta, she took firm action.

(Mr. DHARMALINGHAM in the Ceylon Parliament—December 17, 1971)

RECONCILIATION NOT POSSIBLE

The bitter feeling of exploitation which the Bengalis had long felt against the Punjabis, the repressive operations of the Pakistani army against the Bengalis and the flight of millions of refugees to India—all this has brought about a situation in which it has become impossible to think of reconciliation between the two sectors of Pakistan.

(AL AHRAM, Cairo—December 18, 1971)

MUKTI BAHINI AND INDIA HAILED BY BRITISH M.P.

I think the war by the Mukti Bahini and the Indian Army is a just war that we have seen since the war against Hitler. I rejoice at the success that has been achieved.

(Mr. JOHN STONEHOUSE, M.P., U.K.—December 18, 1971)

RE-ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION ON INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

....India emerged from this conflict as a major victor. This was exemplified in the great jubilation which pervaded the Members of Parliament when they heard

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the news of the fall of Dacca. They jumped from their seats and clapped their hands for minutes. This victory materializes in two things:

Firstly, The establishment of a secular state, which is friendly and grateful, on the borders of India, borders which were formerly part of the strife between India and Pakistan.

Secondly, The creation of Bangla Desh opens opportunities for trade between her and India. These opportunities were sealed since the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965.

What about Pakistan? We can say that Pakistan, after the loss of an important part of her territories, will no longer constitute a major threat to India. Besides, Pakistan is losing the opportunity of playing a role in Asia. The role that India can play now in Asia will grow, especially after the Indian army became more confident.

All this points to an essential fact: The emergence of Bangla Desh puts an end to a formerly existing problem, but it simultaneously opens the door to various new problems resulting from the developments and changes in the Indian sub-continent and the whole of Asia. Possibilities of development, change or involvement by big powers are there. It is difficult to assess these possibilities very accurately now. That is because all powers, those who support the emergence of Bangla Desh and those who oppose it, will reassess anew their calculations. Things will not return to their former shape. This applies to the relations between West Pakistan and Bangla Desh, India and Pakistan and the relations between the major powers.

(*Editorial*, **AL-GOMHOURIA**, Cairo—December 18, 1971)

PUT EMOTIONS ASIDE

The National Assembly in Kuwait is one of the democratic institutions in our country. It was not expected that it would stand beside the Pakistani generals who have come to power by force of weapons. It was not expected that the National Assembly would speak against the Indian democratic government which came to power through democratic institutions and elections. Moreover, the Pakistani generals themselves are those who wanted to destroy the existence of democracy in East Pakistan because, when the Awami League won the elections with a vast majority, Mujibur Rahman was imprisoned and his companions, the ....representatives, were kicked out of the Assembly and the people were driven out of their homes.

Is it for this that we stand today with Pakistan?

It is a puzzling question and a very strange position. Therefore, we have to open our minds and use our brains and logic while looking at the struggle going on today between India and Pakistan. We have to put emotions aside.

(KHALID KHALAF, former Member of the National Assembly,
in **AL SIYASA**, Kuwait—December 19, 1971)

A NEW NATION BORN

The disappearance of East Pakistan from Pakistan's map was caused by the feeling of utter disgust of the people against their rulers. The people in the east wing felt neglected by Islamabad. While they earned most of the foreign exchange for the country, the Central Government deprived them of their right to industrial growth in sharp distinction from the west wing.

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Thus, the cherished desire of the people of the east wing to separate themselves from Pakistan has now been achieved with the defeat of Pakistan in the current Indo-Pakistan war. From this defeat has emerged a new nation of Bangla Desh....

The seventy-five million people of Bangla Desh need financial help and assistance for reconstruction and repair of the damage caused by the war.... We would, therefore, appeal to the Muslim countries to take the initiative in helping their brethren in Bangla Desh. They should be assured that they could lead a peaceful and prosperous life in their own land.

(UTUSAN MALAYSIA—December 20, 1971)

REAL REASON'S BEHIND PAKISTAN'S DEFEAT

Pakistan had to lose more than half of its territories during the recent war. But it should have considered the real reasons behind this. Instead, the newly appointed President, Mr. Bhutto, has issued a statement in the name of the country which has caused us much disappointment. Everybody knows well that Mr. Bhutto is no less responsible than Yahya Khan for the dismemberment of Pakistan. In fact, had Mr. Bhutto not given wrong advice to Yahya Khan after the general elections, East Pakistan would not have been converted into Bangla Desh today. In any case, Bangla Desh has now emerged as a new nation according to the aspirations of the entire people of East Pakistan. This cannot be suppressed by any force of the world. Mr. Bhutto should realise this truth. This is what we advise him. The speech delivered by him yesterday is very disappointing and self-contradictory. Mr. Bhutto claims to be an elected leader of Pakistan. He must admit that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a greater leader than himself on the basis of elections. Had Mr. Bhutto accepted election results in a democratic manner, no liberation struggle would have been essential in Bangla Desh. Nor would war have broken out between India and Pakistan and Pakistan defeated in such manner.

In any case, Mr. Bhutto will learn a lesson from incidents which occurred during the past nine months, and make all-out efforts to maintain unity in West Pakistan which still survives. In other words, he should admit the existence of Bangla Desh. On the other hand, if he makes the preparation to fight a war with India, he will be wholly responsible for losing West Pakistan in the same manner as Yahya and himself have been accused of disintegrating Pakistan.

(DAINIK NEPAL, Kathmandu—December 21, 1971)

BANGLA DESH IS A REALITY

So far as East Bengal is concerned, the emergence of Bangla Desh is now a reality. East Bengal will never forget the treatment meted out to it by the West Pakistan military junta in collusion with Mr. Z. A. Bhutto. It would be in the interests of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto to recognise the reality of Bangla Desh and lead the people of West Pakistan ahead on the road to peace and progress. In case he does not do so, he may meet the same fate as Yahya Khan.

(NAVIN KHABAR, Kathmandu—December 22, 1971)

MILITARY RULERS OF PAKISTAN RESPONSIBLE FOR WAR

The war between India and Pakistan had erupted because the military rulers of Pakistan ignored the problems of the people of Bangla Desh, crushing the rights of these people and trampling down democracy.

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If Pakistan had only paid heed to the legal and natural rights of the people of the eastern wing of the country, the situation would never have exploded.

Only equality among all races and respect for their rights can build a true society.

(ALTAAKHI, Iraq—December 22, 1971)

AVERELL HARRIMAN, AMERICA'S ELDER STATESMAN, ON THE WAR

When war broke out, the Administration continued to ignore West Pakistan's brutal repression and branded India the aggressor. At the same time, when the appropriate U.S. role was obviously to urge restraint on both sides, we openly sided with one—and clearly the wrong side at that. Whether viewed morally or with cold calculations of power politics, it ill-behoved the U.S. to identify itself with the discredited Pakistani military regime which was predictably to lose in East Pakistan. There are now indications that the war was unnecessarily prolonged by our support for West Pakistan.

Other senseless acts, such as suspending development aid to India and the movement of a U.S. fleet into the Bay of Bengal, an inexplicable throwback to the days of gunboat diplomacy, contributed to our loss of worldwide prestige and to the estrangement of the people of India, the world's largest democracy.

The time has come to attempt to repair our self-inflicted wounds, to cease acting out of pique, to resume development aid to India and join in repairing ravages of a cruel conflict that we might at least have moderated.

(AVERELL HARRIMAN, America's elder statesman,
THE WASHINGTON POST—December 23, 1971)

BANGLA DESH IS UNREVERSIBLE

Mr. Bhutto shares responsibility for the mass killing of the people of Bangla Desh whose people and leaders have proclaimed it as a new nation. Bengalis in many Pakistani Embassies abroad have pledged allegiance to the Bangla Desh Government. Mr. Bhutto can only take back East Pakistan by force. It is out of question that the people of East Bengal will forgive and forget the bloody affair.

It appears that the change made in the map of South Asia can no longer be reversed. This may be the reason why Muslim Students Organisations of Indonesia have asked the Indonesian Government to recognise Bangla Desh.

(DJAKARTA TIMES—December 23, 1971)

CAUSES OF PAKISTAN'S DEFEAT

On one-point at least the international strategical experts were not mistaken: they all predicted that the Indo-Pakistani conflict would be short-lived and would not last more than three weeks. Most of them were nevertheless surprised by the speed of the defeat and collapse of the Pakistani army, which the Pentagon and a certain number of European Generals considered to be the best in the Asian continent. However, this is not the first mistake of judgement the U.S. intelligence services have made.

If India was able to win in a fortnight, it was not due only to her superiority in number of troops and in fire-power. Among the determining factors on the Indian side were her more detailed planning, better strategical and tactical organization, faultless co-operation of the three arms, readiness to adopt new strategical

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methods suggested by Soviet advisers, and last but not least the discipline of her troops and their total confidence in their High Command.

Even before the outbreak of hostilities, Delhi had prepared for the campaign by organizing, if not by arming, the Mukti Bahini of Bangla Desh, who harassed unceasingly the Pakistani occupation forces and contributed notably in destroying their strong points, sapping their morale and interfering with their supplies, in particular by sabotaging their arms and petrol depots. Islamabad's disorganization was aggravated certainly by the disputes and controversies between President Yahya Khan and Generals Pirzada and Hamid Khan on the one hand and the Ministers, led by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the other; but the most serious was that the fate of the Pakistani army was entrusted to a pretentious and incompetent General Staff.

The operations were directed by two Generals whose only claim to distinction was their friendship with the Head of State. The first was General Tikka Khan, Commander of the Kashmir sector, already notorious on account of massacring "administered" populations which earned him the name of "butcher of Baluchistan and of Bengal". As for his military qualifications, it may be worth recalling that when he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, a "confidential" report by his superior officers to the General Staff in Karachi stated that "this officer has shown himself unfit to hold posts of high responsibility".

The second right-hand man of Yahya Khan, General Niazi, although nicknamed by his subordinates "The Tiger", did not show more strategic ability than his friend Tikka. Brutal, cruel, stupid, boosted up to succeed General Tikka Khan as Commander in East Bengal, he encouraged his men to atrocities and looting to "subdue" the hostile people of the Eastern province. Against these officers, who discredited the Pakistani army, the Indian forces were commanded by General Jagjit Singh Aurora, whose tactical devices and inspirations took the enemy by surprise, bewildered and routed him.

(GEORGES ANDERSON in **THE COMBAT**, Paris—December 27, 1971)

INDIA IS A CURIOUS COUNTRY

In India, the war is already well forgotten. For the observer who is not very accustomed to this country, this is an immense surprise: no military parades, very few mass demonstrations. The editorials of the written and spoken press are of a remarkable sobriety. More fuss is made in France or even in England over a five-nation tournament rugby match. The very day after the victory, the head of the Indian Air Force, Air Marshal Lal, had dinner in the home of a French friend in Delhi instead of parading in political circles. Modesty? The old Indian melancholy? There is probably a mixture of the two, but the result is amazing.

In all fields, a kind of restraint and prudence is to be discerned. For example, Marshal Yahya Khan's departure from the political stage entailed no ungracious comment. The Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, expressed in very moderate terms this evening the hope of seeking Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the new President of the Pakistani Republic, adopt a more realistic policy of good-neighbourliness towards his neighbour in the east. Yet, Mr. Bhutto is considered in Delhi as an old enemy of India. The man who is called the "red billionare" here and whose pro-Chinese sympathies are well known, declared again today that for his country there was no question of recognizing the new State of East Bengal and that the fight would be long....

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This is rather an amazing lesson in democracy and it is also a mystery to see the little political weight of an army which numbers more than a million men and which has just won a war. India is decidedly a curious country.

(LE FIGARO, Paris—December 21, 1971)

INDIA'S STRENGTH

The danger that the balance of power in the Indian sub-continent would be undermined has now fully disappeared. In this sub-continent, Indian strength has now come forward in a very important form. India is firmly determined not to manufacture nuclear weapons. Even then, its strength is firm and unflinching. This is proved by the emergence of Bangla Desh and the defeat accepted by Pakistan, together with the U.S.A. and the People's Republic of China.

The Indian policy of not entertaining any material ambition has now become more glorious than before. The Indian army could entrench itself in Bangla Desh in the same manner as the Chinese Liberation Army has entrenched itself in Tibet, where it had gone to liberate that country. However, India does not entertain any material ambitions. This is proved by the Indian announcement that the Indian army will come back from Bangla Desh as soon as the Bangla Desh Government makes a request to this effect.

Twenty-four years ago, East Bengal (Bangla Desh of today) was an integral part of India. But India did not suffer from the ambition of retaining it in that capacity.... India did provide a great opportunity to the people of Bangla Desh to develop according to their wishes as an independent and powerful nation... All this shows that India has developed as a mature and powerful nation.

(SWATANTRA SAMACHAR, Kathmandu—January 19, 1972)

III. ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY PAKISTANIS ON THE EVE OF SURRENDER

150 PEOPLE SET AFIRE

(*Story datelined Jessore, December* 10, 1971)

Before the Pakistanis withdrew at midnight on Monday, they looted Jhinkargacha's shops and bank, raped and killed its people, according to residents. The town straddles the river, and when the Pakistanis left they blew the highway and rail bridges. The Indian army is putting up a pontoon span over the river.

The Pakistanis had done worse things than blowing bridges, a village elder said. On the night of their retreat, they had packed about 150 people into three buses and set them afire.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—December 11, 1971)

INNOCENT PEOPLE SPRAYED WITH BULLETS IN JESSORE

There was ample evidence that the Pakistani troops had killed and tortured innocent people. The Pakistanis proved their cruelty even when they were retreating. In Jessore itself, before running away from battle, the Pakistani troops called out

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people in the town and sprayed them with bullets. These very guns they left behind when the Indian forces chased them through the entire length and breadth of Jessore and its outskirts.

(**PATRIOT**, New Delhi—December 11, 1971)

WOMAN-CRAZY PAKISTANI SOLDIERS SPARED NONE

(*Story datelined Satkhira, a Sub-Divisional town of Khulna, December* 10, 1971)

The joyous people paraded the streets with a big placard of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The town has suffered no damage, but the villages on both sides of the road from the border stood as mute evidence of Pakistani barbarity.

Not a single village escaped their depredations. No house with corrugated iron-sheet roof was standing. The tin-sheets were taken away by the Pakistani soldiers for bunkers. Jungles and shrubs have grown where once was a village.

Near Satkhira, half a dozen villages were burnt down from the one end to the other. A playground near village Alipur was turned into a graveyard. Anyone suspected to be the Awami League supporter was caught hold of by the army and taken to the playground.

After interrogation, nine out of ten were shot dead and the bodies were kicked into the ditches dug by forced labour. According to the SDO, Mr. Rafet Musharaq, every day one or two were killed. In his estimate, about 5,000 people of the area were put to death by the Pakistani soldiers. They were woman-crazy and spared none whom they came upon.

(**THE INDIAN EXPRESS**, New Delhi—December 11, 1971)

200 LEADING INTELLECTUALS OF BANGLA DESH BRUTALLY MURDERED

....Outside Dacca, the Bengalis have found the bodies of 200 of their leading intellectuals, bayonetted, choked or shot before the Indian troops arrived. That discovery has an immediacy that arouses horror, but Pakistan forces had slaughtered many others starting last March. Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger have taken no public note of those horrors since they began. Will they face that reality now, or will they go on with their private fantasy of righteous American influence that no one else can see?

(ANTHONY LEWIS in **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—December 20, 1971)

CALCULATED LIQUIDATION OF INTELLECTUALS BEFORE SURRENDER

(*Despatch by Arun Bhattacharjee from Dacca Secretariat, December* 19, 1971)

The Secretary-General, Ruhul Quddus, of the Bangla Desh Government, harshly accused the Pakistani army generals of calculated liquidation and mass murder of the intellectuals of Dacca before surrender.

Mr. Quddus was in tears when he said that the best doctors, professors, administrators and intellectuals of Bangla Desh were killed to cripple Bangla Desh. When I pointed out that Pakistani Army General Farman Ali and his staff were saying that these were done by the para-military forces and the Razakars, he said, "I know with certainty that the plan to liquidate them was hatched by these Generals in Dacca cantonment, and on their specific orders, the para-military forces arrested them and killed them inside the cantonment".

(**THE AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA**, Calcutta—December 20, 1971)

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BODIES OF DOCTORS, JOURNALISTS, WRITERS AND PROFESSORS DUMPED IN PITS

(*Despatch from C. S. Pandit, datelined Dacca, December* 19, 1971)

In the last week before the surrender of the Pakistani occupation army, about 120 intellectuals, including top doctors, professors, journalists, both men and women, were spirited away from their houses during curfew hours under military escort. Nothing was heard of them until about 36 bodies, with hands tied behind, were found dumped in the pits of some brick kilns.

The shock of the tragedy spread like wild fire among the people who started thronging the place. Among the dead were the bodies of Dr. Fazle Rabbi, a top cardiologist of Dacca Medical College; Dr. Alim Choudhury, an eye specialist; Mr. Nizamuddin, a journalist representating the BBC and one of Pakistan's two news agencies, Pakistan Press International; Mr. Sahidullah Kaiser, a well-known author and joint editor of a magazine; Mrs. Akhtar Imam, provost of women's hostel of Dacca University; Prof. Munir Choudhury, head of the Department of Bengali, Dacca University; Dr. Santosh Bhattacharya, Professor of History; Mr. Sirajuddin Hussain, news editor of Ittefaq; and many others.

(**THE INDIAN EXPRESS**, New Delhi—December 20, 1971)

BRITISH M.P. SAYS SENIOR PAKISTANI ARMY OFFICERS ORGANISED MURDER OF INTELLECTUALS

Ten senior Pakistani army officers were responsible for organising the recent murders of a large number of people, especially intellectuals, in Dacca, Mr. John Stonehouse, British Labour M.P., told PTI in an interview here this morning (New Delhi, December 20).

Mr. Stonehouse declined to name the officers but said they were of the ranks of Major-General, Brigadier, Colonel and Captain.

He said during his visit to Dacca yesterday (December 19), he got the names of these Pakistani army officers who organised the murders, and members of 'Al Badar', an extremist Muslim group, who carried out these heinous crimes just before the surrender of Pakistani forces in Dacca.

(**THE HINDUSTAN TIMES**, New Delhi—December 21, 1971)

'ATROCITIES' OUTSTRIP MY LAI

(*Despatch from S. K. Dutta, datelined Dacca, December* 20, 1971)

Rayerbazar on the banks of the Burhi Ganga on the western side of Dacca is a 7.74 sq.km. grave-yard of thousands of innocent Bengali men, women and children and will go down in history as a standing monument to the unparalleled butchery perpetrated by the West Pakistanis.

All those who have visited Rayerbazar are of the opinion that the atrocities perpetrated by the West Pakistan army in Bangla Desh outstrip all that has been heard and recorded about My Lai and other similar tragedies.

* * *

Members of the Dacca Press Club said that at least 250 intellectuals, besides a number of women and children, were killed in the capital on December 14 and 15, even though it had become clear by then that the West Pakistani troops would have to surrender.

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Friends and relations of the innocent victims have identified several bodies, including those of Dr. Fazle Rabbi, Chief Cardiologist of Dacca Medical College; Dr. Munir Choudhury and Prof. Abdul Kalim Azad.

Many eminent educationists and two journalists have been missing since December 14 and are believed to have been killed and dumped at Rayerbazar.

Dacca's journalists said that more than 3,000 people with their hands tied, were shot by firing squads in seven days ending December 15 and dumped at Rayerbazar.

According to them, Bengalis were killed every day in the area around Mirpur and Mohammedpur and buried in mass graves.

(**THE TIMES OF INDIA**, New Delhi—December 21, 1971)

PLANNED MASS KILLINGS ON DECEMBER 14 AND 15

Mr. Quddus, Secretary-General of the Bangla Desh Government, told newsmen here yesterday (Dacca, December 21) that on 14th and 15th December, the Pakistani troops carried out a planned programme of killings in all the big towns of Bangla Desh.

According to the latest reports received by the Bangla Desh Government, Dacca, the capital city, heads the list with as many as 140 intellectuals killed.

Mr. Quddus said the murders were planned and the Pakistani troops had set up a concentration camp in the Physical Training Institute at Mohammedpur on the outskirts of Dacca for the purpose.

Under specific instructions from Major-General Rao Farman Ali, military adviser to the former East Pakistan Governor, and Brig. Bashir, the Pakistani troops led by a colonel, went round Dacca and its suburbs in a hunt for intellectuals, doctors, engineers, professors and journalists, pulled them out of their houses and killed them, Mr. Quddus said.

He said the Pakistani troops committed 50 murders each in Khulna and Sylhet and 40 in Brahmanbaria.

(**PATRIOT**, New Delhi—December 23, 1971)

BUTCHERY BY AL BADAR

(*Despatch from staff correspondent, datelined Dacca, December* 22, 1971)

When the Pakistanis were overpowered, they left the killing to the fascist 'Al Badar', the armed wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami. This fascist body has already butchered about 200 leading intellectuals, doctors, professors and scientists, including such eminent men like Sahidulla Kaisar and Munir Chowdhury.

(**PATRIOT**, New Delhi—December 23, 1971)

5,000 PERSONS IN DACCA WERE LISTED FOR ANNIHILATION

(*Despatch by Chand Joshi, datelined Dacca*)

The living proof of atrocities committed by the occupation forces was the recovery of the bodies of intellectuals who were killed on December 15, a day before the surrender. They included prominent doctors, intellectuals and journalists, including the BBC's representative in Dacca.

* * *

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The Bangla Desh authorities have recovered a list of nearly 5,000 people in Dacca City alone from the occupation forces. These persons were to be annihilated. The list included practically every single intellectual in the city. Liberation came before "operation liquidation" came into full effect. "Only Allah knows what would have happened, if they had gone through their full programme. Even now, practically every single family has lost somebody or something."

Today, I see a crowd in front of Government offices and police stations, and people asking for a brother, sister, father-in-law or somebody who had been taken away. They know what the answer will be in all probability, but there is, still the lingering hope.

(**THE HINDUSTAN TIMES**, New Delhi—December 24, 1971)

WOMEN RAPED BEFORE BOUND HUSBANDS

A stream of victims and eye-witnesses tell how truckloads of Pakistani soldiers and their hireling razakars swooped down on villages in the night, rounding up women by force.

Some were raped on the spot. Others were carted off to military compound. Some women captives were still there when Indian troops battled their way into Pakistani strongholds.

Weeping survivors of villages razed because they were suspected of siding with the Mukti Bahini freedom-fighters told of how wives were raped before the eyes of their bound husbands, who were then put to death.

(JOSEPH FRIED in **THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS**—December 27, 1971)

PAKISTANI ARMY DUMPED 300 BODIES IN TRENCH

(*Story datelined Dinajpur, December* 27, 1971)

More than 300 bodies of men and women and human skulls were recovered from a trench near Dinajpur town last week.

The bodies were believed to have been dumped by the Pakistan army before their surrender.

A UNI correspondent who visited the area also found blood marks in a room of the Dinajpur town hall. Local residents said the Pakistan army had kept a number of women in the room.

Some bodies were also found in a mango-grove near the town.

(**PATRIOT**, New Delhi—December 28, 1971)

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS RESCUED 51 GIRLS

Indian troops with the help of the International Red Cross have rescued 51 girls from various secret places in Narayanganj and Dacca cantonments in the last few days, reports UNI.

Most of the girls, aged between 14 and 30, were found in rooms locked from outside by Pakistani troops before surrendering. They had been starving.

The girls narrated harrowing tales of atrocities committed on them.

More than 3,000 girls are missing from Dacca City alone.

(**THE STATESMAN**, New Delhi—December 28, 1971)

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INTELLECTUALS BUTCHERED BEFORE SURRENDER

No one will ever know how many intellectuals, doctors, journalists and young men, most of whom were not involved in politics, were rounded up and herded off to disappear for ever.

Mrs. Moshina Pasha, the wife of Prof. Anwar Pasha, Assistant Professor of Bengali at Dacca University, is at present visiting the big pits in which the mutilated bodies of Bengali intellectuals were discovered to identify the body of her husband.

Like many others, Prof. Pasha was taken away two days before the Pakistanis surrendered to the Indian army and driven to a razakar execution camp.

Two colleagues, Mr. Rashidul Hasan, Lecturer in the Department of English, and Professor Santosh Bhattacharya, Professor of History, were rounded up on the same morning by the same group of armed razakars.

The Pakistani prisoners-of-war maintain that they know nothing about the atrocities, but evidence has been produced alleging that the razakars were acting under the direct orders of a senior officer.

A memorandum discovered on his desk is said to have contained the name of one victim, Mr. Nizamuddin, with the comment "motivated stories"; Mr. Nizamuddin's name was ticked off.

The sole survivor of this pogrom, Mr. Dalwar Hussain, the Chief Accountant of the Greenland Mercantile Company of Dacca, said that on the morning of December 14, several razakars pulled him out of his house. After placing a blindfold around his eyes, they drove him by bus to a camp on the outskirts of Dacca.

He was forced into a room. A little later, the cloth around his eyes slackened and he discovered that he was in a room with a score or so of other prisoners. Some of them had been tortured. Toe nails had been ripped off and toes amputated.

After an hour, they were interrogated. The prisoners identified themselves as doctors, lawyers, professors and journalists. They were forced into a bus and driven out to marshlands on the outskirts of Dacca.

The razakars led their victims to a big tree where about another 130 prisoners were huddled. Several prisoners asked the razakars why they were killing fellow Bengalis. "One of them told us to shut up and gave an order", "finish the bastards off". Mr. Hussain said, "they started to shoot prisoners with rifles, and others were simply bayoneted to death. I managed to slip the rope off my wrists and made a dash towards the river. By a miracle I escaped".

(PETER HAZELHURST in **THE TIMES**, London—December 30, 1971)

JOURNALIST IS LINKED TO MURDER OF BENGALIS

To his fellow reporters on the Bengali-language paper where he worked, Chowdhury Mueenuddin was a pleasant, well-mannered and intelligent young man. He had an open, handsome face, with a neatly trimmed beard, and there was nothing exceptional about him except perhaps that he often received telephone calls from the leader of a right-wing Moslem political party.

But, investigations in the last few days show, those calls were significant. For, Mr. Mueenuddin has been identified as the head of a secret, commando-like organisation of fanatic Moslems that murdered several hundred prominent Bengali professors, doctors, lawyers and journalists in a Dacca brickyard.

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Dressed in black sweaters and khaki pants, members of the group, known as Al Badar, rounded up their victims on the last three nights of the war, which ended on December 17. Their goal, captured members have since said, was to wipe out all Bengali intellectuals who advocated independence from Pakistan and the creation of a secular, non-Moslem state.

If the war had not ended when it did, many Bengalis believe, Al Badar would have succeeded. The bodies of 150 persons, many with their fingers chopped off or finger-nails pulled out, were found in the brickyard. Hundreds more are believed buried in 20 mass graves in nearby fields.

It has now been determined that Al Badar was composed of Bengalis not of the hated West Pakistanis or the Bihari immigrants from India who have long oppressed the native Bengali majority.

"There is nothing in the world that has not been done to us", remarked Entesham Chowdhury, the editor of the paper where Mr. Mueenuddin worked. Mr. Chowdhury's brother was kidnapped and presumed killed by Al Badar, and he himself escaped capture only because he stayed late in his office on the night Al Badar came to his house.

"When I think about what has happened, my legs buckle", Mr. Chowdhury said. "It would have been better if these people had just plowed us under."

There is growing evidence that Al Badar was equipped and directed by a special group of Pakistani army officers. Among papers found in the desk of Maj-Gen. Rao Farman Ali, the military adviser to the Governor of East Pakistan, were a series of cryptic references to Al Badar.

"Captain Tahir, vehicle for Al Badar", and "use of Al Badar", one scrawled note said. Captain Tahir is believed to have been the almost legendary Pakistani Commander of the razakars, the Bihari militia used by the Pakistani army to terrorise Bengalis.

On another page, the author wrote: "Nizamuddin, motivated news". Nizamuddin Ahmed was a Bengali journalist known for his anti-Pakistani views. He was kidnapped from his home two days before the war ended. Beside his name, the author had penciled in an ominous check mark.

The executioners left few clues. They rounded up their victims at night during the curfew. They never identified themselves. And they carried out their killings in a remote and heavily guarded area.

Farmers who lived near the brickyard, on the north-west edge of Dacca, saw men dressed in black sweaters and khaki pants escorting an endless procession of bound and blind-folded prisoners on the last nights of the war. But they couldn't get close enough to see who the men were.

A handful of people escaped to tell parts of the story.

Prof. Mohammed Rauf, a statistics teacher, was roused from his bed by loud knocks on the door just before dawn on December 13. His wife answered. She told 12 armed men at the door that her husband was not at home, but they barged into the house.

"They said nothing to me, just searched until they found him", Mrs. Rauf recalled. "They tied his arms behind his back and took him away."

By chance, a clerk from a pastry shop where the Raufs often shopped had been thrown into the same room as the professor. The clerk, Sri Chandpal, was later released through the intercession of a friend who was a fanatic Moslem.

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"There were 42 of us in the room", Mr. Chandpal remembered. "We were all tied with our hands behind our backs and had blindfolds. But I managed to work my blindfold loose. Most of the people in the room were professors and doctors. The guards wouldn't give us anything to eat, and when we asked for water they laughed and said, 'Go and ask Indira Gandhi'."

Mr. Chandpal said he had no idea who his captors were until he overheard them discussing Al Badar. "They kept talking about the need to kill Bengalis", he recalled. "We could hear screams from other rooms."

The following night, Mr. Chandpal said, the guards took away 10 prisoners, including Professor Rauf. They never came back.

When he was released on December 15, Mr. Chandpal discovered that he had been kept in a dormitory of the Dacca College of Physical Education, a group of modern concrete buildings built with American aid.

Makbul Hossain, a janitor at the college, also remembers those nights. "They brought in hundreds of people, all nicely dressed and tied up. We could hear screaming all the time from the rooms", the janitor said.

The name Al Badar is derived from the place near Medina where the Prophet Mohammed fought a great battle in 624. His valiant, outnumbered troops were given the name Al Badar.

According to one captured member now being held in the Dacca jail, the reporter, Mr. Mueenuddin, had been the master-mind of the organisation. A diary belonging to Mr. Mueenuddin's room-mate has been found. It listed the names of Al Badar members and how much money they contributed to the group.

The two men lived next door to the Dacca headquarters of Jamaat-e-Islami, a right-wing Moslem political party that ran in the elections for the National Assembly last year but won less than 1 per cent of the vote.

Al Badar is believed to have been the action section of Jamaat-e-Islami, carefully organised after the Pakistani crackdown last March.

Mr. Mueenuddin was last seen on December 13 after having had an argument with a fellow reporter at their paper, *Purbodesh*. That reporter was kidnapped from his house by Al Badar a few hours later.

Atiqur Rahman, another reporter in their office, has started a search for Mr. Mueenuddin. "We will find him", Mr. Rahman said. "We will find him, or there can be no rest for any of us."

(FOX BUTTERFIELD in **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—January 3, 1972)

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CHAPTER XII

INDIA AND BANGLA DESH

I. COMMUNICATIONS AND STATEMENTS

1. COMMUNICATIONS RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENT OF BANGLA DESH

Letter from the Acting President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh to The President of India

April 24, 1971

SYED NAZRUL ISLAM,
Acting President of the
People's Republic of Bangla Desh

MUJIB NAGAR,
April 24, 1971.

To

The President of Republic of India,
New Delhi.

Excellency,

Upon the proclamation of the sovereign, independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh on March 26, 1971, a Government with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its head has been established.

A copy of the Proclamation of Independence, Laws Continuance Enforcement Order and a list of Cabinet Members are enclosed and marked with letters 'A', 'B' & 'C' respectively for favour of your perusal.

The Government of Bangla Desh is exercising full sovereignty and lawful authority within the territories known as East Pakistan prior to March 26, 1971, and has taken all appropriate measures to conduct the business of State in accordance with custom, usage and recognised principles of International law.

In view of the friendly relations that traditionally exist between the fraternal people of Bangla Desh and that of India, I request Your Excellency's Government to accord immediate recognition to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. The Government of Bangla Desh will be pleased to establish normal diplomatic relations and exchange envoys with a view to further strengthening the ties of friendship between our two countries.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration.

(Sd.) SYED NAZRUL ISLAM,
Acting President.

(Seal of the Bangla Desh Government)

(Sd.) KHANDAKAR MOSHTAQUE AHMED,
Foreign Minister.

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A. THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

MUJIB NAGAR, Bangla Desh,
Dated 10th day of April, 1971.

WHEREAS free elections were held in Bangla Desh from 7th December, 1970, to 17th January, 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

and

WHEREAS at these elections the people of Bangla Desh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League,

and

WHEREAS General Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

and

WHEREAS the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for indefinite period,

and

WHEREAS instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangla Desh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

and

WHEREAS in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 million of people of Bangla Desh, in due fulfilment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangla Desh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangla Desh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangla Desh,

and

WHEREAS in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war, the Pakistani authorities committed and are still continuously committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangla Desh,

and

WHEREAS the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a Government,

and

WHEREAS the people of Bangla Desh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangla Desh,

We, the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh, as honour-bound by the *mandate* given to us by the people of Bangla Desh, whose Will is supreme, duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and

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having held mutual consultations, and

in order to ensure for the people of Bangla Desh equality, human dignity and social justice,

declare and constitute Bangla Desh to be sovereign People's Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a Constitution is framed, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic, and

that the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the Armed Forces of the Republic,

shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon,

shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary,

shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies,

shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly, and

do all other things that may be necessary to give to the People of Bangla Desh an orderly and just Government.

We, the elected representatives of the People of Bangla Desh, do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President.

We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon us as a member of the family of nations and by the Charter of United Nations.

We further resolve that this proclamation of independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

We further resolve that in order to give effect to this instrument we appoint Prof. M. Yusuf Ali our duly constituted plenipotentiary and to give to the President and the Vice-President oaths of office.

(Sd.) M. YUSUF ALI
Duly Constituted Plenipotentiary
By and under the authority of
the Constituent Assembly of
Bangla Desh.

B. LAWS CONTINUANCE ENFORCEMENT ORDER

MUJIB NAGAR,
Dated 10th day of April, 1971.

I, Syed Nazrul Islam, the Vice-President and Acting President of Bangla Desh, in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the Proclamation of Independence,

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dated 10th day of April, 1971, do hereby order that all laws that were in force in Bangla Desh on 25th March, 1971, shall subject to the Proclamation aforesaid continue to be so in force with such consequential changes as may be necessary on account of the creation of the sovereign independent Bangla Desh formed by the Will of the people of Bangla Desh and that all Government officials—civil, military, judicial and diplomatic—who take the oath of allegiance to Bangla Desh shall continue in their offices on terms and conditions of service so long enjoyed by them and that all District Judges and District Magistrates, in the territory of Bangla Desh and all diplomatic representatives elsewhere shall arrange to administer the oath of allegiance to all government officials within their jurisdiction.

This order shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

(Sd.) SYED NAZRUL ISLAM,
Acting President.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET

President	...	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
Vice-President	...	Syed Nazrul Islam
Prime Minister	...	Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed
Minister, In-Charge of Foreign Affairs, Law & Parliamentary Affairs.	...	Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed
Minister, In-Charge of Finance, Commerce & Industries.	...	Mr. M. Mansoor Ali
Minister, In-Charge of Interior, Supply, Relief & Rehabilitation	...	Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman

Letter from the Government of Bangla Desh to the Prime Minister of India
October 15, 1971

MUJIB NAGAR,
(Seal of the Bangla Desh Government) 15th October, 1971.

Excellency,

We write in continuation of the letter, dated April 24, 1971, addressed to His Excellency the President of India, and the subsequent communications and personal discussions. Excellency, you are aware of the proclamation of independence on the 10th of April by the Constitutent Assembly of the duly elected members of the National and Provincial Legislatures representing the Will of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh. This declaration followed the unilateral, arbitrary and brutal denial of the verdict of the people and the suppression of their democratic liberties and fundamental human rights by the military regime of Pakistan since the 25th of March, 1971.

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2. It is well known that the people of Bangla Desh were subjected to a long period of ruthless colonial domination, systematic economic exploitation and gross political and cultural discrimination by the successive regimes dominated by the ruling circles of West Pakistan. The letter of April the 24th, 1971, informed you of the formation of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh under the Presidency of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Acting Presidency of Syed Nazrul Islam.

3. Over the last several years, our people had waged a peaceful and non-violent struggle for the attainment of our basic rights. Even after the successive postponements of the convening of the National Assembly by the military regime of Pakistan, we did not resort to violence but continued our non-violent struggle. The military rulers of Pakistan took advantage of this to gain time by employing the ruse of so-called negotiations till the night of 24th of March, 1971, while they were augmenting their military strength.

4. Their plans became visible to the whole world on the black night of March the 25th, when they let loose their Army under a premeditated plan on the innocent and defenceless men, women and children of our country. They made a special target of the intellectuals, the elite of the youth and the leaders of the workers, peasants and students. This left us with no alternative but to resort to arms.

5. Since the formal proclamation of our Independence on April 10, our struggle for liberation has gained increased momentum and strength. Nearly 60,000 members of the former East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles and other para-military formations identified themselves with the struggle of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh and took up arms in defence of our motherland. They were joined by hundreds of thousands of young men whom they trained to defend the sovereignty and independence of their homeland, and to release it from the bonds of colonial oppression.

6. The policy of repression has continued with increasing brutality in the vain hope of liquidating the leadership and reducing the majority of the Bengali-speaking people to a minority. Members of the minority communities became special victims of the reign of terror. As a result of this policy of genocide, rape, arson and loot, nearly nine million of our men, women and children have been driven out in terror and have taken shelter in your country, and the exodus still continues.

7. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, our undisputed leader and President, has been subjected to a secret military trial and has been reportedly condemned to death. The Awami League has been banned, which had won an unparalleled victory in the national elections held last December. The military regime of Pakistan has disqualified 79 duly elected representatives of the people and has imposed a so-called civilian regime consisting of defeated candidates and quislings which is now supported by the might of the military machine of Pakistan. These gestures have not deceived the 75 million people of Bangla Desh. They have only exposed the deception and insincerity of the military oppressors. All this has only made us more determined than ever to liberate Bangla Desh.

8. We are glad to inform you, Excellency, that this struggle has borne fruit. The liberation army of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, the Mukti Bahini, are in full control of half the territory of Bangla Desh. We also confirm that the Bangla Desh Government has established effective civil administration over this area which is functioning smoothly. This development has not merely been welcomed by the broad masses of the people, but the efforts of our Government have found spontaneous and overwhelming support in the areas under its control.

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9. May we, therefore, in the light of these developments, request Your Excellency for a positive response to the message of the 24th of April, 1971, requesting for recognition to the free and duly constituted Government of Bangla Desh. Such a response on your part would give a tremendous impetus to the struggle being waged by the people and the Government of People's Republic of Bangla Desh for their liberation. It would also generate an international response which would promote the cause of freedom, peace and stability in this part of the world. May we, therefore, request Your Excellency for an early response to this communication?

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest esteem.

(Seal of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.)

(Sd.) SYED NAZRUL ISLAM (Sd.) TAJUDDIN AHMAD

HER EXCELLENCY MRS. INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

Letter from the Government of Bangla Desh to the Prime Minister of India
November 23, 1971

(Seal of the Bangla Desh Government)

MUJIB NAGAR,
November 23, 1971.

Excellency,

May we invite your kind attention to our letter of the 15th of October, written to you on the eve of your departure for Europe and the United States of America? Our hope was that, apart from giving consideration to our basic request for the recognition of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and its government, our letter would also assist you in conveying the depth of our feelings and the increasing momentum of our struggle for freedom to the world leaders whom you were to meet. The reports that we received about your discussions had created the hope that the statesmen whom you met would be able to persuade President Yahya Khan to evolve a political solution to the problem of Bangla Desh, in consultation with our undisputed leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and our already elected representatives.

2. Even while you were abroad describing the realities of the situation and emphasising the imperative necessity of a political solution according to the declared wishes of the people of Bangla Desh, we received definite indications that the military rulers of West Pakistan remain determined to continue their policy of repression and brutality against our people. President Yahya Khan's statement of the 12th of October, the increased activities of the West Pakistani Army against the civilian population in Bangla Desh and his rebuffs to various overtures made by the statesmen of the world urging a rational political solution on him, confirmed our assessment.

3. Developments specially over the last two weeks clearly show that the military rulers of West Pakistan are not open to persuasion to return to the path of reason and face the realities of the situation. Meanwhile, the exodus of our countrymen into India continues unabated, which is a direct consequence of the continuing repression of our people by the West Pakistani army. The oppression of our people is accompanied by a deceitful policy of so-called normalisation undertaken by the military junta of West Pakistan. The defeated candidates and quislings who constitute the so-called civilian government of East Pakistan, are sustained by a repressive martial law regime universally hated by the people of

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Bangla Desh. Their atrocities have reached new and unimaginable dimensions in terrorising and decimating our people in recent days. You must have seen reports about curfews and arrests, exercises in scorched earth and mass extermination undertaken by the West Pakistani army in Bangla Desh over the last fortnight. Entire villages have been razed to the ground and their populations liquidated. The West Pakistani army has acted with such systematic brutality that millions of our countrymen wander without shelter and food within Bangla Desh. According to our assessment, nearly five million citizens of Bangla Desh are in this tragic and heart-rending predicament with no succour or relief. This is apart from the ten million citizens of Bangla Desh who have already gone to India and whose number is increasing every day. The aforesaid facts lead us to the unmistakable conclusion that the military regime of Pakistan has embarked on a pre-meditated and planned extermination of our race.

4. The military regime of West Pakistan still refuses negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Government of Bangla Desh. This has resulted in the alienation not only of the people of Bangla Desh from the military regime of President Yahya Khan but also of the people in other parts of Pakistan. The people of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan have expressed their dissatisfaction in a manner which has now compelled the Government of West Pakistan to ban the National Awami Party which had won a majority in the provincial elections in these two provinces of West Pakistan.

5. All this only confirms our original assessment that the people of West Pakistan were never a party to the conspiracy of military oppression undertaken by President Yahya Khan in conjunction with a small coterie of generals. President Yahya Khan's pronouncements and activities over the last month gave a clear indication of his determination to suppress the democratic aspirations not only of the people of Bangla Desh, but also of the people all over Pakistan.

6. As we had informed you in our letter of the 15th of October, the operations of the Mukti Bahini have been gathering momentum. The Mukti Bahini, with the universal support of the people of Bangla Desh, has achieved signal successes in regaining effective administrative control over large areas of our motherland against the military oppressor. We had informed you of our being in control of half the territory of Bangla Desh in our letter of the 15th of October. We have great pleasure in informing you now that our effective jurisdiction extends to two-thirds of the total area of the country. We have not only liberated this area, but also consolidated our authority and established increasingly effective civil administration in areas under our control. Even in the remaining areas, the freedom struggle with popular support has reached a stage that it has compelled the West Pakistani troops to confine themselves to a limited number of fortified positions. Our successes as well as the events in West Pakistan, with the passage of time, have convinced even the people of West Pakistan of the legitimacy of our cause. The intransigence of the military regime of West Pakistan and the pogroms being carried out by them against our people are indicative of the vain hope which President Yahya Khan entertains of retaining control over Bangla Desh by coercive authority. This has only strengthened our determination to liberate our motherland completely and we are confident of achieving our objectives. We have become better organised and our armed forces are acting with discipline and determination. The ranks of the Mukti Bahini have swelled with thousands of partiotic young men, dedicated to remove the colonial bondage of the people of Bangla Desh once and for all. It is our unalterable intention to remove the root cause of the tragedy which we have undergone—the oppression that we have suffered for nearly two decades, and culminating in the holocaust on March 25th and the events following it. This is a just struggle of an enslaved people against their exploiters.

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7. It was our hope that our struggle would find immediate and tangible support from the international community, particularly from our great neighbour, India. Our expectations had some basis in the eloquent resolution passed by the Parliament of India on the 31st of March, 1971, which expressed sympathy for and solidarity with the people of Bangla Desh in their struggle for a democratic way of life. Already, eight months have gone by. Neither international pressure nor counsels of reason from the statesmen of the world have succeeded in persuading the military regime of West Pakistan to negotiate a political settlement with the people of Bangla Desh through their already elected and acknowledged leaders led by the President of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Nor has your tolerance and restraint made any constructive impact on the rulers of West Pakistan. To the contrary, apart from carrying out a systematic policy of genocide, violation of human rights and repression, the military regime of West Pakistan has sought to divert the attention of the world from the root cause of the problem by attempting to internationalise the issue by projecting it as an Indo-Pakistan dispute. We are aware of the consistent efforts that your Government has made to explain the problem in its correct perspective and to direct the attention of the international community to the realities of the situation. These attempts at a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the people of Bangla Desh and the military rulers of West Pakistan have failed, and the recent pronouncements and activities of President Yahya Khan provide little hope for a political solution. In this context, it has surprised and even perturbed us that India should continue a policy of caution and restraint against the oppressive military regime of West Pakistan.

8. The people of Bangla Desh are conscious of the leading role that India played in eradicating the evil of colonialism from the Afro-Asian region. It was India's eloquent advocacy and consistent stand in favour of the oppressed peoples of the world which made it the leading political force accelerating the process of de-colonisation. Your Government and your people have always raised their voice where human dignity was in danger and liberties and freedoms of peoples threatened. Your consistent support to the just struggles for liberation and freedom movements of the oppressed people of the world is well-known. India has been a leading exponent of the cause of freedom and upholder of liberty for those who are oppressed and deprived of their fundamental rights. You have shown unflinching support to the principles of democracy, secularism, socialism and a non-aligned foreign policy. The proclamation of independence of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and subsequent pronouncements by the Government of our country have given clear indication that we share these ideals and aspirations. We should like to reiterate here what we have already proclaimed as the basic principles of our State policy, i.e. democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society, where there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In our foreign relations, we are determined to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism in all its forms and manifestations. Against this background of this community of ideals and principles, we are unable to understand why the Government of India have not yet responded to our plea for recognition.

9. On a more practical plane, we are conscious of the burdens imposed on your country by the massive influx of the citizens of Bangla Desh in the face of the terror which they face in their own country. We share your anxiety regarding the tensions which the presence of millions of our countrymen on your territory can generate. The economic burden and the socio-political tensions which the large number of Bangla Desh refugees in India can create are and should be the common concern of both the Governments of India and Bangla Desh. With our effective control over our territory and with the establishment of organised civil administration, we are anxious that all our fellow citizens who were forced to

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leave their hearths and homes after the 25th of March, 1971, and who are now living in your country in adverse conditions despite your generosity, return to their homeland at the earliest possible date. We are also now in a position to resettle and rehabilitate them in their own homes in conditions of safety, dignity and honour. In view of the onset of winter, time is of essence in this matter. The health and welfare, especially of the women, children and the aged, can be safeguarded only if the arrangements for their return to Bangla Desh are expedited. We would like to assure you of our Government's full co-operation in organising the expeditious return of the refugees back to their home. Let it not be said that we failed them in their hour of need.

10. Your extending recognition to the Government of Bangla Desh seems an imperative requisite to us to relieve the tensions and strains which the people of Bangla Desh and India had to bear over the last eight months. The early achievement of our common objectives would also depend on your giving not only political and moral support to us, but also all essential material aid to the freedom struggle. We are convinced that your according recognition to us and giving substantive content to this recognition by co-operation in all aspects of our mutual relations would expedite a lasting solution to the problem of Bangla Desh.

11. We are grateful for the continuing support that you have given to our cause and the efforts you have made on this behalf with the international community. We feel it is now necessary to give formal political content to your support, in order that our struggle is rewarded with speedy success and our existence as a free society is recognised by the world at large. Recognition by you would give an impetus to and would be an acknowledgement of our aspirations and free existence. It is also our considered assessment that the granting of recognition by the Government of India to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh is a most necessary and important step not only to stabilise the situation on the sub-continent but also to ensure peace, progress and stability to South-East Asia. May we, therefore, reiterate the request which we made in our letter of 15th October that you accord immediate recognition to the sovereign People's Republic of Bangla Desh?

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest esteem.

(Sd.) SYED NAZRUL ISLAM (Sd.) TAJUDDIN AHMAD

HER EXCELLENCY MRS. INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

Letter from the Government of Bangla Desh to Prime Minister of India
December 4, 1971

(Seal of the Government of the
People's Republic of Bangla Desh)

From

SYED NAZRUL ISLAM,
Acting President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh,

and

TAJUDDIN AHMED,
Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

To

HER EXCELLENCY MADAME INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

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Your Excellency,

We have just learnt with deep shock of the dastardly attack launched against your country by the military junta of Pakistan on the afternoon of the 3rd of December. This latest manifestation of Yahya Khan's reckless violation of international covenants is the final proof of his determination to subject the countries of this sub-continent to tensions, destructions and socio-economic ferment. The people of Bangla Desh were conscious of the above inclinations of the Government of West Pakistan and they launched their struggle for freedom nearly nine months ago. We had sent communications to Your Excellency on the 15th of October and 23rd of November explaining the realities of the situation and our determination to fight the military junta of Pakistan till the complete defeat of the occupation forces is accomplished. The aggression committed by Yahya and his generals on your country makes it all the more necessary that the people of India and the people of Bangla Desh stand shoulder to shoulder to repel the aggressors and fight for democracy and freedom and the values we cherish in common.

Madame Prime Minister, we have the honour to inform you that in view of the direct aggression committed by Pakistan against your country on the 3rd of December, the freedom forces of Bangla Desh are ready to fight the aggressive forces of Pakistan in Bangla Desh, in any sector or in any front. Our joint stand against military machinations of Pakistan would be further facilitated, if we enter into formal diplomatic relations with each other. May we, therefore, repeat our request to Your Excellency that the Government of India accord immediate recognition to our country and our Government. We should like to take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that the Government and the people of Bangla Desh stand solidly with you in this hour of peril and danger to both countries. It is our earnest hope that our joint resistance to the nefarious plans and intentions of President Yahya Khan will be brought to a successful conclusion.

We assure Your Excellency of our Government's full support in your just struggle against the aggressor.

Renewing, Your Excellency, the assurances of our highest esteem.

December 4, 1971.

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2. INDIA RECOGNIZES BANGLA DESH

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Statement in Parliament December 6, 1971

The valiant struggle of the people of Bangla Desh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements.

Earlier, they had recorded a great democratic victory in their elections and even the President of Pakistan had conceded the right of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to become Prime Minister of Pakistan. We shall never know what intervened to transform this benevolent mood and realistic approach, if it really was that, to deception and the posture of open hatred.

We are told that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party, the Awami League, had planned a non-violent movement of resistance to the Government of West Pakistan, but they were caught unawares and overtaken by a brutal military assault. They had no alternative but to declare independence. The East Pakistan Rifles and East Bengal Regiment became the Mukti Fauj and later the Mukti Bahini, which was joined by thousands of young East Bengalis determined to sacrifice their lives for freedom and the right to fashion their future. The unity,

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determination and courage with which the entire population of Bangla Desh is fighting have been recorded by the world press.

These events on our doorstep and the resulting flood of refugees into our territory could not but have far-reaching repercussions on our country. It was natural that our sympathy should be with the people of Bangla Desh in their just struggle. But we did not act precipitately in the matter of recognition. Our decisions were not guided merely by emotion but by an assessment of prevailing and future realities.

Revolt of the People

With the unanimous revolt of the entire people of Bangla Desh and the success of their struggle, it has become increasingly apparent that the so-called mother State of Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangla Desh back under its control. As for the legitimacy of the Government of Bangla Desh, the whole world is now aware that it reflects the Will of the overwhelming majority of the people, which not many Governments can claim to represent. In Jefferson's famous words to Governer Morris, the Government of Bangla Dash is supported by the "Will of the nation, substantially expressed". Applying this criterion, the Military regime in Pakistan, whom some States are so anxious to buttress, is hardly representative of its people even in West Pakistan.

Now that Pakistan is waging war against India, the normal hesitation on our part not to do anything which could come in the way of peaceful solution, or which might be construed as intervention, has lost significance. The people of Bangla Desh battling for their very existence and the people of India fighting to defeat aggression now find themselves partisans in the same cause.

Bangla Desh Recognised

I am glad to inform the House that in the light of the existing situation and in response to the repeated requests of the Government of Bangla Desh, the Government of India have after the most careful consideration, decided to grant recognition to the GANA PRAJATANTRI BANGLA DESH.

It is our hope that with the passage of time more nations will grant recognition and that the GANA PRAJATANTRI BANGLA DESH will soon form part of the family of nations.

Our thoughts at this moment are with the father of this new State—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am sure that this House would wish me to convey to Their Excellencies the Acting President of Bangla Desh and the Prime Minister and to their colleagues our greetings and warm felicitations.

I am placing on the Table of the House copies of the communications which we have received from the Government of Bangla Desh. Hon'ble Members will be glad to know that the Government of Bangla Desh have proclaimed their basic principles of State policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In regard to foreign relations, the Bangla Desh Government have expressed their determination to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism in all its manifestations. These are the ideals to which India also is dedicated.

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Return of Refugees

The Bangla Desh Government have reiterated their anxiety to organise the expeditious return of their citizens who have found temporary refuge in our country, and to restore their lands and belongings to them. We shall naturally help in every way in these arrangements.

I am confident that in future the Governments and the peoples of India and Bangla Desh, who share common ideals and sacrifices, will forge a relationship based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. Thus working together for freedom and democracy we shall set an example of good neighbourliness which alone can ensure peace, stability and progress in this region.

Our good wishes to Bangla Desh.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's letter to the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh communicating India's decision to recognise Bangla Desh

December 6, 1971

Dear Prime Minister,

My colleagues in the Government of India and I were deeply touched by the message which His Excellency the Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam and you sent to me on December 4. On its receipt, Government of India once again considered your request to accord recognition to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh which you lead with such dedication. I am glad to inform you that in the light of the circumstances which prevail at present Government of India have decided to grant the recognition. This morning I made a statement on the subject in our Parliament. I enclose a copy.

The people of Bangla Desh have gone through much suffering. Your young men are engaged in a self-sacrificing struggle for freedom and democracy. The people of India are also fighting in defence of the same values. I have no doubt that this companionship in endeavour and sacrifice will strengthen our dedication to great causes and the friendship between our two peoples. However long the road and however exacting the sacrifice that our two peoples may be called upon to make in the future, I am certain that we shall emerge triumphant.

I take this opportunity to convey to you personally, to your colleagues and to the heroic people of Bangla Desh my greetings and best wishes.

I should also like to take this opportunity to convey through you to His Excellency Syed Nazrul Islam, Acting President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, the assurances of my highest esteem.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) INDIRA GANDHI.

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. TAJUDDIN AHMED,
Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh,
Mujib Nagar.

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3. STATEMENTS AND JOINT COMMUNIQUES

Acting President of Bangla Desh Syed Nazrul Islam's interview with the NEWSWEEK Magazine, U.S.A.

December 6, 1971

On the Rebel's Campaign

My boys have done a wonderful job. We are now well-organized and effective. The people's sense of patriotism is also an excellent source of military intelligence;

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all the educated people are on our side. I don't think (it will take) much longer. You have seen for yourself, both in occupied and liberated areas, the support we enjoy.

On outside Influence

It is entirely our own show, and there is no pressure from India of any kind.... The Communists are supporting us and have pledged explicit loyalty to my government. But they are not a big factor.

On the United States

The U.S. Press has spelled out the basic issues. The story is now known. As a result, your Congress is supporting us, too. But we cannot understand why the U.S. Government is against us.

On an end to fighting

If (Yahya) has the foresight to see that independence is inevitable, then we can negotiate the details of withdrawal without bloodshed. First, he must release Mujib, then recognize independence. Fighting can then stop and troops be withdrawn. If Yahya Khan wants a settlement and a peaceful transfer of power, then all he has to do is release Mujib. If he doesn't want a peaceful transfer, then we will fight to the bitter end.

(NEWSWEEK Magazine, U.S.A.—December 6, 1971)

Joint Communique issued at the conclusion of Bangla Desh Foreign Minister's visit to Delhi

January 9, 1972

On the invitation of Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of the Government of India, His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Abdus Samad Azad, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, paid an official visit to India from the 5th to the 9th of January, 1972. The Foreign Minister was accompanied by officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Commerce and of the Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

2. During his stay in New Delhi, the Foreign Minister laid a wreath at Rajghat, at the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi.

3. The Foreign Minister called on the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri and the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He also met and had discussions with the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh; Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed; the Minister of Finance, Shri Y. B. Chavan; the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram; the Minister of Industrial Development, Shri Moinul Haq Choudhury; the Chairman, Policy Planning Committee in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri D. P. Dhar; and the Minister of Irrigation and Power, Shri K. L. Rao.

4. The delegations of the Governments of Bangla Desh and India, which had started their deliberations under the shadow of the continued incarceration of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Pakistan, had directed their foremost attention to devising means for his immediate restoration to his people. They received with a tremendous sense of relief and joy the news that he was at last allowed to leave Pakistan and would soon be able to join his people.

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5. The Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh took the opportunity offered by this visit to thank again the Government and people of India for their contribution to the liberation struggle and for their efforts for the release and restoration of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

6. Both the Governments also noted with appreciation the positive response to the realities of the situation in Bangla Desh shown by the Governments and peoples of Bhutan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, G.D.R., Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the U.S.S.R. They also noted with appreciation the role played by France and the United Kingdom in this regard. It was also acknowledged that the overwhelming support given by world public opinion to the legitimate aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh was an important factor in the success of their struggle for liberation.

7. The Government of India were specially happy that the first visit of the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh outside his own country was to India. The visit Symbolised the emergence of the independent Republic of Bangla Desh, its long night of travel and the close ties binding the Governments and peoples of Bangla Desh and India forged during the struggle against the attempted suppression of a people's Will by brute force.

8. The Governments of India and Bangla Desh earnestly hope that the fact that the sovereign, independent Republic of Bangla Desh has been established, will be readily acknowledged and recognised by the international community. Only those who wish to introduce an element of instability in the region, and imperil world peace, would be persisting in ignoring this reality. Both Governments are convinced that any attempt to put back the clock of history will be defeated.

9. The Government of India paid its tribute to the extraordinary speed with which order and stability had been restored in Bangla Desh, a land so recently plundered and devastated by ruthless force, a land from where ten million persons had been driven out to seek refuge in India, more than a million had been killed and where hundreds of intellectuals were massacred on the very eve of liberation. They were gratified to note that the administration of the Government of Bangla Desh had been firmly established throughout the country, that the refugees had already started returning to the land of their birth, and that the Government of Bangla Desh were now working on the gigantic task of reconstruction of their country. The Government of India also noted that the non-Bengali speaking sections of the population had been afforded special protection and that allegations of maltreatment were nothing but a propaganda device to bring the new State into disrepute. It was thus clear that this nation of seventy-five million people was confidently poised to take its rightful place as a responsible member of the comity of nations.

10. Detailed discussions were held at the official level on economic and political matters of mutual interest. The economic reconstruction of Bangla Desh necessitated by the vast destruction and devastation wrought by the West Pakistani Martial Law regime was acknowledged as a matter of immediate concern. The Government of India assured the Bangla Desh delegation of all co-operation in the fulfilment of this task.

11. The Government of India assured the Bangla Desh delegation that the shortage of essential commodities and supplies in Bangla Desh caused by the devastation of war and the disruption of communication systems would be met by India to the maximum extent possible. It was agreed by both the Governments that immediate steps would be taken to restore trade and communication links between the two countries and to develop economic co-operation. The Government

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of India assured that it would support the efforts of the Government of Bangla Desh to secure its rightful place in the international and regional economic and financial organisations concerned with the socio-economic development of the developing countries of the world. The Bangla Desh Delegation expressed its appreciation of the friendship and co-operation shown by the Government of India in the vital task of national reconstruction which the Government and the people of Bangla Desh are undertaking.

12. The Bangla Desh Delegation indicated the desire of its Government to arrange as a matter of high priority the return, rehabilitation and resettlement of the refugees who had to flee to India in the wake of the reign of terror unleashed by the Pakistani military regime on March 25, 1971. The Government of India appreciated the importance being attached by the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh to this urgent problem and assured the Government of Bangla Desh of their full co-operation in this matter. The two Governments also took note of the concern expressed about this matter in the United Nations Security Council Resolution of the 21st December, 1971, and agreed to utilise international assistance, including United Nations assistance, which might be forthcoming, to resolve this problem satisfactorily.

13. In the field of foreign relations, the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh reiterated the resolve of his Government to follow a policy of non-alignment. Both the Governments agreed to base their bilateral relations on the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-interference in each other's affairs, and equality and mutual benefit. Both the Governments wished again to make it clear that the Indian armed forces which had joined the Mukti Bahini in the task of liberation at the request of the Government of Bangla Desh would be withdrawn from the territory of Bangla Desh whenever the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh would so desire.

14. The Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh affirmed his Government's adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the covenants and agreements governing international relations. Both Governments re-affirmed their determination to oppose racialism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms. This was seen as a reflection of the principles of democracy, socialism and secularism to which both the Governments are dedicated.

15. The Government of India assured the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh of their fullest support for their legitimate aspirations to become a member of the United Nations and its various agencies.

16. The Bangla Desh Delegation expressed particular concern over the fate of Bangla Desh nationals now in Pakistani hands. It was agreed that every effort should be made to see that they did not come to any harm and that they return to their homeland soon. The Bangla Desh delegation requested the Government of India to look after the welfare of Bangla Desh nationals who may be on pilgrimage during the current Hajj season. The Government of India gladly agreed to undertake this task.

17. Both the Governments agreed that the visit of His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh was an important landmark in relations between the two countries. Both sides declared their firm determination to work unceasingly for stability, progress, peace and prosperity in the region.

18. His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh extended invitations to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, and to Sardar Swaran Singh, the Minister of External Affairs of India, to visit Bangla Desh at their earliest convenience. The invitations have been accepted.

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19. His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Abdus Samad Azad expressed his gratitude for the friendly, cordial and warm hospitality extended to him and to members of his delegation by the Government and the people of India.

II. WORLD PRESS ON THE ROLE OF INDIAN TROOPS IN BANGLA DESH

In contrast to the hostility of the population toward the Pakistani army, which was sent here to put down a "secessionist movement", the local people appear to get along well with the Indian troops. They have come out of their mud huts to help to road repair work and to push some of the lorries that get stuck.

(THE LOS ANGELES TIMES—December 10, 1971)

The official spokesman said that the Mukti Bahini was not a "blood thirsty" army. There might be individual cases of reprisals in view of the unspeakable atrocities committed by Pakistan forces in Bangla Desh, but as far as he knew, the Mukti Bahini was just as anxious to carry out the obligations of the Geneva Convention.

* * * *

But, as a foreign correspondent pressed the point and wanted to know what was being done to the razakars, the spokesman said they were receiving "utmost humane treatment". The status of a private militia like the razakars has not been determined and he did not know what the Geneva Convention had to say for such a body of armed men, but he was sure that "nobody was going to engage in any orgy of vengeance and blood-letting or vendetta".

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—December 10, 1971)

Indian Commanders are careful to ensure that their soldiers' behaviour is impeccable. Certainly there have been no complaints heard against them. And, only 22 to 24 civilians died in the fall of Jessore.

(HENRY STANHOPE in THE TIMES, London—December 13, 1971)

But he (captured Pakistani Lt. Col. Basharate Ahmed) was generous in his praise of his treatment by his Indian captors. "We have been hearing lots and lots of propaganda about what happened to you if you are captured. But I have had good treatment, absolutely A-1 treatment."

(DONALD BREMNER in THE GUARDIAN, London—December 13, 1971)

The Indian army—making due allowance for its numerical superiority and air supremacy—has shown great competence in maintaining the momentum of its advance.... Eye-witness accounts acclaim both the discipline of the Indian soldiers and the competence of their mechanical maintenance.... There have been numerous reports of bridge demolitions carried out by the Pakistani army, though there is no real indication of how thorough these were.... Nevertheless, to have got their armour and artillery forward in country intersected by rivers must have required a considerable bridging effort by the Indian sappers and miners.... This seems to have been facilitated by the imaginative use of para-troops and helicopters.

(THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, London—December 16, 1971)

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The Indian generals can feel well pleased with themselves—particularly Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora, the charismatic Sikh who has commanded the eastern front and who once trained at the Indian military academy as a contemporary of Yahya Khan.... The problems facing India after the victory in the east are appalling, but the army can rest assured that it has done its job well. Its contingency plan for an invasion of East Pakistan has been prepared for a long time.

(THE TIMES, London—December 17, 1971)

The hatred engendered by the Pakistani army's atrocities earlier this year, is so great that it will be a miracle, if restraint can be practised by the local population or the Mukti Bahini.... The Indian army is itself at present acting as a restraining influence, and the longer it stays the greater the guarantee of law and order.... Protection has also been promised by the Government of Bangla Desh to the Bihari minority.

(THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London—December 17, 1971)

Lt.-Gen. A. A. K. Niazi, chief of the Pakistani military command in East Pakistan, told me that the Indian treatment of his army so far had been "very decent". He also noted that many of the Pakistani and Indian officers who met here December 16 to work out the surrender terms knew each other in military training schools and in the British Army.

With similar generosity, an Indian para-troop battalion commander, Lt. Col. K. S. Pannu, declared that Pakistani troops had fought bravely.

Restraint Exercised

In at least two instances, Indians permitted fully armed Pakistani troops to march past them to regroupment areas. In one case—they allowed this even after an Indian officer had been killed in a shooting incident involving Pakistani and Indian soldiers. The Indians were obviously making every effort to exercise restraint after Pakistanis allowed them to move into the city without a ground battle.

In some cases, problems were caused simply because Pakistani soldiers had not yet received surrender orders. At the radio station, a Pakistani soldier put a rifle to an Indian Colonel's throat because he had not heard about the surrender. An incident was avoided after calmer heads prevailed.

There never was much question that the Indians would win out even from the very start of the war in East Pakistan, which began at the end of the first week of December....

Indian troops were given tremendous welcome in Dacca as were the Bangla Desh leaders who began surfacing throughout the city almost simultaneously with the Indian arrival.

It has long been apparent that the Bangla Desh movement enjoyed overwhelming support in this city, as it apparently does throughout East Pakistan.

(DANIEL SOUTHERLAND in THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston—December 18, 1971)

The Indians are behaving as mature and professional soldiers. The dead are buried with name tag and the graveyards are carefully noted on maps to be sent on to relatives. The infirm and destitute Pakistani civilian population

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within the enclave are being fed by the army, and prisoners are being treated within the strictest terms of the Geneva Convention.

(PETER HAZELHURST in **THE TIMES**, London—December 18, 1971)

"For fourteen days, I have been reporting this war, and if I may be crudely ironic, it has been the best kind of war to report.....It has been like the wars that Hollywood dare not make any more: a simple, old fashioned affair with a heroic cause, with good guys and bad guys....I am sure there is not a correspondent here who does not believe this to be true, as he has dashed from 'war room' to front line to liberated village, which he has entered, through the cheering crowds, as if he himself is the liberator....The problem is that this war has been ready-made for glory. It has been a war that has liberated the Bengali people from their colonial past and from those who have practised genocide on them....It has also been a war in which the victorious army, the Indian Army, has conducted itself in a manner I did not think possible....Rather than force head-on battles, it has encircled its enemy and waited for a surrender; rather than kill civilians, it has by-passed garrisons in towns and villages; and it has applied the Geneva Convention for prisoners almost, it seems, without exception."

(JOHN PILGER in **THE DAILY MIRROR**, London—December 18, 1971)

Gen. Aurora said the resentment of the people of Bangla Desh against the Pakistani troops and their commanders was so great that the Indian Army had to place special guard around Gen. Niazi after the surrender ceremony last evening December 16 at the historic Race Course grounds.

Gen. Niazi was now under the personal care and command of Lt. Gen. Sagat Singh, Corps Commander-in-charge of Dacca.

He said that some Pakistani troops had surrendered to the Mukti Bahini also. The Mukti Bahini, which was under his command, had handed them over to the Indian Army.

Categorically stating that there was "no question of reprisals" either by the Indian Army or the Mukti Bahini, the General said: "It is the public about whom I am concerned and their resentment over past atrocities".

(**THE TIMES OF INDIA**, New Delhi—December 18, 1971)

The war ended as it began, with the Bengali people of Bangla Desh, formerly East Pakistan, embracing and kissing their liberators, the Indian Army.

"God bless you, God bless you", shouted a weeping man.

Fathers held their infants up in the air and waved the infants hands at the beaming Indian soldiers, as though the experience was so beautiful and piercing that the baby, no matter how young, would have to remember it....

India is giving Bangla Desh every assistance in getting the country running again, sending in top Bengali administrators from the Indian State of West Bengal to start up the government machinery. India is also trying to secure the release of Sheikh Mujib, presumably as part of the price for the repatriation to West Pakistan of the 80,000 surrendered Pakistani troops....

(SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG in **THE NEW YORK TIMES**—December 19, 1971)

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As for the Indians, it is doubtless true that there are hawks among them. But the correspondents who have dealt with the leading Indian Generals have found them a sober group, with an understanding and even sympathy for the Pakistanis and no desire to crush their country. Very few armies have fought a war under such difficult emotional circumstances with so much control.

(ANTHONY LEWIS in THE NEW YORK TIMES—December 20, 1971)

The Indians have won their victory with a speed and efficiency which speaks volumes for the new proficiency of their armed forces, the throughness with which they had been able to prepare the campaign, and the low morale of the Pakistanis. In so far as the Indian Generals have, by their skill, been able to minimise suffering and damage, well and good.

(THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London—December 20, 1971)

The Indian army was even less anxious to harm the civilian population, most of whom they regarded as allies anyway, so it should have made the Pakistani position stronger not weaker. General Aurora was always conscious of the need to balance military prudence with a certain amount of haste, dictated by the political climate.

(HENRY STANHOPE in THE TIMES, London—December 24, 1971)

Eleven days have passed since the Indian army occupied East Pakistan, and in that time it has become abundantly clear that Mrs. Gandhi has fought what amounts to a war of liberation. Sooner or later, the West Pakistanis will have to face up to this humiliating fact.

For the past 25 years, West Pakistan has been trying to convince the Bengalis that the Hindu infidels would pillage and rape East Bengal, if Islamabad was not there to protect the Eastern Province.

To its humiliation, that myth has been exploded by the cold, hard facts which exists in Dacca today. Four weeks ago, no unarmed Pakistani soldier would have dared to mingle with the Bengali people. A lone soldier would have been hacked to death on the streets.

People cringed in terror when a military jeep turned the corner and shopkeepers were shot simply because they refused to extend credit to an officer.

But today, lone and unarmed Indian soldiers stroll through the market places. The Bengalis beam at the sight of an Indian uniform and an atmosphere of confidence has replaced the pall of terror which has hovered over East Bengal for the past nine months.

This is mainly due to the fact that the Indian army's performance as a temporary occupation force has surpassed its performance on the battlefield. Under the unsettled circumstances which exist in East Bengal, an Indian military presence is hardly felt.

There has been little or no interference in the civil administration and, with a popular government now established, the Indian army is beginning to move unobtrusively into the background. The people themselves have accepted the Indian army as their saviour; and troops, under strict orders, are faced with the embarrassing task of refusing gifts and free meals on every corner.

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Officers are refusing to accept free drinks in social clubs and, after their experiences during the past nine months. Bengalis from all walks of life are praising openly the professional traditions and competence of the Indian army.

For instance, a policeman who suddenly found an excited crowd arguing around a pedicab driver and two Indian soldiers yesterday, discovered that the driver had refused to accept payment but the soldiers were insisting on giving him the fare.

The Indian army is also presented with the awesome task of preventing reprisals. A few minutes ago, Indian troops rushed the bank opposite this hotel to rescue a non-Bengali razakar (Pakistani militiaman) who was about to be hacked to death by an angry mob.

(PETER HAZELHURST in **THE TIMES**, London—December 30, 1971)

The Indian troops advancing into Bangla Desh behaved in a manner that was "more than correct", and did far less damage than the retreating Pakistan forces, said Werner Janz, a 28-year-old medical student from Styria, at a Press Conference in Vienna on *January* 12 on his return from Bangla Desh. Janz was sent to the Chittagong area last September as the representative of the Austrian Red Cross in response to an appeal by the International League of Red Cross Societies.

Janz said that conditions became very difficult in November, 1971, following an intensification of the clashes between the Pakistani forces and the guerrillas. He and his colleagues were rather "relieved" when actual hostilities broke out in December, because "we then knew where we were". The advancing Indian troops behaved in a manner that was "more than correct". "The Pakistan army caused far more destruction during its retreat than the Indian army did while it advanced", Janz declared. When the Indian force approached Chittagong, Janz and other Red Cross officials went out to meet them. "The Indians attacked purely military targets. The Indian air force contained its bombings to the strategically important targets only—including the port installations and the airfield. The result was only a very small number of casualties among the civilian population. The Indian officers were extremely helpful. The army lost no time in assuming the task of protecting the areas inhabited by the Biharis. Had it not been for the Indian soldiers, a lot of blood would have been shed. While over 30,000 persons were killed in March during the Pakistani occupation in Chittagong, the number of fatal casualties in the war was less than 50", Janz said. He added that Press reports of the acts of vengeance committed by the Mukti Bahini after liberation were "grossly exaggerated".

(PETER JANZ, Representative of Austrian Red Cross at a Press Conference in Vienna—January 12, 1972)

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CHAPTER XIII

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S RETURN

I. THE STORY OF RELEASE AND RETURN TO DACCA

MUJIB RELEASED

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman flew in from Rawalpindi (to London) early this morning (January 8). He arrived aboard a special Pakistan International Airways flight 635.

He was met by a senior British Foreign and Commonwealth Office official in the airport's VIP lounge. An official said the Sheikh had so far given no indication of his future plans.

He has been named by his Bangla Desh followers to become the infant nation's first President.

It was his party's landslide victory in Pakistan's general elections just over a year ago that sparked the crisis in the country's eastern wing, climaxed by creation of the new State.

The Sheikh was arrested by the Pakistan army as it started a mass crack-down in East Pakistan last March under orders of the then soldier-President, General Yahya Khan.

Until the airliner landed at London airport, there was no indication in New Delhi or Dacca about his whereabouts.

For hours after the announced time of departure of the Sheikh by air from Rawalpindi, his destination remained unknown.

Radio Pakistan said the Sheikh left Rawalpindi at 0300 West Pakistan time today (5–30 a.m. Malaysian time) by special plane chartered by the Pakistan Government.

The radio said that Sheikh Mujib had expressed the wish that nothing should be said about where he was going. The Sheikh's request was being respected.

The Sheikh himself would make an announcement on reaching his destination, the spokesman said.

Reuter, in a telephone call to Red Cross officials and foreign newsmen in Dacca, was told no news had been received there of the Sheikh's departure. Neither was there any rumour of his impending arrival in the East Pakistan capital.

Radio Pakistan said the Sheikh had been seen off from Rawalpindi by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Meanwhile, Bangla Desh Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed today (January 8) warned President Bhutto to immediately return Sheikh Mujib to Dacca if he

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wanted to save "his Pakistan" and ensure permanent peace in the Indian sub-continent.

Mr. Ahmed, addressing an Awami League workers meeting in Dacca, said:

"We are ready to go to any length to get back our beloved leader. If Mr. Bhutto wants to save his Pakistan, he should immediately return Banga-bandhu (friend of Bengal—an affectionate name by which the Sheikh is known) to his people."

Mr. Ahmed also bitterly attacked the United States and China for acting against Bangla Desh's interests and praised the Soviet Union for "saving this part of the world from becoming a second Vietnam."

He said that neither America nor China reacted when hundreds of thousands of people were killed by "their ally Pakistan in Bangla Desh."

Both countries had supported Pakistan and encouraged them in its killing campaign, he said.

He said Russia's "hands off the sub-continent" warning had halted the advance of the U.S. Seventh Fleet towards Bangla Desh in its attempt at "salvaging what remained of Pakistan."

He hoped the friendship between Bangla Desh, India and Russia, "born out of the liberation struggle", would grow from strength to strength.

The 51-year-old Sheikh, who was taken secretly to West Pakistan more than nine months ago, was later reported to have stood trial for treason.

He was in jail throughout the two weeks' fighting in December between Indian troops and the Pakistan army, which ended in the surrender of Yahya Khan's forces, the occupation of Dacca and other East Pakistan towns, and the establishment of the self-styled State of Bangla Desh.

It was not until President Bhutto took power after the fighting ended that Sheikh Mujib was taken from a prison cell and put under house arrest. He left jail on December 22.

(**SUNDAY MAIL**, Malaysia—January 9, 1972)

MUJIB IN LONDON

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today (January 8) proclaimed Bangla Desh as "an unchallengeable reality", and called for world recognition and the admission of his country to the United Nations.

Sheikh Mujib, freed by Pakistan President Z. A. Bhutto and flown to London early today (January 8), told a news conference that he had been kept in a condemned cell under sentence of death by hanging during his nine-month imprisonment in Pakistan.

Speaking in a vigorous voice and showing no signs of ill-health, the 51-year-old Bangapita (father of the Bengalis) said he had given no promise to Mr. Bhutto that Bangla Desh would maintain any link with Pakistan.

Scores of elated Bengalis clustered outside the plush Claridges Hotel as Sheikh Mujib held his news conference in the ball room against a background of ornate wall mirrors and under the glare of television lights.

One of the first questions he was asked was: "Why did you come to London, instead of flying to Dacca?"

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"I was a prisoner", the Sheikh said. "It was the Pakistan Government's Will, not mine."

The Sheikh said the duration of his stay had not yet been decided, but he hoped to meet British Prime Minister Edward Heath before leaving.

The officials later announced that Sheikh Mujib would meet Mr. Heath in the evening.

The Sheikh told the newsmen, Mr. Bhutto had asked him to consider keeping links between Bangla Desh and Pakistan.

"I told him I could not say anything about this until I returned to my people", he said.

Sheikh Mujib was introduced to newsmen as "our beloved leader, the free President of the free people of an independent sovereign State".

The Sheikh, wearing dark tunic-style suit immediately paid a tribute to "the sacred memory of millions of martyrs who gave their lives" in the struggle to establish Bangla Desh.

Sheikh Mujib said Pakistani troops, which tried to hold down the aspirations of Bangla Desh, had been guilty of "merciless killings".

Then he added: "If Hitler had been alive today, he would have been ashamed."

Sheikh Mujib would not be drawn into any direct criticism of Mr. Bhutto.

"I wish him good luck", he said.

The Sheikh expressed good wishes to India, the Soviet Union, Poland, Great Britain, France and "also those freedom loving people all over the world, including those of the United States".

In calling for world recognition of Bangla Desh, the Bangapita (father of the Bangla Desh), said: "I appeal to all citizens of the world to help my hungry millions".

Sheikh Mujib was asked if he had been physically ill-treated or tortured during his imprisonment.

He replied that he had been held in a condemned cell in solitary confinement in a desert jail with no visitors, no letters and no contact with the outside world.

Sheikh Mujib said that he underwent a "mock trial", but refused to defend himself when the hearing was halfway through. The Pakistani authorities then appointed a counsel to defend him, he said.

"It was a court-martial of a civilian?" he said. "They wanted to hang me."

He said the Bhutto regime, which replaced the Government of former President Yahya Khan who had ordered Sheikh Mujib's arrest, refused to carry out the sentence.

He said he knew about the India-Pakistan war only because of an air-raid blackout in the area of his prison. And he knew nothing of the victory of the freedom-fighters until Mr. Bhutto told him, Sheikh Mujib added.

"I am a free man now, but I was cut off from the whole world", the Sheikh said.

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He told the newsmen that after the mock trial "I was mentally ready to die".

"The day I went to jail, I didn't know whether I was to live or not. But I knew that Bangla Desh would be liberated", he said.

The Sheikh was asked what would be his attitude to the United States in view of Washington's support for Pakistan in the conflict with India.

The Sheikh ducked the question by replying: "I was in prison and I do not know many things yet. I will have to discuss this with my people when I go to Dacca."

Old acquaintances of the Sheikh said he appeared thinner than they remembered him, but still full of spirit despite his ordeal.

He rounded off the news conference saying that he was tired after the flight from Rawalpindi. He then raised his voice in a triumphant shout of "Jai Bangla".

Outside the hotel, more of his supporters were gathering by the minute, hugging each other and shouting the same victory slogan.

Reuter adds:

The Sheikh declared: "I cannot wait a single moment to return to my people."

He said he hoped to return to Dacca tomorrow or the day after.

In a voice quivering with emotion, Sheikh Mujib told reporters: "No people have had to pay as high a price in human life and suffering as the people of Bangla Desh".

He arrived at the press conference 20 minutes late and greeted the newsmen with "Jai Bangla".

"Today", he said, "I celebrate the unbounded joy of freedom in a liberation struggle".

Officials of the Bangla Desh mission indicated that it was felt, a breathing space was needed before the Sheikh's return to Dacca. They said, as many as a million people would come to the airport to see him.

"I have nothing against the people of West Pakistan in spite of the way in which they behaved. When they arrested me, they arrested my children too and interned them, and my house was burnt."

He said Bangla Desh had been exploited for hundreds of years and that Britain bore some responsibility for this, although the British Government had always been good to him personally.

Bangla Desh officials said Sheikh Mujib appeared to have lost about 42 lb. (19 kg.) in weight.

Asked about reports that the Bangla Desh Government intended nationalising banking, insurance and foreign trade, Sheikh Mujib said such action was implicit in the manifesto of his Awami League which won the Pakistan elections of December, 1970.

He added that he had great confidence in what his colleagues were doing in Bangla Desh.

Sheikh Mujib said: "I am not going to lose my freedom again in any war. I'm ready to co-operate with anyone".

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He said Pakistan had played a dirty game and there should be some sort of trial for the mass murders.

"But now that my people are liberated, I have nothing against the people of West Pakistan. I wish Mr. Bhutto success and good luck."

(*AP*, *Reuter* despatch datelined London—January 8, 1972)

"JAI BANGLA", CRIES FREED SHEIKH

Bangla Desh leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman flew dramatically to freedom today (January 8) and arrived in London crying "Jai Bangla", his people's slogan.

"Today, I celebrate the unbounded joy of freedom in a liberation struggle", he told a press conference in Claridge's Hotel.

Sheikh Mujibur was set free last night in West Pakistan, where he had been a prisoner since last March.

West Pakistan's new president, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, saw him off at Rawalpindi airport.

Secrecy shrouded his departure aboard a special chartered aircraft.

"The bird has flown", Mr. Bhutto told reporters later.

"The entire procedure that was followed by us was in his choice, according to his express wishes. He wanted it that way and did not want to meet people."

In London, Sheikh Mujibur said he hoped to return to Dacca tomorrow or the day after.

"I cannot wait a single moment to return to my people", he said in a voice quavering with emotion.

"No people have had to pay as high a price in human life and suffering as the people of Bangla Desh."

Millions of his people had been killed or tortured mercilessly—"even if Hitler was alive, he would have been ashamed", he said.

He admitted he was not physically harmed in prison, although the intense heat and solitary confinement had been almost unbearable.

The press conference took place in an emotional atmosphere with Bangla Desh supporters crowding joyfully round Sheikh Mujibur.

At one stage, a brief scuffle broke out near the hotel when about a dozen cheering Bangla Desh supporters pursued a middle-aged man and kicked him to the ground before being restrained.

A supporter said: "They thought he was a West Pakistan agent and should be killed".

The Sheikh thanked all those who had supported the liberation struggle.

He appealed to all States to recognise Bangla Desh, to open diplomatic relations and support its admission to the United Nations.

A British government spokesman said a meeting had been arranged between the Sheikh and Mr. Heath at 10, Downing Street.

(THE SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA—January 9, 1972)

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SHEIKH MUJIB'S MEETING WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER

Sheikh Mujib, in an hour-long meeting with Mr. Heath at 10, Downing Street, last night (January 8), raised the question of Britain recognising Bangla Desh as a sovereign power.

The Prime Minister explained that before recognition is given, protocol demands that the British Government must be assured a new government is in control and has the support of the majority of the people.

Mr. Heath left no doubt in Sheikh Mujib's mind that Britain is friendly to Bangla Desh. The general impression in Whitehall is that recognition will be granted in the near future.

The meeting was described as cordial and warm. The Sheikh gave an account of events leading to the recent war. He thanked Mr. Heath for efforts to save his life when he was a prisoner awaiting execution in Pakistan. He added that he and President Bhutto of West Pakistan, agreed Britain should be visited first.

Mr. Wilson later paid a 30-minute courtesy call on the Sheikh at Claridges.

Mr. Arnold Smith, Commonwealth Secretary-General, also saw Sheikh Mujib at Claridges.

(JAMES MARGACH in **THE SUNDAY TIMES**, London—January 9, 1972)

MUJIB IN DAWN RUSH TO DELHI

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistan leader, left London's Heathrow Airport aboard a British Air Force comet jet after dawn yesterday (January 9) on his way to Dacca.

The 51-year-old Bengali leader, held in West Pakistan for nearly 10 months, flew out of Britain barely 24 hours after he arrived on a secret Pakistan Airways flight from Rawalpindi.

Sheikh Mujib, already declared President of Bangla Desh, was smuggled out of a side-entrance of London's exclusive Claridges Hotel early in the morning. He avoided journalists who spent the night camped outside the main entrance and was driven at high speed to London Airport.

He boarded the waiting comet and took off at about 10-50 Zambian time heading for a State reception in New Delhi before flying on to a triumphant welcome in Dacca.

Freed Bangla Desh leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has asked Premier Edward Heath to recognize Bangla Desh, according to informed sources in London.

"He made the request during an hour long talk with Mr. Heath." Sheikh Mujib asked Britain for substantial aid for Bangla Desh and gave Mr. Heath a full report on the country's economic plight.

A close aide of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman revealed last night that it was only the action of a friendly jailer that avoided his execution.

The official said that the jailer had heard that Yahya Khan was about to abdicate from the presidency, so he took Sheikh Mujib to his own quarters and hid him there for two days.

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A public holiday was proclaimed throughout Bangla Desh to give Sheikh Mujibur Rahman a triumphant welcome when he returns to Dacca after nearly 10 months in prison.

(ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL—January 10, 1972)

A WELCOME DELHI WILL REMEMBER

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Bangla Desh, was given a joyous welcome when he arrived in the Capital (New Delhi) today (January 10) on his way to Dacca.

The Sheikh, looking slightly weary after his journey from Nicosia, was greeted with full-throated cries of "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Zindabad" and "Long live Mujib" as he climbed down the steps from the RAF aircraft which brought him here (New Delhi).

As the Royal Air Force Comet, gleaming in the morning sun, glided on the tarmac at the Technical Area of Delhi Airport, an air of hushed expectancy descended upon the place.

For four long minutes, between the time the Comet came to a stop and the moment when the Sheikh set his foot on Indian soil, craning heads in colourful shamianas waited impatiently to see the figure who had swept himself into the hearts of the people. Chairs in enclosures were forgotten, only to be remembered later when VIPs realised that standing on them would give a better view.

The Bangla Desh Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdus Samad, entered the plane and remained inside for a few minutes.

The moment came. And the Sheikh, clad in a dark grey suit and black overcoat, climbed down the steps from the aircraft. The cold morning breeze ruffled his hair as he waved his hands to acknowledge the strident cheers which greeted him. A 21-gun salute boomed as the Sheikh was hugged by the President, Mr. V. V. Giri, and warmly welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

A battery of photographers, darting from place to place to get a good picture, clicked their cameras incessantly as the Sheikh greeted Ministers and other VIPs.

After the initial exchange of greetings, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman inspected a guard of honour presented to him by the three services before moving to the VIP pandal where he was showered with marigold petals.

The national anthem of Bangla Desh, "Amar Sonar Bangla", was played the moment the Sheikh took position on the saluting base. It was followed by the Indian national anthem "Jana Gana Mana". The flags of the two countries flanking the pandal fluttered in the air.

The Sheikh was then introduced to a large number of members from the diplomatic corps. Exuding a quiet charming simplicity, he mixed easily with the diplomats and stopped every now and then to talk to some of them.

In the enclosures, there was total confusion as people hopped from chair to chair to get a glimpse of the Sheikh. And every now and then, a single, piercing cry of "Sheikh Mujib Zindabad" rent the air as a spectator, overcome with emotion, screamed his adoration for the father figure of Bangla Desh.

At the Parade Ground of Delhi Cantonment, where the Sheikh addressed a public meeting, people milled around to get a better look of him. And when he entered the six-door Mercedes Benz which was to take him to Rashtrapati

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Bhavan, wild crowds almost surrounded the car in a vain attempt to shake his hand.

Earlier, overnight, Delhi had prepared a gay welcome for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Floral arches were set up on roads at several places from the Parade Ground to Rashtrapati Bhavan. Banners reading "Long live the Creator of Bangla Desh" and "Long live the Liberator of Bangla Desh" were also flying.

The arches were decorated with potted plants in flower pots and with portraits of the Sheikh. And on the side of the roads, some iron frames covered with leaves had also been erected.

A large number of people lined the route from Parade Ground to Rashtrapati Bhavan in spite of the bitter cold. And as the motorcade cruised towards Rashtrapati Bhavan, persons from all walks of life cheered the Bangla Desh leader.

(THE INDIAN EXPRESS, New Delhi—January 11, 1972)

PRESIDENT V. V. GIRI'S SPEECH WELCOMING SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN AT PALAM AIRPORT, NEW DELHI

January 10, 1972

It gives me great joy and pleasure to welcome Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to our country. This is an event which my government and the people of India have looked forward to.

You are the embodiment of the undying spirit of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of human liberty and human freedom. The emergence of independent Bangla Desh is itself a unique event in the annals of democratic movements in world history. You have truly been acclaimed the Father of the new Nation, Bangla Desh. The trust and devotion of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh reposed in you, have led to the birth of Sonar Bangla, and we have no doubt that it will come to occupy a pride of place in the comity of nations.

Your Excellency's return to your country to be at its head at this historic juncture will heighten and ensure the prospects for the establishment of lasting and durable peace in the region.

The task of reconstruction of Bangla Desh is immense. The rehabilitation of people whose homes have been shattered, and those who sought refuge in India and are now returning to Bangla Desh, will be one of the most urgent problems facing your country. Under your wise leadership, I have no doubt that the people of Bangla Desh will be able to devote wholeheartedly to the urgent tasks before them of rapid economic and social progress.

Our two countries, India and Bangla Desh, are bound in firm friendship and both the nations are dedicated to the principles of democracy, secularism and socialism. I wish you and the people of Bangla Desh godspeed in your efforts. May you be spared long to lead your people and the nation to growing prosperity.

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO PRESIDENT GIRI'S ADDRESS OF WELCOME

January 10, 1972

For me, this is a most gratifying moment. I have decided to stop over in this historic Capital of your great country on my way back to Bangla Desh. For this is the least I can do to pay personal tribute to the best friends of my people, the people of India and this Government under the leadership of your magnificent Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. (Cheers). She is not only a leader of men, but also of mankind.

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You all have worked so untiringly and sacrificed so gallantly in making this journey possible—this journey from darkness to light; from captivity to freedom; from desolation to hope.

I am at last going back to Sonar Bangla, the land of my dreams, after a period of nine months. In these nine months, my people have traversed centuries.

When I was taken away from my people, they wept. When I was held in captivity, they fought. And now that I go back to them, they are victorious.

I go back to join my people in the tremendous tasks that now lie ahead in turning victory into a road of peace, progress and prosperity. I go back not with any hatred in my heart for anyone, but with the satisfaction that truth has at last triumphed over falsehood, sanity over insanity, courage over cowardice, justice over injustice, good over evil. Joi Bangla, Jai Hind.

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI'S SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT NEW DELHI TO WELCOME SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

January 10, 1972

Welcoming the President of Bangla Desh, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had promised freedom to his people and given it to them. India had taken a pledge to free Bangla Desh, free Mujib and finally send the refugees to their homes and hearths. "We have also kept our promise", she added.

Mrs. Gandhi said now that the Bangabandhu was returning home, it was her firm belief that secularism and democracy will prosper under his guidance. She added, even when Mujibur Rahman was in a Pakistani jail, the young men of Bangla Desh were drawing inspiration from him to fight the military regime of Pakistan. It was due to his inspiration that people of Bangla Desh were able to fight so gallantly.

The Prime Minister said it was a red-letter day in the history of Bangla Desh. The Sheikh was returning to his country, his people and his family, and, at home, a great challenge awaits him—the reconstruction of Bangla Desh.

Mrs. Gandhi spoke briefly as she did not want to stand between the Sheikh and the large number of people who had gathered at the Parade Ground to hear him.

(THE INDIAN EXPRESS, New Delhi—January 11, 1972)

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, NEW DELHI

January 10, 1972

In a voice charged with emotion, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told the huge gathering "Bangla Desh and its people will never forget your Prime Minister, your Government and your brave armed forces and your common people who have extended all sympathies and support to their sufferings and struggle".

The Sheikh, dressed in a grey suit and a dark brown overcoat, drove to the grounds accompanied by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, immediately after he was accorded a ceremonial reception at Delhi Airport.

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Speaking in Bengali, the Bangabandhu said never in the history of man had such brutalities been perpetrated as the Pakistanis had done in Bangla Desh.

He said that he believed in the ideals of secularism, democracy, freedom of man and peace in the world.

As he was overwhelmed by emotion, the Bangabandhu said he could not help this for he never knew that he would live to go back to his "Sonar Bangla".

The Pakistan army had killed one million people of Bangla Desh. India had looked after ten million people who had been forced out of Bangla Desh.

His first words of address were: "Shrimati Indira Gandhi, ladies and gentlemen present".

Wave after wave of applause greeted the Bangabandhu as he rose to address the mammoth gathering.

He said that he was returning to his people, a free but sad people. He had lost a large number of his friends, who had been slaughtered by the Pakistani army, whose homes had been burnt and their honour taken away.

He repeatedly spoke of the unity of feelings between the people of Bangla Desh and of India, in their ideals and beliefs. He hoped that his country, Sonar Bangla, would prosper amid undying friendship between the two countries.

He said India had fed 10 million people of Bangla Desh despite its own problems. "I know this".

Till two days ago, he was a prisoner and did not know whether he would be free and be able to go back to Bangla Desh and see his people and "fulfil my hope".

Sheikh Mujib said great tasks lay ahead of him on his return to Bangla Desh. He said he could never forget the help given by the Indian armed forces for the liberation of Bangla Desh. Never before in the history of freedom struggles had any nation paid so colossal a price for freedom as the people of Bangla Desh had done.

He ended his speech with a shout of "Jai Hind". Mrs. Gandhi then joined him by hailing "Jai Bangla".

(*U.N.I.*—January 10, 1972)

MUJIB VOWS 'ETERNAL' AMITY WITH INDIA

NEW DELHI, January 10—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told cheering Indian throngs today that his country and theirs would be "bound eternal friendship as brothers".

The Bengali leader of Bangla Desh, the nation his followers have proclaimed in East Pakistan, stopped for a few hours in New Delhi on his way to rejoin his people in Dacca after more than nine months of detention in West Pakistan. He called his stopover "the least I can do to pay personal tribute to the best friends of my people".

"The people of India stood by us in our darkest hour and we will never forget it", he said.

Sheikh Mujib and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi—who had never met before—praised each other and their respective peoples as they went happily from airport ceremony to public rally to motorcade to talks at the Presidential palace and finally back to the airport.

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Thousands cheer

As they rode in the motorcade to the palace—cheered by thousands along the eight-mile route in the shivering cold—a low-flying plane showered them with rose petals.

The British Royal Air Force Comet that brought Sheikh Mujib from London, where the Pakistani Government flew him two days ago after it had freed him, arrived at New Delhi's Palam Airport on schedule at 8 a.m.

As he emerged, he was greeted by shouts of "Joi Bangla" ("Victory for Bengal!"), and he waved his right hand. Artillery guns in a nearby field sounded a 21-gun salute, and their crews scrambled to the tarmac to watch the ceremony.

Sheikh Mujib, wearing a black coat over a black suit with an open Nehru collar, was greeted and draped with garlands of marigolds by Mrs. Gandhi, President V. V. Giri, other Indian dignitaries and members of the Bengali diplomatic mission in New Delhi.

National anthems played

The Bengali leader then stood on a small platform, saluting, as a Gurka band played the Indian and Bengali anthems. Both were written by the famed Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

After inspecting a 150 man-guard of honour, Sheikh Mujib gave a five-minute speech in which he expressed his gratitude to the Indian people and "your magnificent Prime Minister" for "making this journey possible"—this journey from darkness to light, from captivity to freedom, from desolation to hope.

"I am at last going back to Sonar Bangla (Golden Bengal), the land of my dreams", he said. "I go back to the sunshine of a million victorious smiles. I go back to free, independent sovereign Bangla Desh".

Sheikh Mujib looked wan and tired. His 6-foot frame, once husky, is now lean; his associates say he lost over 40 pounds in prison. His voice had not lost its emotional, impassioned quality, but it was weaker.

Many envoys on hand

Diplomatic representatives of more than 20 countries, most of them Ambassadors, were at the airport. The Soviet bloc was heavily represented. Representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, West Germany, Norway and Denmark were also there.

Some of these nations are expected to extend formal recognition to Bangla Desh soon. So far, only India and Bhutan have done so.

Absent from the airport ceremony was any representative from the United States, which supported Pakistan during the nine-month crisis and the India-Pakistan war. It is understood that the United States Ambassador, Kenneth B. Keating, had received instructions from Washington not to attend.

Sheikh Mujib, at a public rally after the airport ceremony, began his speech in English. He got only as far as "Ladies and gentlemen", when people in the crowd shouted for him to speak in Bengali. Smiling, he switched to his native tongue and the crowd roared its approval.

He addressed them as "my brothers and sisters" and again expressed his personal gratitude to them, to Mrs. Gandhi and to the Indian armed forces for

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expelling the Pakistani occupation army from his land and for making his release possible.

He said his country would be founded on the same principles as India—"Bangla Desh stands for secularism, socialism and democracy".

(SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG in THE NEW YORK TIMES—January 11, 1972)

DACCA GOES DELIRIOUS — MILLIONS OUT TO GREET RAHMAN

DACCA, January 10—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today came to his people after nine months of imprisonment to receive an unprecedented welcome from a limitless expanse of dancing and cheering humanity and promptly set the seal on the liberation by proclaiming that the links with Pakistan had been snapped for all times.

From the moment the big white RAF jet landed, he was mobbed by a surging crowd all the way from the door of the plane, and even while he was being introduced to diplomats. Only while he was being presented with a guard of honour by contingents of the Bangla Desh Army, Navy and Air Force, was it possible to keep the crowd at bay.

The Sheikh looked rather thin and tired when he stood on a high rostrum at the airport to enable the vast multitude to see him. It was from this airport that he was taken away to Pakistan under cover of darkness. Today, his plane landed, in broad daylight to a triumphant 31-gun salute.

Before landing, the Comet circled the airport for nearly 45 minutes in deference to the Sheikh's wishes as he wanted to see his "Sonar Bangla" from the air.

At the head of the welcoming line was the Acting President, Syed Nazrul Islam, the Prime Minister, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Members of the Cabinet and the consular corps. The Chinese and Iranian Consuls-General were not present, but the U.S. Consul-General came.

Going from the airport to the Ramna Race Cource Ground—a distance of 5 Km., which the motorcade took two hours to cover wading through thick crowds—Mr. Rahman declared at a gigantic public meeting that Bangla Desh would fight to the last man to preserve its 'freedom', whatever Mr. Bhutto's 'dreams'.

The reception that he got was overwhelming. It was a demonstration of the people's love and respect for their leader—in size massive, in colour spectacular, in sound tumultuous and in mood fiercely loyal.

It looked as if Dacca City had emptied itself on a 4-sq. mile area between Tezgaon airport and the race course. Additionally, thousands came from the neighbouring districts of Faridpur, Comilla and Barisal. It was a public holiday.

From early morning, the city wore a festive look as countless processions meandered their way towards the airport and the race course. The streets were jam-packed. Almost everyone carried "Joi Bangla" flags and portraits of Mr. Rahman. The airport was heavily guarded by members of the Mukti Bahini, who also lined the route along which the Sheikh passed on his way from the airport to the race course. All the balconies and rooftops of buildings by the side of the road were full and the cheering crowds shouted "Long live the father of the nation" and "Long live Mujib Bhai". Some processions also carried placards saying "Burn the Seventh Fleet—destroy American imperialism" and "Long live Bangla Desh—India—Soviet Union friendship".

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The 53-year-old leader could hardly check his tears when he referred in his speech at the public meeting to the brutal killing of two million people and the wanton destruction of property by the Pakistan Army.

The Sheikh told the vast audience that before he left for London, Mr. Bhutto had requested him to consider if some sort of a link between Bangla Desh and West Pakistan was possible. He said, "I told Mr. Bhutto that I will have to discuss it with my people. Now, all of you present please note what I tell him: The link has snapped. From now on, we will have nothing to do with you (West Pakistan)".

An independent Bangla Desh was his life's mission, he said. That mission had to be fulfilled. He quoted Tagore to express his deep devotion for Bangla Desh. It pained him so much to see signs of destruction everywhere. "My people are now homeless beggars. I seek help from all countries of the world for re-construction of Bangla Desh".

Mr. Rahman spoke from a 100-feet rostrum built as a boat, election symbol of the Awami League. When he appeared on the rostrum, there were cheering, clapping and slogan-shouting all over the Ramna maidan. The audience, wild with joy, threw flowers towards their leader and released pigeons to celebrate his return from the gallows.

There were happy faces all around. Those who had passed through nine long months of the most horrible genocide of human history, smiled for the firs, time today. They have got back their beloved leader among them, they now feel confident of their future.

The Sheikh's speech, which lasted 35 minutes, was repeatedly greeted with clapping. Paying homage to those who had been killed by the Pakistan army and those who died fighting, the Bangla Desh leader thanked the Prime Minister of India, the Indian army and Russia for what they had done for Bangla Desh. He also conveyed good wishes to the people of the U.S.A. and other countries who had supported Bangla Desh during its grim struggle for independence.

Bangla Desh, the Sheikh remarked, was grateful to India, the country which provided food and shelter to 10 million refugees for all these months.

He reminded his followers that the hard-won independence would be meaningless if they failed to meet the basic needs of the people such as food, clothing and employment. Bangla Desh, he declared, was grateful to Mrs. Gandhi for what she, her Government and the people of India had done to help in her deepest national crisis.

He was all praise for the Indian army but for whom, he said, "we could not have overcome the sufferings and oppression at the hands of the Pakistan army so soon".

The Sheikh said some Bengalis had given evidence against him at the mock trial in West Pakistan. "I know them. They would be brought to trial", he said.

Concluding his speech, the Sheikh asked the audience to join him in offering prayers in memory of those who had laid down their lives during the freedom struggle. He then raised two slogans: Joi Bangla and India-Bangla Desh Bhai Bhai, and the vast gathering responded enthusiastically.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—January 11, 1972)

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SHEIKH MUJIB HOME : 500,000 GIVE HIM ROUSING WELCOME

DACCA, PAKISTAN, January 10—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman received a tumultuous, triumphant welcome today from a crowd of half a million Bengalis as he returned to his native land for the first time since he was arrested nine months ago.

The exultant crowd showered Sheikh Mujib with flowers and chanted "Joi Bangla!" ("Victory for Bengal!") as their leader stepped from the British Royal Air Force Comet jet that had brought him from New Delhi.

Sheikh Mujib, looking tired but elated by this reception, later said at an enormous rally at the Dacca Race Course, "My life's goal has been fulfilled. My Bengal is independent". His voice broke with emotion.

Despite an appeal by West Pakistan to retain some ties, he said, "the unity of the country is ended".

He greets diplomats

Wiping flower petals from his head, Sheikh Mujib inspected an honor guard of the army, navy and air force of Bangla Desh, the nation proclaimed by his followers in East Pakistan last month after India helped them wrest the region from Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujib greeted the members of the Dacca diplomatic corps, though only India and Bhutan have recognized Bangla Desh and have official Representatives here.

The American Consul-General, Herbert D. Spivack, bowed sightly as he shook hands with the Bengali leader, saying, "Welcome back to Dacca". Sheikh Mujib smiled broadly and replied, "Thank you very much".

Mr. Spivack said that he had been invited in his personal capacity and that his attendance did not have any political significance. Bengali–American relations are poor.

Sheikh Mujib's wife Fajilotdun did not attend today's ceremonies, reportedly because she was on the point of nervous exhaustion and was barely able to speak.

Until his release early Saturday, Sheikh Mujib had been under detention in West Pakistan, where he had been charged with treason.

Standing in the bright sunlight today, Sheikh Mujib appealed to his vast audience not to seek revenge for the three million Bengalis he said had been murdered by the Pakistani Army during their nine month drive to suppress the Bengali secession movement he led.

"Forgive them!" he shouted to the crowd. "Today I do not want revenge from anybody! There should not be any more killing!"

"The Bengal that will eat, smile, sing and be happy is my Bengal. Everyone in Bengal is now a Bengali and we must live together", he said.

His appeal was thought to be directed to the problem of the two million Biharis, the non-Bengali immigrants from India who had sided with the Pakistani army.

Bengali officials estimated that half a million people were at the race course and that 100,000 lined the mile-and-a-half route there from the airport. But the crowd was smaller than on several previous occasions when Sheikh Mujib spoke.

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Many still in villages

Many Bengalis believed that the size of the crowd reflected the enormous number of deaths in the war. And many Dacca residents have still not returned from their native villages where they fled during the war. As the flower-bedecked truck on which Sheikh Mujib rode from the airport passed slowly through the crowd, there were long rhythmic chants of "Sheikh Mujib Zindabad!" ("Long live Sheikh Mujib!").

Thousands of voices also chanted:

"A new nation has come upon the earth — Bangla Desh! Bangla Desh!"
"A new ism has come to the world—Mujibism! Mujibism!"

Many excited spectators tried to touch their leader and some who managed to break through police lines hugged him in long embraces.

Sheikh Mujib has long been the overwhelming favourite of the 75 million Bengalis. The Awami League, the party of which he is President, won 167 of the 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan in the National Assembly elections in December, 1970.

When Sheikh Mujib demanded autonomy for the eastern region, President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan of Pakistan first postponed the assembly session and then, on March 25, moved with his army to crush the Bengali movement. Guerrilla warfare broke out and as many as 10 million Bengalis are said to have fled to India.

Friend of Bengal

The 51-year-old Sheikh Mujib, who is tall for a Bengali and has a thick mustache and a heavy shock of graying hair, was affectionately hailed today as Bangabandhu, or friend of Bengal. He was wearing a black suit with a high buttoned collar.

The first man to greet Sheikh Mujib, as his plane landed at 1-45 p.m., was a beared guerrilla leader known as Kahsru, who wore army fatigues with pistols strapped to his hips.

Thousand of people then rushed past guards from the East Bengal Regiments to engulf Sheikh Mujib, and he was unable to descend from the plane for 10 minutes.

At the race course, Sheikh Mujib told his vast audience that the last words of the new Pakistani President, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to him before his release were, "try to keep Pakistan together if there is any way".

"I said nothing", Sheikh Mujib recalled. "But now I say to you, Bengal is independent, and let the people of Pakistan and the people of Bangla Desh live happily. The unity of the country is ended."

Word is virtually law

Sheikh Mujib's popularity is so great that his word has virtually become law with many Bengalis. His followers in the Bengali cabinet, none of whom have even a fraction of his prestige or popularity, have postponed most critical decisions pending his return.

Among the questions awaiting Sheikh Mujib are how to disarm the 100,000 or more men who have been fighting as guerrillas and how to protect the two

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million Biharis. He will also be expected to help Bangla Desh gain international recognition and find large amount of foreign aid to rebuild the nation's shattered economy.

It has been officially estimated that the new nation needs at least $ 3-billion for reconstruction, or three-quarters of the region's total annual production of $ 4-billion.

(FOX BUTTERIELD in THE NEW YORK TIMES—January 11, 1972)

MUJIB CUTS TIES WITH PAKISTAN

With tears flowing down his cheeks, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told a million Bengalis at Dacca Race Course yesterday (January 10) that his new nation of Bangla Desh was now independent, and would remain so "for all time to come".

The President, released at the weekend from a Pakistan prison, had received a tumultuous welcome on his arrival from London, via Delhi. Mobbed by immense crowds, he drove directly from the airport to the mass meeting at the race course.

Obviously very tired, he was near to breakdown at several points in his 40-minute oration. Never in world history had so many millions sacrificed so much to achieve nationhood, he said.

All countries should recognise Bangla Desh and ensure its place at the United Nations. The special link sought by President Bhutto of Pakistan could never be established.

The old ties between East and West Pakistan had been snapped for good.

Sheikh Mujib declared that the national party of Bangla Desh would stand for "socialism, democracy and secularism", meaning that Pakistan's conception of a Moslem State has been abandoned.

He dabbed his eyes with a handkerchief as, addressing Pakistan, he said: "You have killed millions of my countrymen, dishonoured our mothers and sisters, burnt innumerable houses, and driven away ten million of my people to India."

"Even so, I do not harbour any hatred against you. You have your independence. Let us have our independence".

Thanking his people for their "incredible support", he claimed that three-and-a-half million people had been killed. He would demand trials of those guilty of mass killings. He hoped these would be under international supervision.

Bengalis who had given evidence against him at his "mock trial", agents provocateurs and collaborators would also be punished. But the people must not take the law into their own hands.

He called on the people to get down to hard work and warned Government officials: "Do not take bribes. I will never tolerate it".

The Sheikh conveyed "heartfelt thanks" to Mrs. Gandhi and the Indian Government for their help. Speaking of his emotion as he landed on "the sacred soil" of his Motherland he said:

"The constant thought had hovered in my mind: shall I ever be able to return to my golden Bengal? They had dug my grave. It is only by God's grace that I am here today."

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The Chinese Consul-General was not among the diplomats present, but it was noted that Mr. Spivack, the American Consul, was there. Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. (Lab., Wednesbury) was on the platform.

Earlier at the airport, it took the President 12 minutes to reach the reception party because of the huge crowds which surged around the RAF Comet that had flown him from London. He was greeted by his Prime Minister, Tajuddin Ahmed, the British Deputy High Commissioner, Mr. Rae Britten, the Russian Consul and other diplomatic representatives.

His wife, the Begum Rahman, and two sons were lost for some minutes in the crowd. Finally, he drove in a police lorry with a bullet hole in the windscreen to the race course.

After the mass meeting, there was an emotional reunion between the Sheikh and his family at his suburban villa. Showered with flower petals by friends, he embraced his two daughters.

Then he knelt before his 90 year-old father and touched his feet. As his mother, who is 80, entered the room he embraced her and broke down.

(CLARE HOLINGWORTH in **THE DAILY TELEGRAPH**, London—January 11, 1972)

DAVID FROST'S INTERVIEW WITH SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN IN DACCA

Transcript of interview telecast in The David Frost Show, WNEW—TV, New York January 18, 1972

Frost: Here in Chakrapadi, as you can probably see, life in the newborn State of Bangla Desh under their beloved leader Sheikh Mujibur is returning to normal—or at least as normal as it possibly can considering the events of the past few months. Events like this; these were houses and then what happened here in Chakrapadi was terrifyingly simple (Pointing in different directions). West Pakistani army tanks at that end, West Pakistani army tanks at this end, first of all shelling into this densely populated area. The results you see all around me. Then the resistance was softened up with light machine-guns. Then the troops moved in simply and terrifyingly into each house chasing the surviving residents up towards the roofs where they were bayoneted and, in many cases, thrown back down in the street again. It is estimated that 10,000 people died here in Chakrapadi alone; but now a new nation has been born and today Sheikh Mujibur, the beloved leader of that new nation, talks on Television for the first time. This is his story of the past few months of bloodshed out of which Bangla Desh has been born. Joi Bangla!

On the night that you were arrested, on the night when in fact West Pakistan was about to invade where they'd been talking with you for sometime disguising their intentions and then they invaded, now at 8 O'clock you were at home on the night you were arrested and you got a warning, I believe, by phone that the army was on the way. Why did you decide to stay and be arrested?

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Sheikh Mujibur : You see, there is a most interesting story on this point. That evening, my house was surrounded by commandos and they wanted to kill me if I came out of the house, giving the names of my own people and saying that Mujib Rahman has been killed by the extremists of Bangla Desh. Then they decided to take action by telling the world that we are negotiating with Mujibur Rahman but the extremists killed Mujibur Rahman and that Yahya Khan has no alternative but to take action against that. That was their first idea. I know they are brutes, uncivilized. They will kill my whole people. They will make a massacre. I thought it is better I die and at least save my people who love me so much.

Frost : You could have gone to Calcutta perhaps.

Sheikh Mujibur : I could have gone to any place if I was ready to go, but how I can leave my people? I am a leader of the nation. I can fight and die, but I asked my people to resist.

Frost : You were right of course because this is what in the past nine months made you such a symbol for people to believe in. They think of you now as almost a God.

Sheikh Mujibur : I don't say that, but I say that they love me. I love them and I wanted to save their lives. But those brutes arrested me, destroyed my house, destroyed my village home where my old parents are living. My father was 90 years of age, my mother was 80 years of age. They were living in my village house, my ancestral house in the interior of the village. They sent the army, drove my father and mother from the house and burned the house in front of them. So they had no shelter. This way they have burned everything. I thought if they get me at least they will not kill my unfortunate people. But I know, my Party is sufficiently strong enough. I have organised a Party and the people who are behind it will fight it out. I told them, you must fight every inch. I have told them it might be my last order until and unless you get emancipation. You continue fighting.

Frost : How did they actually arrest you? It was 1-30 in the morning wasn't it? What happened?

Sheikh Mujibur : They machine-gunned my house first.

Frost : Where were you when they arrived?

Sheikh Mujibur : I was sitting in my bedroom—this is my bedroom. They started machine-gunning from that side. Some machine-guns were this side and from that side they started firing on the windows.

Frost : This was all destroyed?

Sheikh Mujibur : All destroyed. I was with my family and a bullet entered my bedroom. My six-year old child was sleeping on the bed. My wife was here with two children.

Frost : Where did the Pakistani troops come in?

Sheikh Mujibur : All sides and they started shooting through the window. Then I told my wife to sit here with my two children. I went out leaving my wife.

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Frost : What did she say?

Sheikh Mujibur : Not a word. I only kissed her a farewell kiss. I opened the door and came out and I told them to stop shooting. I said, "Stop shooting, I'm here. Why are you shooting, what for?" Then they started rushing from all sides these military persons with bayonets to charge me. One officer was here. He caught hold of me like this. "Don't kill him" he said.

Frost : Just one officer stopped them?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes. Then they took me, dragged me from here and started giving me blows from the back on my legs and with the back of their guns started pushing me here and there. The officer caught me but still they were pushing and dragged me down. "Don't drag me", I said. "Wait, allow me to bring my pipe and tobacco or get it from my wife; I require my pipe". Then I came up again and saw my wife standing with my two childrn. They brought the pipe for me and a small suitcase. I went away. I could see fire from all sides burning everywhere. They took me from here.

Frost : As you left your home at 32, Dhanmandi, did you think you would ever see it again?

Sheikh Mujibur : I didn't, I thought this was the last, but if I die as a leader with my head up, at least they will not be ashamed; but if I surrender to them, my nation, the people of my country cannot show their face to the world. It is better that I die keeping the prestige of my people.

Frost : You once said, "You cannot kill someone who is ready to die", didn't you?

Sheikh Mujibur : I told them that a man who is ready to die, nobody can kill him. You can kill a man physically, but can you kill a man's soul? You can't. It's my faith. I'm a Mussalman and a Mussalman dies only once, not twice. I'm a human being. I love humanity. I'm a leader of this nation, and my people love me and I love them. There is nothing I expect from them now. They have given everything for me because I was ready to give everything for them. I want to make them free. I have no objection to die. I want to see them happy. I become emotional when I feel the love and affection my people gave me.

Frost : Did the Pakistanis loot everything from your house?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, my whole house, even the beds, almirahs, clothes, everything. All has been taken by them. There is nothing you see.

Scene of house being repaired

Frost : That was not taken by the builders, but by the Pakistanis?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, the Pakistani troops. I don't mind about them having taken my almirahs, furniture, clothes, my children's clothes, but I only mind that they have taken my life's history. I had my diaries for 35 years of my political life. I had a wonderful library. They have taken every book of mine and some valuable documents. Everything has been taken by the Pakistan Army.

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Frost : Again the question comes, once again. Why, why did they take everything?

Sheikh Mujibur : I don't know. They are not human beings, they are criminals, they are fanatics, inhuman, uncivilized creatures. Forget about this whole thing of mine. I don't mind it. Think about them killing a 2-year old child, a 5-year old child, womenfolk. They have killed all innocent people. People who had no hearths or homes. I have shown you how they burnt the poor quarters. These were absolutely hungry people who used to live in these small places. Their homes were burning. People rushed from their homes, they couldn't live there. They were machine-gunned from all sides and killed in thousands.

Frost : You mean they forced them out of their homes and when they came out in the open they were gunned down?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, gunned down.

Frost : They didn't know whom they were doing it to?

Sheikh Mujibur : No.

Frost : They just did i to anybody?

Sheikh Mujibur : Anybody. Their idea was that everyone was a Sheikh Mujib follower, so everyone should be killed.

Frost : When you see human beings do something like that, do you feel that human beings are basically good, or does that make you feel that the human nature is basically bad?

Sheikh Mujibur : There is good and bad everywhere. I've seen many human beings with human qualities, but I think the soldiers of West Pakistan are not human beings, they are worse than animals. People may have animal qualities, but people cannot be worse than animals. But these people are worse than animals, because an animal would kill a man attacking it, but not torture it. But they killed my people torturing them for 5 days, 7 days, 15 days.

Frost : What about your trial?

Sheikh Mujibur : They made it a court-martial with five military officers and all civil officers.

Frost : What did they charge you with?

Sheikh Mujibur : Treason, war against the Pakistan Government, against the armed forces, wanting to make Bengal independent and what not. Twelve charges out of which for six charges the punishment is hanging.

Frost : And did you have any defence?

Sheikh Mujibur : The Government was giving defence first but when I saw the situation and the position I thought, "No use defending me, because this is a mock trial. It is a farce". Then I got up in the court and said, "Mr. Judge, kindly ask the defence

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lawyers to go away because you know it is a camera trial. I am a civilian. I'm not a military person and they are giving me court-martial. Mr. Yahya Khan is not only the President but also the Chief Martial Law Administrator. He is the confirming authority. He is the convening authority of this court".

Frost : So at the end, you mean, he can decide anything?

Sheikh Mujibur : He can decide anything.

Frost : Did you carry on going to the court or did you stop?

Sheikh Mujibur : I had to. I was a prisoner.

Frost : You didn't have much freedom of choice I suppose. Did they ever reach an official verdict?

Sheikh Mujibur : After the court finished the proceedings on December 4, immediately Mr. Yahya Khan called on all the judges, that means the Lt. Colonels and Brigadiers, to Rawalpindi to dictate the judgment. There they decided to hang me.

Frost : And, indeed, I believe that you discovered that in the next cell to you they were digging a grave.

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, just near my cell they dug a grave. I saw that.

Frost : You knew they were doing that?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, I've seen it with my own eyes, and I said, "I know, this is my grave perhaps. All right, I'm ready".

Frost : Did they say "Yes, this is your grave"?

Sheikh Mujibur : No, they would not say that.

Frost : What did they say?

Sheikh Mujibur : They said, "No, no, no, no. We are making some arrangment that if we have some bombing then you can take shelter".

Frost : And at that moment what were your thoughts? Had you thought you were about to die all the nine months?

Sheikh Mujibur : I knew all the nine months that any day I can die. Because they are uncivilized.

Frost : And how did you face up to that? Did you pray?

Sheikh Mujibur : I could face it for my conviction, for my principle, for my 75 million people who love me as their brother, their father, their leader.

Frost : And when you see them digging a grave and you think of everything you will have to leave behind you, do you think of your country or, for instance, of your wife and children first?

Sheikh Mujibur : I feel for my country and my people and then my family. I love my people more. I suffered for my people and you have seen how my people love me.

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Frost : But if you were the leader of a country like Bangla Desh, fighting for independence, you have to love your people first, your family second.

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, I love my people first. I know that a human being has to die one day, either today, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Therefore, every human should die like a courageous man.

Frost : And who saved you from that grave?

Sheikh Mujibur : I think God, the Almighty God saved me.

Frost : Did the jailer move you at one point? Did he move you away when Yahya Khan came to collect you to kill you, as I read in one account?

Sheikh Mujibur : They created a situation in the jail and mobilised some prisoners in the jail to attack me early in the morning and kill me. The officer who was in charge of me took a liking to me, I think. Perhaps he knew that Yahya Khan's days were numbered, and at 3 O' clock at night he took me out of the jail and kept me in his bungalow for two days without any military guards. After two days, he took me from there to another deserted area in a colony. There he kept me for four, five or six days. Nobody knew where I was except some poor officers.

Frost : I wonder what has happened to them!

Sheikh Mujibur : I don't know. I don't think they can do anything to them. But I wish them good luck.

Frost : And even when Yahya Khan was handing over to Mr. Bhutto, I gather he again suggested that you should be hanged. Is that right?

Sheikh Mujibur : Absolutely right. That is the most interesting story that Mr. Bhutto told me. When Yahya Khan wanted to surrender power to Mr. Bhutto, he said, "Mr. Bhutto, I've created the greatest blunder of not killing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman".

Frost : He said that?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes. He went on, "Now, kindly allow me, before handing over power, to kill Mujibur Rahman giving anti-date, back-date-hanging now and then hand over power". But Mr. Bhutto refused.

Frost : Did Mr. Bhutto tell you what he said?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes.

Frost : What did Bhutto say?

Sheikh Mujibur : Bhutto said that "I can't allow because then there will be a serious reaction. One lakh twenty thousand armed forces and civilians have been arrested in Bengal and are in the hands of allied forces of Bangla Desh and Indian Army and about five or ten lakhs of non-Bengali population are in Bangla Desh. If you kill Mujibur Rahman now and I take over power, not a single soul will come from Bangla Desh to West Pakistan again and there will be reaction in West Pakistan and my

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position will be precarious". I am very grateful to Mr. Bhutto. There's no doubt about that.

Frost : If you came face to face with Yahya Khan today, what would you say?

Sheikh Mujibur : He's a criminal. I don't like to see his photo even. He has killed my 3 million people of Bangla Desh through his soldiers.

Frost : Mr. Bhutto has him under house arrest. What should Mr. Bhutto do, do you think?

Sheikh Mujibur : You know what has happened in Bengal? I will tell you. Three million people have been killed, including children, women, intellectuals, peasants, workers, students. At least 25 per cent to 30 per cent of houses are burned and looted in Bangla Desh. All the food godowns have been destroyed.

Frost : And how do you know that the number was as high as three million?

Sheikh Mujibur : Before my coming, my people had started collecting the information. I have messages coming from all areas where I have a base. We have not finally concluded, it might be more, but definitely it will not be less than three million.

Frost : And this was just pointless killing? They just dragged people out of their houses.....

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, these were just peaceful people living in their houses in a village. They don't know anything of the world. The armed forces went there and started shooting them like birds.

Frost : Why, why, why?

Sheikh Mujibur : I don't know. I can't understand it. It's never happened in the world. Never in the history of the world has something like this happened.

Frost : And it was Muslims killing Muslims?

Sheikh Mujibur : They proclaim to be Muslims. How the Muslims have killed Muslim girls. We tried to rescue thousands. Many of them are still in our camps. Their husbands are killed, fathers are killed. In front of the father and mother they have raped daughters, in front of the son they've raped the mother. You can't think of this. I cannot stop my tears. How these people can claim to be Mussalmans. They are worse than animals. I have a friend, one of the top leaders of my Party, Mr. Mushir Rahman. (He weeps openly.) He was ex-Minister of the Government of Bangla Desh. He was killed, tortured. They tortured him for 24 days, cut one hand first, then the left hand, then his ears, then his legs...24 days! The poor man. And this is only one case I'm telling you. Many leaders, many workers, many intellectuals, many government officials, were taken from custody and killed after being tortured for 7 days, 10 days and then killed. This inhuman torture I have never heard of in history. Even the animal, even the tiger, will kill a man but never like this.

Frost : And what did they hope to achieve?

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Sheikh Mujibur : They wanted to keep this land as a colony. You know that they killed my police, Bengali police, Bengali armed forces, Bengali professors, Bengali teachers, Bengali engineers, Bengali doctors, Bengali youngsters, students, all sections of people have been killed.

Frost : And they took out and killed 130 intellectuals even as the war was ending here in Dacca?

Sheikh Mujibur : Just one day before the surrender, and only in Dacca. They have killed 300, not 150, intellectuals from the University, from the Medical College, from the Engineering University. These people were killed in their own houses. Another terrible thing I will tell you. They declared curfew so that people could not leave their houses. Then they entered the houses and killed them.

Frost : Using the curfew so that nobody knows what's going on?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes.

Frost : Do you think Yahya Khan was a weak man led into evil by others, or was he an evil man himself?

Sheikh Mujibur : He himself is an evil man, and his own friends and colleagues are saying this. You cannot put the responsibility on others, because he is a hypocrite and a dangerous man. From what I have seen when talking to him when he was President and I was the leader of the majority Party that time.....

Frost : He misled you, didn't he?

Sheikh Mujibur : He could not mislead me. I understood what he was going to do, but I was also preparing to hit and he has now got the hit.

Frost : Preparing to what?

Sheikh Mujibur : Hit him back and he has got the hit back.

Frost : Did you see him after you were imprisoned? Did you ever see him?

Sheikh Mujibur : No. He is not a human being even.

Frost : What do you think would be the right thing for Mr. Bhutto to do now?

Sheikh Mujibur : He should give him a full trial, an open trial, I think.

Frost : He is under house arrest. Do you think Mr. Bhutto will do that?

Sheikh Mujibur : He should.

Frost : What do you think now of Mr. Bhutto? Do you think one day, as Prime Minister or as President of Pakistan, he will ever visit free Dacca? Will he ever come here for talks?

Sheikh Mujibur: I don't know. But let him recognise the reality now that Bangla Desh is an independent country, and then he should know that there is no use shouting that Bengal is his territory. It is not, because for all practical purposes if they claim to be one Pakistan then you know that I have the majority and

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I could claim to be the President of Pakistan with West Pakistan as my territory. If they believe in democracy, I can claim that mine is the majority Party—I can call a meeting—declare the whole country as Bangla Desh and tell them that West Pakistan is my territory. You, Bhutto, get out, I am appointing the Governor. This is my territory, you withdraw otherwise I will send my army with the allied forces to occupy West Pakistan. I don't want this trouble. I have no ambition for territory. Let Mr. Bhutto be happy with West Pakistan. I want to be happy with my people of Bangla Desh and Bangla Desh is a sovereign independent country.

Frost : How many of the 75,000,000 people of Bangla Desh are hungry today, are in a state of famine today ?

Sheikh Mujibur: I think about 75 per cent.

Frost : 75 per cent. ?

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes, because they destroyed everything, even the people who have a capacity to eat from their own godowns—their godowns have been looted. Even the people who have little money have been looted. I think it might not be 75 per cent, it might be 85 per cent people who are in a very difficult position. My people are very good and peace-loving. They have full confidence in me and they are waiting for me to arrange something for them. I am very glad that India after recognition have come to my help so that my machinery can function. Communications should be restored, because, before their surrender, the Pakistanis destroyed my railway, the biggest bridges, the oil tanks, my industries. They have destroyed everything humanly possible.

Frost : You have so much to do in the first week of a new country, you have also selected, for instance, a flag and a national anthem.

Sheikh Mujibur : Yes. That was the flag used long before, but there is only a small change. This was our national song long before, but I wanted to give it official recognition and I have given the official recognition now. I'm only making a small change in my flag because in my flag there was a map of Bangla Desh. No country can give a map of its territory in their national flag.

Frost : Why is that?

Sheikh Mujibur : It has never happened in any part of the world. We don't want to keep my territorial map in the flag. What I have done, and my people also accepted it, was to take out the territory map and keep the rising sun.

Frost : And who wrote the national anthem?

Sheikh Mujibur : It is an old song of Rabindranath Tagore.

Frost : What does it say in English?

Sheikh Mujibur : It says in English "I love my golden Bengal". That's how it starts. "Golden Bengal, I love you".

Frost : And this is a song that has been sung in Bangla Desh for many years?

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Sheikh Mujibur: Many years. On March 7th, when I held the last meeting at the race course maidan where one million people were present and they were shouting 'Independent Bengal' slogans and the boys started singing, we all 10 lakhs of people got up to attention to salute the song. That time we accepted our present national anthem.

Frost: Do you wish that on March 7th at the race course you had declared the independent state of Bangla Desh then?

Sheikh Mujibur: I knew what was to come and I declared in that meeting that this time the fight was for liberation, emancipation and freedom.

Frost: If you had to say, "I, today declare the independent state of Bangla Desh", what would have happened?

Sheikh Mujibur: I didn't want to do it that day particularly because I didn't want to allow them then to tell the world that Mujibur Rahman has declared independence and we have no alternative but to hit back. I wanted them to hit us first and my people were ready to resist it.

Frost: But you did not want to start it?

Sheikh Mujibur: No, I wanted them to start it.

Frost: When do you think Bangla Desh will be recognised by Britain?

Sheikh Mujibur: I expect any time. I know the British people.

Frost: You talked with Mr. Heath in London?

Sheikh Mujibur: I talked with Mr. Heath, I talked with Mr. Wilson and I'm happy with the talks.

Frost: And you smoke English tobacco?

Sheikh Mujibur: Yes, for a long time.

Frost: What tobacco is it?

Sheikh Mujibur: Edin More's.

Frost: You like that?

Sheikh Mujibur: I like it. I've been smoking it for about 14 years. Even in the jail, I told them that they must supply me with this tobacco And they kindly supplied it also.

Frost: Even in solitary confinement?

Sheikh Mujibur: At least I am grateful to them for that. (He laughs)

Frost: This is a hungry city, but a happy city. Do you know yet how much money you need?

Sheikh Mujibur: I can't say now. I can tell you nothing. Even when they went from here they burnt the bank notes. The money in the bank they brought it and burnt it before they surrendered.

Frost: And then there is other money of East Pakistan, as it then was, which is in West Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujibur: There is nothing there. I am asking my people to give gold, whatever they have. They will give it.

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Frost : They will give gold and thus you will have gold reserves.

Sheikh Mujibur : That's the only alternative I have now. Perhaps tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, I will appeal to the nation. Whatever you have, give something from your ornaments. Deposit it in the Government banks so that I can make some reserves. But they have nothing. The shops have been looted, the gold shops. I can't tell you anything more.

Frost: But, I mean, where will the people be able to give you gold from?

Sheikh Mujibur : Whatever small things they have.

Frost: Will you ever see any of the reserves that are in West Pakistan again?

Sheikh Mujibur : You know, they have a commitment to the world. They have taken about 2,000 crores loan, only a small portion of which they were spending on Bangla Desh. Now Pakistan is there. We are not a Pakistani Bangla Desh. I have no responsibility. Let them pay all the loans they have taken. See their economy. I will survive. It is difficult for them to survive. To pay 2,000 crores loan and to have no market for their industries, what are they? Serious unemployment will be there.

Frost : They say, you know, you have the great power of leading Bangla Desh. There is that old quote "Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely". How will you stop power corrupting you?

Sheikh Mujibur : You know that if a man like Yahya Khan comes to power by accident, he can be corrupt; but if a man comes through a process, struggling, suffering, fighting, whatever power you give him he will not become corrupt. So far as my Party and I are concerned, all my leaders have suffered jail, all my leaders have lost their houses, many of them lost their family members. They have got power after 24 years. If they get absolute power, there is no chance of corruption, because they have come through a process unlike Yahya Khan and others who, because of brute force and guns, have come to power. My people have not come to power through guns but through a process, a struggle and not only that, they have achieved independence after making sacrifices and because they have love for their people and their country. I have confidence in my leaders and in my Party workers.

Frost : You mentioned leaders. What is a leader? If you had to define the word leadership, for instance, what is true leadership?

Sheikh Mujibur : True leadership comes through a process. A man can't be a leader by an accident in one day. It must come through a process, a struggle. He must prove himself and be above personal interest. He must be prepared to sacrifice himself for the cause of humanity. He must have a principle, an idealism. If a leader has those qualities, he is a leader.

Frost : Who are the leaders in the history of the world whom you admire?

Sheikh Mujibur : I recognise many leaders. I wouldn't like to mention who are the leaders today.

Frost : Let's look back into history. Who are the people who inspired you?

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Sheikh Mujibur: I admired Abraham Lincoln, Mao Tse Tung, Lenin, Churchill. I used to like Mr. Kennedy, the ex-President.

Frost: Did you meet the ex-President?

Sheikh Mujibur: I have not met him but I have read his books. I like him.

Frost: What about Mahatma Gandhi?

Sheikh Mujibur: I have great respect for Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Suhrawardy, Fazl-ul Haq and Kemal Ataturk. I used to admire Dr. Sukarno who fought against colonialism for the emancipation of his people. I have great admiration for him. These people who have come through the process of fighting.

Frost: At this moment in time as you look back, what would you say was your gladdest moment in the past year? What was the moment which provided the greatest happiness for you?

Sheikh Mujibur: The day that I heard that my people had been liberated, my people were independent and I have got Bangla Desh as an independent sovereign country. That was the happiest day of my life.

Frost: Of your whole life?

Sheikh Mujibur: Whole life.

Frost: How long had you been dreaming of a day like that?

Sheikh Mujibur: Long time.

Frost: When did you first go to prison in your fight for freedom? Was it many years ago?

Sheikh Mujibur: I think I started going to jail in so-called Pakistan from 1948. I was arrested in 1949. I was in jail up to 1952. Then again I became a Minister in 1954. Again I was arrested in 1954 and confined till 1955. Again I was arrested in 1958 by Ayub Khan. I was in prison for five years and two years in internment and faced trials of many cases including the Agartala Conspiracy case Again I was arrested in 1966 and was in jail for about three years. Again I was arrested by Yahya Khan and I've come out. Long struggle, long suffering. Not only I, but many of my colleagues.

Frost: And when you heard of what had happened to some of your colleagues in the fight for freedom in the past nine months.....

Sheikh Mujibur: It was the worst time of my life when I heard that they had killed about 3,000,000 people of mine.

Frost: (Producing photographs) These pictures are pictures that we will never forget. They are pictures you know that moved the world. When you saw those pictures for the first time.....

Sheikh Mujibur: I wish you hadn't shown me for I become emotional (weeps).

Frost: You must be. What did you say when you first saw those pictures?

Sheikh Mujibur: What could I say? I had no words to say. I became emotional. I started weeping. Tears come to my eyes even now. Innocent boys, innocent girls, innocent people were killed mercilessly by the Pakistan army. They burned the houses, raped my people,

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raped my sisters and my mothers. That was the worst time of my life and I am a strong man. Perhaps nobody has seen tears in my eyes but now tears are coming and I can't stop them.

Frost: How many times have you wept for your people in the past months?

Sheikh Mujibur: Many times I've wept for them.

Frost: When you heard what had been done?

Sheikh Mujibur: Yes. Everytime I remember it, tears come to my eyes and still they are coming. I can't talk now that you have shown me those photos. How a human being can kill an innocent child of five months or one year or two years. How they can kill the women and the poor peasants who have no food even. I cannot think of this, my friend. Really, it is an unfortunate position. The world could have seen and this world of our arranged the Nuremberg trials against the war criminals of fascist Germany. I think there should be another trial by the United Nations against these people. I have no objection to giving them the chance to see and give them a trial, an inquiry. Not trial, but inquiry and show to the world. I always believe in forgive and forget, but it is impossible on my part to forgive and forget because these are cold blooded murders in a planned way, genocide to kill my people. Do you think any human being can tolerate these things? These people must be punished. There is no question about it. I can't talk now. Why did you show me these photos? I can't think of it. Believe me, I become emotional on this particular point.

Frost: I think that's how I became, and I think that's how many human beings would be.

Sheikh Mujibur: Shocked! When you still see hundreds and thousands of dead bodies in many places. They have made a ditch and thousands of people have been killed and thrown there. Some of them weren't even dead. Still they were thrown into the ditch and they died there suffering (Raises his voice). Have you heard in the history of mankind a bigger human disaster? I don't expect that any power should do politics with my people any more. For the sake of humanity, I appeal to them to help my unfortunate people, people who are still suffering. I have no ambition, I don't want to be the Prime Minister. I could not accept it. What can a Prime Minister get that I have not got from my people. I went to the hospital yesterday and I saw injured people who had lost their hands and legs, but they told me, "We have lost everything, we don't mind, but you have come back. That is our satisfaction. We are happy." Can you kill love and affection? Prime Ministership and Presidentship mean nothing to me. I have got the love and affection of my people. I want to die with that, nothing more I expect.

I'm happy. My people are today independent. They can develop themselves. They can live in an independent country. I'm grateful, really I'm grateful to the Indian people and Mrs. Gandhi. The way they have helped my ten million people who migrated to India and the people of India gave them food and shelter and accommodation. In 80 countries of the world, the population

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is less than ten million, but my ten million people had to migrate from their houses and you know what was the suffering. I want to rehabilitate them and I want help from everybody who has human feelings. I want the world to come forward. I have no malice against anybody. I already declared my foreign policy —Friendship to all, malice to none. I want to save my country. I want to save my people, I want to give them food, I want to give them cloth, I want to give them house, I want to give them education, I want to give them employment, I want to make a society free of exploitation—nothing else.

Frost: Prime Minister, could you offer a prayer in which the world could join?

Sheikh Mujibur: I always pray that the world should come forward to help my people. I always expect that they should come forward for the sake of humanity and my unfortunate people of Bangla Desh. No country in the world has suffered so much for their liberation as my people of Bangla Desh have suffered. I am very grateful to you, you are a friend of mine. I invited you to come and see for yourself. You have seen. See some more, go and move around. There is absolute law and order in my land. The question now does arise that if anybody asks you anything, do whatever you can do and give my good wishes as a prayer to the world. I wish everybody good luck and I expect that everybody will come forward to help my hungry millions. Thank you my friend. God Help You. Joi Bangla.

Frost: Joi Bangla. I'm sure the world will come forward and I'm sure that if it doesn't, God will never forgive us.

II. EDITORIALS AND COMMENTS

TOO LATE TO TURN BACK THE CLOCK

Nine million refugees and eighty thousand Pakistani troops bear testimony to the Will of the Bengali people to be free.

In these circumstances, if Mr. Bhutto intends play Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a trump card, he is apt to be sadly disillusioned. Mujib is the father figure of Bangla Desh and it is inconceivable that he would want to lead his people under any other banner.

If Mr. Bhutto feels that his newly won power is sustained by a democratic tradition in East which, through his own refusal to accept its implications in the national context, spawned the concept of Bangla Desh, it is much too late now to try to turn back the clock.

(THE STRAITS ECHO, Penang—December 22, 1971)

BHUTTO'S ACE

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a shrewed player of political poker, picked up a nearly hopeless hand when he assumed the Presidency of a defeated and despairing Pakistan two weeks ago. But Mr. Bhutto inherited one ace that he obviously intends to play for all it is worth in the delicate, three-way diplomatic game now

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unfolding among Pakistan, India and the break-away Pakistani province of East Bengal, newly proclaimed as Bangla Desh.

Mr. Bhutto's trump card is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the charismatic East Bengali leader who was seized by the discredited Government of President Yahya Khan last March 25 at the beginning of the crackdown that led to East Pakistan's final secession. Bangla Desh urgently needs Sheikh Mujib's leadership to unify its people for urgent tasks of rehabilitation, reconstruction and nation-building. India needs Mujib even more desperately to forestall a growing threat of anarchy and extremeism in this new border state and to promote conditions that will facilitate the speedy return of the refugees to Bangla Desh and withdrawal of Indian troops.

Mr. Bhutto wasted no time in transferring the Sheikh from prison to house arrest and then meeting him personally. But the Pakistani leader has not yet indicated what price he hopes to exact for Mujib's safe return to Dacca. Mr. Bhutto certainly cannot be blamed for trying to make the most of what little he has to bargain within the wake of Pakistan's defeat by the Indian army. The danger lies in overplaying his hand....

It is in everyone's interest that Sheikh Mujib be returned to Dacca as quickly as possible. The world awaits with enormous interest President Bhutto's promised word today on Sheikh Mujib's future.

(*Editorial*, THE NEW YORK TIMES—January 3, 1972)

BHUTTO FACES FACTS

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is trying to come to terms with realities. Though he continues to speak of Pakistan with two wings, he is preparing his people to accept the loss of one of them. The 'flabby Generals' responsible for it have been sent packing, and Bhutto has also indicated that he will soon release Sheikh Mujib unconditionally. The President realises that holding Mujib captive will not change the popular mood in what was East Pakistan, nor will it improve Islamabad's image abroad. It is necessary moreover for Pakistan to come to terms with India which holds some ninety thousand Pakistani officers and men prisoner. Releasing the Sheikh could open up negotiations with India leading to the return of the prisoners of war.

(*Editorial*, THE STRAITS TIMES, Kuala Lampur—January 3, 1972)

BHUTTO AND MUJIB

The announcement by President Bhutto that he plans to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unconditionally does not necessarily indicate that he is coming to terms with reality. Things are not the same in the west any more than they are in the east.

The radical upheaval which has taken place not only in the former East Pakistan but also in West Pakistan where Bhutto has been catapulted to power in the wake of the disastrous war with India.... Bangla Desh has come into being through the agency of Indian arms and assumes validity on the basis of the Awami League's overwhelming victory at the polls. The declaration of independence included the proclamation of the policy of secularism.

Sheikh Mujib is the undisputed leader of Bangla Desh. In accepting this reality, Bhutto said he was not extracting any promise from the Sheikh. He could

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not of course. Bangla Desh was conceived in Mujib's betrayal (Mujibur Rahman was betrayed) and born in the blood of a whole people.

(*Editorial*, THE STRAITS ECHO, Penang—January 4, 1972)

THE WISEST COURSE

The Pakistani leader (Mr. Bhutto) has said he wants to maintain links with East Bengal possibly in the form of a loose federation. However, by entertaining such hopes he may be totally misjudging the present mood of East Bengalis who have proudly proclaimed their right to sovereignty of the state of Bangla Desh....

Provided he follows through swiftly, Bhutto's gesture in freeing him (Sheikh Mujib) should help open the way to conciliation with India. After its tragic mistakes in its eastern province and its humiliating military defeat, Pakistan's wisest and indeed its only course is to seek to be a good neighbour on the sub-continent.

(*Editorial*, THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston—January 5, 1972)

EXAMPLE OF BANGLA DESH

Arriving in London yesterday, after his release from Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman immediately appealed for international recognition of his new nation, Bangla Desh. The reluctance of most countries to recognise Bangla Desh arises from the fact that Indian troops are still occupying its territory. This is a reasonable, and one hopes temporary, condition. But there is a certain irrationality in the coolness with which many Governments continue to treat the Bengali secession.

This coolness is based on widespread apprehension among nations that the Bengali example may be followed by dissident groups within their own borders. Although such fears cannot be altogether discounted, they are largely based on an insufficient appreciation of the unique conditions that made the utlimate division of Pakistan inevitable.

The most obvious of these conditions was the geographical separation of the two parts of the original Pakistan by more than one thousand miles of Indian territory. That vast division militated against the success of the Pakistani experiment from the beginning, especially against the kind of unitary state upon which West Pakistani leaders insisted.

Pakistan's geographical gulf might have been bridged if the people of the two halves had had more in common. But it is difficult to imagine two peoples who are less alike. The people of East Pakistan, now Bangla Desh, are racially, physically, linguistically and culturally distinct from their former countrymen in West Pakistan.

Their one common tie was the Moslem religion, and even here there is a striking difference in the attitude of the Bengalis, more recent converts to Islam, who are notably more tolerant of their Hindu neighbours than the militant Moslems of the West.

These profound differences were intensified by the arrogant attitude of the West Pakistanis who dominated the Government and armed forces of the unitary state throughout most of its history, although the Bengalis made up a majority of the population. Developmental efforts were largely focused in the West, while the East was exploited almost like a colony.

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In final break was sealed not so much through the initiative of the Easterners as by the cruel measures with which President Yahya Khan sought to subdue popular demand in East Pakistan for a large measure of autonomy. Thousands of Bengalis were killed, millions were driven into exile, and many villages were destroyed in the army repression which began suddenly last March 25th with the arrest of elected Bengali leaders.

Under the circumstances, the division of Pakistan became inevitable. It is not the example of the Bengali secessionists that should be feared and deplored, but that of the short sighted military regime in Islamabad which has dramatically demonstrated how not to deal with popular and well-founded dissent.

(*Editorial*, THE NEW YORK TIMES—January 9, 1972)

SHEIKH MUJIB'S RELEASE—TURNING POINT

The categorical and emphatic statement made by the East Bengal leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in favour of complete independence and sovereignty of the secessionist state of "Bangla Desh" on his dramatic arrival in London on Saturday following his unconditional release by the Pakistani President, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, marks a crucial turning point in the history of not only Pakistan but of the entire South Asian region as a whole.

So long as the Sheikh was held as a prisoner in West Pakistan, and even after his release, but before his views on President Bhutto's idea of a loose confederation between the two wings of Pakistan was known, it was difficult to predict confidently the shape of things to come in "Bangla Desh", particuarly as the Sheikh was—and most certainly is—reckoned not only to be chief source of inspiration of "Bangla Desh," but also, in the view of all competent authorities, the only hope to bring that part of the sub-continent back into order and normalcy.

Now that this hitherto imponderable factor is imponderable no more, a major step forward to the recognition of "Bangla Desh" has been reached, particularly as the Sheikh's unconditional release by President Bhutto implies that Mr. Bhutto himself has, privately if not yet publicly, reconciled himself to what has, after the fourteen-day war between India and Pakistan, become a fact of political life in the South Asian sub-continent.

As such, it can be expected that, for many states, the last hurdle to the recognition of "Bangla Desh" has been crossed, and it is thus now not difficult to predict a series of such acts of recognition of "Bangla Desh" which has, so far, only been recognised by India and Bhutan.

President Bhutto's role in the unconditional release of the Sheikh is also significant and tends to portray the Pakistani President as much of an astute politician as well as a democrat. As the choice of the overwhelming majority of the people of West Pakistan, indicated during the December, 1970, elections which proved that the Sheikh was the undisputed leader of East Pakistan, President Bhutto has vindicated himself as a respector of the people's wishes.

Apart from this, Mr. Bhutto's understandably difficult step stresses his hope that it is better in Pakistan's long-term interest not to cut every link, political and economic, with "Bangla Desh", but to give time, the great healer, room for future co-operation.

Whatever the background of "Bangla Desh" the emergence in the context of future relations between India and Pakistan—who, incidentally, have still to resolve their many problems left unsettled by the Indo-Pakistan war—there can be little doubt that it has not only changed the power structure in the South Asian region

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but has helped to bring about a closer alignment between India and the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and between the U.S., Pakistan and China on the other; configurations which cannot but continue to shape the future of this part of the globe for long years to come.

(*Editorial*, **RISING NEPAL**, Kathmandu—January 10, 1972)

UNCHALLENGEABLE REALITY

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is now not only a free man but also the head of State of a country that has just proclaimed itself independent. It must have become clear to all by now that Bangla Desh is a reality and that the sooner every nation recognises it the better for it. There is indeed no room to doubt that the majority of nations will have recognised the newly-emerging Bangla Desh within the next few days or weeks. In Nepal too, all conscious people, except a handful of extremist elements who ever dance to the tune of foreign leaders, are actually concious of the stark truth that Bangla Desh has emerged as our third neighbour after India and China.

After what Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has said, so clearly, immediately after his freedom from captivity, there can indeed be no room for any country now to lag behind in recognising Bangla Desh, which, as everybody has come to know now, is the result of the sacrifices made by a countless number of people in the course of their struggle for emancipation from untold tyranny and the active support given by India. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whom the world has acknowledged as the unquestioned leader of the seventy-five million people of Bangla Desh, has left no doubt that Bangla Desh is an "unchallengeable reality". That President Bhutto himself has begun to appreciate the reality of Bangla Desh is clear from his action in releasing the Sheikh unconditionally, knowing full well what it means in practical terms. It is only a matter of time for Pakistan to get itself fully reconciled to the independent existence of Bangla Desh.

This being the case, the Nepalese people, who have throughout been sympathetic to the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh, expect H.M.G. to give serious consideration to the question of eventually granting recognition to Bangla Desh, now that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has confirmed the independence of Bangla Desh and assumed responsibilities of the head of State. Moreover, our vital national interests are linked in some way to this question.

(*Editorial*, **NEW HERALD**, Kathmandu—January 10, 1972)

ZINDABAD SHEIKH MUJIB

The return of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is considered to be the only person who has the right and power to represent Bangla Desh, shows that the war between India and Pakistan could, to some extent, surpass the truth of the tragedy of that part of the world. There, 75 million Bengalis live who have been fighting for their existence and separate individuality since the withdrawal of the British imperialists from the Indian sub-continent. They have been defending themselves although millions of them were killed and died from bullets, hunger and illness.

With the return of the Sheikh, who is called by his people in Bengal as "Mujib", the wish of the 75 million Bengali people has been fulfilled.... If the Bengali nation wants unity with Pakistan, it is its choice and that is worthy of our respect. If it wants otherwise, it is also its choice and that also deserves respect

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and help. There is no doubt that President Bhutto has realised all this and has taken the step with courage and released Sheikh Mujib.

Zindabad Sheikh Mujib and glory to your nation!

(*Editorial*, **EL-AYYAM**, Khartoum—January 10, 1972)

SHEIKH'S TASK

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League and head of the self-proclaimed state of Bangla Desh (formerly East Pakistan), is extremely fortunate. Within hours of his threatened execution as a traitor in West Pakistan, where he had been imprisoned for over nine months, he was suddenly taken into conference by President Bhutto and then released to return to Bangla Desh.

The Sheikh's release does not mean that all Pakistani problems will miraculously dissolve: if anything, they will tend to multiply. This has already been seen in a number of events over the past 48 hours. The eastern leader, for example, did not return direct to Dacca in Bangla Desh; he was "sent" by way of London—presumably in order that President Bhutto's appeals to him to reject the complete divorce of the two original wings of Pakistan might be reinforced by yet another appeal from Britain's Prime Minister, Mr. Heath. Again, it would seem that even in West Pakistan the Sheikh has some strong supporters. An elected member of president Bhutto's own party is reported as stating that Sheikh Mujibur "is the only leader who can keep the two parts of Pakistan united". The member called on President Bhutto to reconvene the National Assembly to sound out opinion on a plan for the Sheikh to be given a share in the nation's presidency. But such moves seem to be futile: so much bitterness has been stirred up between the two wings in recent months that it is highly unlikely Bangla Desh would now step aside from the position it has taken up....

The fact would seem to be that Bangla Desh has been established and is now looking for a strong leader to take it forward into full and fruitful independence. The task is going to be a difficult one, mainly because Bangla Desh is likely to take a long time to settle down after all the violence of the past year. Dissident elements within the country are still contributing to the violence, following the pattern seen so often in other newly-independent countries in recent years: Sheikh Mujibur does not face an enviable task, therefore, and unless he can bring the whole of Bangla Desh to see things his way he will have an uphill battle. One thing seems certain—that West Pakistani appeals for unity will not be received with any enthusiasm in the east.

(*Editorial*, **THE ADVOCATE**, Burnie, Tasmania, Australia—January 10, 1972)

BOOST FOR BANGLA DESH

IRONICALLY, it may be said, the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has given a more favourable start to the life of newly-created Bangla Desh of which he has been proclaimed President.

By this isolated demonstration of realism, President Bhutto has earned applause for an act of statesmanship. And so it is. But it goes further than that.

Mujibur's fate had lain in the hands of the President who had several long conversations with the Bengali leader before finally deciding to release him. Mr. Bhutto still clings to a vision of a unitary state of West and East Pakistan—and however quixotic this might be, freeing the Sheikh was indispensable to a pursuit of it.

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At the most, Pakistan could reap some goodwill, although it will take time for the wounds to heal. Bengali bitterness is understandable and will not be assuaged overnight. Unhappily, however, revenge still stalks the land, with consequences that have been as brutal and uncivilised as the actions which inspired them. Any act of rough justice must be deplored.

It should be one of Mujibur's first tasks, therefore, when he arrives back home—after the exuberance of a hero's welcome has dissipated—to see that law and order prevail, and then to set about composing his people and directing their thoughts and actions to the course of reconstruction and nation-building.

Sheikh Mujibur himself no doubt appreciates that he would probably still be in detention but for certain compulsions which weighed upon President Bhutto—although he evidently is not disposed to hold the one which elevated his suggested role of forging a link between Pakistan and the liberated eastern wing.

He said he told Mr. Bhutto that he could not do anything until he returned to his people—as polite, and diplomatic, a response as could be made. But he acknowledged that it would not be possible to restore the old relationship after what had happened. This fact is accepted practically everywhere except in Pakistan. Besides, any constitutional link, however slender, would adulterate Bangla Desh's independence which the Governments of India and Bangla Desh have called upon the international community to recognise.

(*Editorial*, **THE STRAITS ECHO**, Penang—January 11, 1972)

RETURN OF SHEIKH MUJIB

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is returning to Dacca to the most emotional and tumultuous welcome seen in the sub-continent since India was granted independence from Britain. He is also returning to face all the troubles that Bangla Desh is heir to, as well as those which her proclaimed independence will bring.

Bangla Desh has a long history of neglect, going back before Pakistan took over, and the rulers in West Pakistan have done little or nothing to provide the development works needed to make the economy viable. West Pakistan's retention of funds largely for her own use and a general policy of bleeding the eastern provinces was the underlying cause of the discontent which culminated in the rebellion in the east and then the war with India.

Freedom has been won. The problem now is to retain it and that will depend on how Mujib can rally his countrymen round him and control the divisive elements which could split the country before it has become a State in the sense of a cohesive entity with an administration capable of producing laws and enforcing order.

Mujib showed at the time of the Pakistan elections that he had the overwhelming support of East Pakistan voters, and his welcome home is proving that he still retains it. But the test will come when the present mood of elation dies down and the slow back-breaking task of rebuilding a shattered country gets under way.

Effective foreign aid will be a key to the independent survival of the new self-declared State, and this brings forward the question of official recognition. Already Sheikh Mujib has raised it with Britain, and it is something which Australia should deal with soon.

Obviously, Mujib and his Government will have to show that they are in control of the country as well as having, as is evident already, the support of

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the majority of the people. When these points are established, Australia should go ahead and make her own decision, without necessarily waiting to see how the big powers intend to jump. Australia lives in this area, and must make up her own mind if she is to become part of it.

(*Editorial*, **MERCURY**, Hobart, Tasmania (Australia)—January 11, 1972)

SHEIKH TAKES OVER

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's emotional welcome to Dacca by a million Bengalis marks the beginning of the long and formidable task of creating a new nation. Bangla Desh has been proclaimed; the Sheikh's dream of liberation from Pakistan has been realised. His challenge now is to make the dream work.

No national leader could have come to power in more dramatic or less favourable circumstances. Bangla Desh has been sheared off Pakistan by the Indian army after nine months of atrocious brutality and bloodshed; ten million Bengalis have to be repatriated from refugee camps to their homes in the new State, which is one of the poorest and most over-populated on earth.

The country's economy is devastated, its administration shattered, its authority maintained by a foreign army, its people scattered and embittered by war.

Sheikh Mujib is the only man with the political authority and popular support to unite his people into a new nation.

(*Editorial*, **THE WEST AUSTRALIAN**, Perth—January 12, 1972)

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CHAPTER XIV

CO-OPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

FRIENDSHIP FOR INDIA IN OUR HEARTS

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S STATEMENT IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN DACCA

January 14, 1972

Prime Minister Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on Friday reiterated that the friendship of Bangla Desh for India was "in our hearts", reports BSS.

He was asked at his Press Conference on Friday whether there would be a special treaty between India and Bangla Desh. In his reply, the Prime Minister said: "We have a very special relationship. The relationship is the friendliest. Our treaty of 'friendship' is in our hearts". And as he completed the reply, he pointed to his own heart.

In reply to a question regarding the timing of the withdrawal of Indian troops Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "the Indian Army was staying here as an allied force and they would be withdrawn whenever I want. Mrs. Gandhi has also told me this".

He pointed out that he had made the same statement in London.

The Prime Minister also made it very clear that Bangla Desh did not want to expand its territory by an inch more than its map showed. He was asked by a foreign correspondent now that Bangla Desh was a dream fulfilled whether there was any possibility of forming a greater Bengal.

The Prime Minister's reply was, "My dream of Bangla Desh has been fulfilled. I do not want an inch more of territory. You have seen the map of Bangla Desh in our flag, I am happy with that much of territory. Our intention is that West Bengal should remain in India and that we should have the friendliest of relationship with the people of West Bengal, for that matter, whole of India".

(BANGLA DESH OBSERVER, Dacca—January 15, 1972)

MY PROFOUND GRATITUDE

I express my profound gratitude to the Indian army because they not only rendered immense help to the local people and contributed directly to the freedom struggle, but they also showed an exemplary behaviour in public. They are loved by the people there. They are an allied army and they went there at the invitation of my Government. They will leave Bangla Desh whenever they will be asked to do so.

(*Excerpt from Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement at a Civic Reception held by Calcutta Corporation in Calcutta, February* 7, 1972)

CONGRATULATIONS TO INDIAN PRESS

I congratulate the Indian Press for projecting the truth about Bangla Desh at a time when it was difficult to get it from within the country, as the occupation

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Pakistan army had gagged its press and sealed all the means of its communications with the outside world.

The members of the Indian journalist fraternity collected news relating to Pakistan army atrocities at the risk of their lives and told the world about what was really happening there. If you had not told the truth, it would have been difficult for the people of Bangla Desh, my colleagues, and the members of the Mukti Bahini to get any assistance from abroad.

(Excerpts from Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement at a reception by the Calcutta Press Club, Calcutta, February 7, 1972)

JOINT STATEMENT ON THE TALKS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTERS OF INDIA AND BANGLA DESH

February 8, 1972

The following is the Joint Statement issued this morning (February 8, 1972), *on the talks between the Prime Minister of India, Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, and the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, His Excellency Bangabandu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:—*

On the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, paid a visit to Calcutta from February 6 to 8, 1972. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Foreign Minister and senior officials of the Government of Bangla Desh. He was received by the Prime Minister of India on arrival and by the Governor of West Bengal at the Raj Bhavan.

During his stay, the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh addressed a mammoth gathering of the people of Calcutta. He expressed gratitude on behalf of the Government and people of Bangla Desh to the Government and people of India, especially to the neighbouring States of West Bengal, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam, for the hospitality and assistance given to millions of Bangla Desh citizens and for the moral and material support given by the Government and people of India to the struggle for liberation. The Prime Minister of India re-affirmed that the people of India and the people of Bangla Desh, having fought together in defence of human liberty, would continue to strive together to safeguard the ideals of freedom and the dignity of man.

The two Prime Ministers had detailed discussions covering every aspect of mutual relations between Bangla Desh and India. They reviewed the tangible progress made in all spheres since their last meeting in New Delhi on January 10. They resolved to give practical shape to the legitimate and deeply felt aspirations of the common peoples of the two countries, guided by the principles of democracy, socialism, secularism, non-alignment and opposition to racialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Towards these ends, they expressed their determination to promote, in every possible way, co-operation between the governments and peoples of Bangla Desh and India inspired by a vision of lasting peace, amity and good neighbourliness.

The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh paid warm tribute to the armed forces of India and the part they played in the liberation of Bangla Desh. The task having been completed, the two Prime Ministers felt that these armed forces should be withdrawn. The withdrawal of the Indian armed forces would be completed by March 25, 1972.

The two Prime Ministers reviewed the entire field of international affairs. They resolved to work together in the interest of world peace and stability. They agreed that in the achievement of this objective the governments and the peoples of the two countries would be inspired by the ideals, principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

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The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh solemnly re-affirmed his resolve to ensure, by every means, the return of all the refugees who had taken shelter in India since March 25, 1971, and to strive, by every means, to safeguard their safety, human dignity and means of livelihood. The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that the refugees were returning to Bangla Desh and that nearly seven million had already returned in the short space of six weeks. The Prime Minister of India assured the continuance of all possible assistance to the Government of Bangla Desh in the unprecedented task of re-settling the refugees and displaced persons in Bangla Desh. Taking note of the humanitarian contribution made by the international community, both Prime Ministers expressed hope that these efforts would be enlarged and augmented so that the vast mass of uprooted humanity is enabled to live and work.

The two Prime Ministers reviewed measures for the rapid evolution of mutually beneficial economic relations between the two countries. It was agreed that regular talks, consultations and visits of delegations will take place between the two countries and that appropriate machinery will be set up, where necessary, to promote close co-operation in the fields of development and trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, so that the common people of both countries become the beneficiaries. The two Prime Ministers agreed that trade between the two countries should take place on a state-to-state basis as far as possible. It was decided that the representatives of the Bangla Desh and Indian Planning Commissions should meet periodically to identify areas of mutual co-operation in the developmental processes of the two countries. The two Prime Ministers decided that some of the immediate problems concerning the trade between the two countries and, in particular, the traditional border trade should be discussed and solved as early as possible by appropriate delegations of the two countries. The two Prime Ministers agreed that effective measures should be undertaken by the two governments forthwith to prevent smuggling across the border between the two countries.

It was noted with satisfaction that the steps taken by the Government of Bangla Desh were resulting in the reactivation of its industry and agriculture. Assistance rendered by India was helping in restoring communications and other infrastructure ravaged by war enabling the people of Bangla Desh to revive as soon as possible their normal economic life.

The two Prime Ministers emphasised that the geography of the region provided a natural basis for co-operation between the two countries in the development and utilisation of the resources for the benefit of the people of the region. They discussed the problem of flood control, Farakka Barrage and other problems of development of water and power resources. The Prime Ministers desired that the two governments shall engage in exchanging ideas and in identifying areas of co-operation and in setting up suitable machinery for the formulation of appropriate programmes.

Conscious of the urge of the two peoples to enlarge the areas of mutual co-operation, both the Prime Ministers affirmed their resolve to promote such co-operation in cultural, scientific and technological fields.

Both the Prime Ministers noted the fact that the international community has increasingly recognised the establishment of the sovereign independent Republic of Bangla Desh and reiterated the view that only those who desire to introduce instability in the region and imperil world peace would persist in ignoring this reality. They agreed to remain in close touch to review the international situation and the dangers to peace, stability and progress in the region.

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The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh renewed the invitation extended by him to the Prime Minister of India to visit Bangla Desh and was assured of the eagerness of the Prime Minister of India to make this visit at the earliest opportunity.

HOMAGE TO VALIANT INDIAN SOLDIERS

The Indian army has created an unprecedented history by helping us in attaining our freedom from the clutches of the barbarous Pakistan army. We shall always remember with deepest gratitude the help that you extended to us during the greatest period of our crisis.

I express my heart-felt gratitude and thanks to the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the people of India and the armed forces for their role in extending help to us, giving shelter to the uprooted people of Bangla Desh and by imparting training to the Mukti Bahini during the war of liberation.

I pay my homage to those valiant officers aud jawans of the Indian army who laid down their lives along with our Mukti Bahini for the liberation of Bangla Desh.

The friendship between Bangla Desh and India which are based on the principles of co-existence and mutual respect will last for all times to come.

India and Bangla Desh will strive together for world peace and will extend all possible help to the freedom-fighters all over the world.

We want to live side by side like a friend and a brother.

The people of Bangla Desh could not extend to you all hospitality because they were left with nothing after the destruction caused by Pakistan army. But they have love for you. I appeal to you to carry this love from the people of Bangla Desh.

(*Extracts from Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's farewell address to Indian Army, March* 12, 1972)

SPEECH OF PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI AT A PUBLIC RALLY IN DACCA

March 17, 1972

My heart overflows as I come to your beautiful country and to this historic ground. For many years, we had all heard of the beauty of Bangla Desh. For many years, we had known about the agony you have suffered, and especially the fierce atrocities of last year. The story of your journey through darkness has moved the hearts of people and brought tears to the eyes wherever people value the human spirit.

I have come here today to pay homage to those millions who have sacrificed their lives and to the young and old who have borne arms to liberate their country. I salute the gallant men who have fought this battle, for it is their sacrifice and courage that has brought you freedom. To the ten million, who had to leave their homes and seek shelter in our country, and the millions more who were forced out of their homes, and who today are starting a new life, I give my good wishes.

Today is specially auspicious, because it is the birth day of the leader of your nation, who is not only Bangabandhu but brother to wherever there are people who suffer from injustice or from tyranny. To Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, I offer congratulations and good wishes on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the entire people of India. We earnestly hope that the

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inspiration which he provided in your freedom struggle will continue to guide you in your forward march, and make Bangla Desh strong and prosperous.

When Sheikh Mujib was in Delhi a few weeks ago, he told the people of Delhi that in nine months you had traversed several centuries and had emerged from darkness into light. You have many problems today. It is only natural that a newly free country is beset by problems on all sides. You may be lacking in many resources today, but you are fortunate to have a leader of high eminence, who has devoted his entire life to your good, and who has given you unity and courage. This is your greatest resource, and I have no doubt that Bangla Desh will grow strong with its help.

At the beginning of your struggle, Bangabandhu was arrested and removed to Pakistan. But some of his close colleagues, dedicated men, remaining true to their great leader, held aloft the green and red flag of free Bangla Desh in Mujib Nagar. They rallied the people and worked to arouse the conscience of the world in spite of all manner of foreign intrigues. They proclaimed to the whole world your ideals, your aspirations and the story of your sacrifices. Many attempts were made to silence the voice of Bangla Desh, but owing to the efforts of the colleagues of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whether they were in Mujib Nagar or elsewhere, the true voice of Bangla Desh was heard round the world. In course of time, the world attitude changed and everyone came to acknowledge that Bangla Desh is a reality. At the same time, gallant young men of the Students' League and later of the Mukti Bahini, took up arms and resolved to lay down their lives if need be for their country. Theirs is a saga of courage, of the flame of truth, the flame of justice. It is this flame which keeps a nation alive.

If India has helped you, it is because we could not sit idly by after hearing your voice and after knowing of the sorrow and suffering that you have undergone. If we have helped you, it is in order to be true to ourselves, and to the principles to which we have adhered for years. I trust that, in the coming years, friendship between our two countries will be built not on the basis of the assistance that we might have given to you now but on the basis of the full equality and mutual benefit of two free and sovereign nations.

One by one, the nations are hastening to accord diplomatic recognition to you. But there was a time when the same nations turned their faces away even though their own newspapers wrote with conviction and authentic documentation of the events which took place here. How many countries were ready to speak out on behalf of truth and justice and the common people's right to live, or cared to prevent the indignities? How many of them cared to donate even a minute portion of their luxurious affluence for you or for those who sought shelter in India? It fell to the Indian people to share from out of their poverty and want, in spite of the fact that we had our own difficulties. The poorest of the poor in our land willingly came forward with whatever they could give.

Today, you have given me a most moving welcome, but I know that this is not a welcome for an individual but for the representative of a great people who, not only now, or in the recent past, but for centuries, have tried to be guided in their policies by some basic principles. We have shown to the world that although we may be poor and illiterate, our voice has been raised whenever injustice or wrong is done. That has been the endeavour of the Indian people. We hope that whosoever is in difficulty, whether from poverty or injustice, the people of Bangla Desh and India will fight together against injustice and tyranny. For, if there is injustice in any part of the world, its shadow falls on all other countries.

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We know from our own experience that freedom is not an end but a beginning. Freedom opens the door to new opportunities and to a new life. This new life is not built by a handful of leaders but by the entire nation, through its sacrifice, its endeavour, its discipline and its unity. Your country is a beautiful country. It is a golden land. But the gold will be seen only when the burden of the people is lightened, and there is beauty in their lives. We found that when we proclaimed the ideal of socialism for our country and adopted measures to remove poverty and bring about equality, we incurred the wrath of many vested interests at home and abroad. They are continuing to oppose us. Similarly, when we espoused the cause of the democratic rights of the people of Bangla Desh and pressed for the release of Bangabandhu and his return to Bangla Desh, and finally when we gave support to the fight of Bangla Desh to survive and live in freedom, we annoyed powerful interests and countries. But we were not daunted by their opposition.

I want to tell you from our experience that whenever we take a forward step, new controversies and differences arise. We might imagine that the world has changed, but even the new often falls into the old rut, the rut of old thought and methods of work. The freedom of Bangla Desh is not only your birthright and the assertion of your destiny; it is equally essential for us in India. It is in India's interest that Bangla Desh should be free and strong. If we offer you co-operation, it is not out of any desire to wield influence over you. We want you to stand on your own legs. The burden you bear is not of Bangla Desh alone but of the poor and the oppressed all over the world. In bearing it we should all be together. Just as we seek a strong and friendly Bangla Desh, so also we seek friendship with all our other neighbours. We want all of them to be strong. We do not want any country to dominate or pressurise other countries. Every nation should seek friendship with others but achieve internal strength through solving the problems of its own people. Only then will the countries of Asia be able to make progress, and Asia will be strengthened.

The freedom struggle of India was a long-drawn-out one. Each step forward was achieved through the sacrifice of millions of people. And finally we became free. We then found that the difficulties of the freedom struggle were nothing as compared to the difficulties which came after freedom was won. When unity was the need, voices of dissent arose. Some people expected miracles, and thought that freedom would work some magic to remove poverty, unemployment and all the other problems. The hardest moment is when a new nation is born. If the people remain united and everyone bears his responsibilities, then it will be possible to lay firm foundations of a new society. A new nation has to face not only internal problems but many external challenges as well. Other nations will attempt to induce you to follow their path. I am sure that you will decide for yourself what your path should be, what kind of future you want for your people and what kind of society you want to create. This is what we did in India. It is a long and time-consuming journey. Voices are bound to be raised outside the country, and even inside, to make you choose the easy path. No help or soft words should corrode the determination and the Will to strive. I am reminded of the lines of Gurudev who told us that however dark and difficult the path, and even if no one else kept you company, you should be ready to walk alone. If we called out for help and no help came, then in the darkness we should become a light unto ourselves and go forward. Every free nation should follow its own road and face the difficulties that might arise. I know that you will face your difficulties with courage and not let weakness overtake you. Every difficulty strengthens, every danger challenges. This is how a nation's character and a nation's future are moulded.

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Change is the law of life. Many changes are taking place in the world today. It is our duty in India and Bangla Desh, and in all the other poor countries, to bring about a change in the lives of our peoples. Our policies in India are built upon democracy, secularism and socialism, not because they are fine-sounding words but because only a combination of these three principles can enable a country of our size and diversity to be united and strong. We have chosen democracy because it is only in a democratic system that the people's voice is heard and that they can play their full part in building the country and transforming it. We have chosen secularism because it accords equal honour and treatment to all religions. We have chosen socialism because without economic and social justice, democracy cannot be real and its foundations cannot be strong.

Common principles and objectives have brought Bangla Desh and India together. We shall firmly stand together by them, and derive inspiration from them for our march forward. Each of our two countries will be able to co-operate with and help the other better if we grow stronger internally. You have just become free. You have thanked us, but whatever we have done, let me tell you, we have not done for your sake but for the sake of the human spirit and for the sake of doing our own duty. Whatever the immensity of the problems facing Bangla Desh, yours is a rich country because of the ability and heroism of your people. There is much that your people can give the whole world and India. And I have every confidence that through your internal strength you will build a new life not only for your own country but contribute to the building of a better world.

The Indian nation was built by men of different religions and different streams of thought, to name only a few, Mahtama Gandhi, Netaji Subhas Bose, Chittaranjan Das, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Khan Sahib and Maulana Azad. These are only a few names, but each one of them illumined a different facet of our national life. It is these people, and thousands of others who worked with them, who helped to build up our strength. Whether it is the strength to help you or the strength to go forward independently on our own came about because of the light shown by these people. They continue to influence our young people who are building our national life. There is the same kind of strength in you. By coming together, both of us can contribute a great deal to the world. The younger generation of your country has shown how much it is possible to achieve. I know that they will show the same strength in building the country which they have shown in fight and give a new direction to their country, a direction not derived from any other country. Our ideals are similar, but your path has to be your own. Just as India's path is India's own, the path of Bangla Desh has to be Bangla Desh's own, designed to meet the needs and aspirations of your people. It is your great good fortune that you have a leader of the immense stature of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman whose name resounds not only in your country but wherever people value courage, freedom and truth. Indeed, wherever people care for humanity, his name is known and written in golden letters. Thus, you start with a source of great strength. You should derive its fullest benefit and should in turn help Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, co-operate with him and strengthen his hands so that his work, which is also your work, can be fulfilled.

I thank you for this great welcome. I hope that all of you who have gathered here in such large numbers, and others who have not been able to come here, will build a new life out of the very agony, blood and suffering that you have experienced, and new instances of which come to light with each new day. I am proud of the fact that the blood of India's soldiers has mingled in the soil of this land. It will serve to cement further our mutual friendship. Our jawans have returned with fond memories of the great friendship which you have shown

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to them. It is my sincere hope that the people of Bangla Desh and the people of India will work together in building up their countries and will march together on their path, refusing to be influenced or pushed around by others, however much they try. We shall go forward whatever the dangers and difficulties. There are many religions here as there are in India and elsewhere in the world. Every person, every nation, can derive strength from religion. But we have seen that as long as the basic needs of the people have not been fulfilled, no other factor can help a country to be united and to advance. It is the duty of all of us to strive to take economic and social justice to all the people, and hew a new path for our people such as other nations have not done.

The people of the advanced and affluent countries of today are also full of discontent. They are also trying to seek out a new path. It is up to us to give a new way to the world by our experience or culture or ideals. It is only when justice is done to the people that a new life can be built. A great beginning has been made here and I am confident that you will go forward step by step, and that with each step Bangla Desh will become stronger, and that the progress you will achieve will not be limited to a few people but extend to all your people and reach every doorstep whether in villages and towns. It is then that your country will become Sonar Bangla—Golden Bangla Desh.

The road is long and difficult, but a courageous people recognise no obstacles and are not deterred by any danger. It is a moment when all of us should unite to go forward. If we can help you, we shall do so to the best of our ability. We are ready to place at your disposal whatever experience or skills we have. You know that India is not a rich country. We have not been able to ameliorate the poverty of our people with all our resolute endeavour since becoming free. But our people are confident that they can achieve self-reliance out of their own efforts, and today all our energies are concentrated on building a country in which we can stand on our own legs and become strong—strong not to dominate or influence others, or to seize others, territories, but to lighten the sorrows and burdens of our own people. We desire friendship with all our neighbours so that all of us can make progress.

Once again I thank you for this welcome. I offer homage to the martyrs who have been cradled by this gallant land. To the heroes who are present here I give my greetings, and to all those who have suffered I give good wishes that their sorrows may soon recede.

Bharat Bangla Maitri Zindabad.
Bangladesher Neta o Janata Zindabad.
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Zindabad.

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE PRIME MINISTERS OF INDIA AND BANGLA DESH
March 19, 1972

Following is the text of the Joint Declaration signed in Dacca on March 19, 1972, by the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:

At the invitation of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, visited Dacca from the 17th to 19th March, 1972.

The Indian Prime Minister was accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh; Professor S. Chakravarty, Member of the Planning Commission; Mr. P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister; Mr. T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary; Mr. P. N. Dhar, Secretary to the Prime Minister; and other officials.

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During her stay in Dacca, the Prime Minister addressed a mammoth public meeting and was accorded a civic reception. The affection and warmth shown by the people of Bangla Desh on these occasions towards the Indian Prime Minister were symbolic of the close friendship and fraternal feelings that characterise the relations between the peoples of India and Bangla Desh.

The two Prime Ministers discussed matters of mutual interest at length on several occasions during this visit. The Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, also held separate talks with the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, on bilateral relations and on the international situation.

The opportunity of this visit was utilised to have substantive discussions at the officials' level on all aspects of relations between the two countries and also to review the international situation with special reference to the problems that Bangla Desh and India face in the context of recent developments in Asia.

On the official level talks on political matters, the Bangla Desh side was represented by Mr. Ruhul Quddus, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister; Mr. S. A. Karim, Foreign Secretary; Mr. S. A. M. S. Kibria, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Bangla Desh Ambassador to India, Dr. A. R. Mallick; Mr. Justice Munim, Law Secretary; and Mr. Nurul Islam of the Home Ministry.

At the talks on economic matters, the Bangla Desh side was represented by Dr. Nurul Islam, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission; Dr. Musharraf Hussain, Member, Planning Commission; Prof. Rehman Sobhan, Member, Planning Commission; Mr. Matiul Islam, Finance Secretary; Mr. B. M. Abbas, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Irrigation and Flood Control; Mr. Nur Mohammad, Commerce Secretary; Mr. A. Samad, Transport Secretary; Mr. Al-Hussainy, Secretary, Power and Irrigation; and other officials.

The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh expressed admiration for the valiant armed forces of India who made supreme sacrifices in fighting shoulder to shoulder with all sections of the brave Mukti Bahini to end the tyrannical colonial rule of Pakistan in the sacred soil of Bangla Desh. He mentioned with appreciation the impecable behaviour of the Indian troops during their brief stay in Bangla Desh. Having accomplished their mission, the last units of the Indian armed forces had withdrawn earlier than the deadline agreed upon.

Reviewing the international situation with particular reference to recent developments in Asia, the two Prime Ministers took note of the forces threatening the security, stability and territorial integrity of countries of the region. They affirm their solidarity in resisting these forces. Both the Prime Ministers express the confidence that the close and firm bonds of friendship between the peoples of India and Bangla Desh would effectively counter efforts by interested countries to reverse the course of history.

In this context, the two Prime Ministers declare their determination to continue to adhere to the policy of non-alignment which has played a positive and constructive role in strengthening national sovereignty and independence and the forces of peace, stability and prosperity in international relations.

To give concrete expression to the similarity of views, ideals and interests between India and Bangla Desh, the two Prime Ministers decided to sign a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace.

The two Prime Ministers further decide that in order to strengthen co-operation between the two countries, regular consultations shall be held between the officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Planning Commissions and the Ministeries and Departments dealing with economic, commercial, cultural and technical

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affairs of the two Governments. Such consultations will take place periodically, at least once every six months.

The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh drew the attention of the Prime Minister of India to the plight of the Bengali population in Pakistan and emphasised the imperative need for their early repatriation. The Prime Minister of India assured the Government of Bangla Desh of all assistance in facilitating the process particularly in giving transit facilities for such repatriation.

The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh apprised the Prime Minister of India of the steps taken by the Government of Bangla Desh to expedite the trials of members of Pakistani armed forces and civil servants who are guilty of committing war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity in Bangla Desh, in accordance with international law.

Both the Prime Ministers express the hope that these trials will bring the guilty persons to justice and also bring home to the world at large the enormity of the sufferings of the people of Bangla Desh. The Prime Minister of India assures the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh that the Government of India will fully co-operate with the Government of Bangla Desh in bringing those guilty persons to justice who are responsible for the worst genocide in recent times.

At the same time, the two Prime Ministers agree that seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war, who are not guilty of war crimes, will be repatriated to Pakistan as a matter of priority by mutual consent.

In the context of the declared adherence of the Government and the people of Bangla Desh to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations Charter, the Prime Minister of India assures the Government of Bangla Desh of the Government of India's full support and co-operation for the admission of Bangla Desh to the United Nations and other U.N. agencies. Both the Prime Ministers agree that Bangla Desh's joining the U.N. would be a significant step forward in promoting world peace and ensuring stability in South Asia.

The two Prime Ministers declare that the Indian Ocean area should be kept free of great power rivalries and military competitions. They express their opposition to the creation of land, air and naval bases in the area. It is their conviction that this is the only way of ensuring the freedom of navigation and safety of the sea-lanes in the Indian Ocean for trade and commerce which is vital to the development and stability of the littoral States. The two Prime Ministers further express their determination to endeavour to make the Indian Ocean area a nuclear free zone.

Consistent with the decisions taken at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers of Bangla Desh and India in January, 1972, and of the Prime Ministers early in February, 1972, to strengthen economic and developmental co-operation, the two Prime Ministers decide:

(A) To establish a Joint Rivers Commission comprising of experts of both countries on a permanent basis to carry out a comprehensive survey of the river systems shared by the two countries, formulate projects concerning both the countries in the fields of flood control and to implement them.

Experts of the two countries are directed to formulate detailed proposals on advance flood warnings, flood forecasting, study of flood control and irrigation projects on the major river systems and examine the feasibility of linking the power grids of Bangla Desh with the adjoining areas of India, so that the water resources of the region can be utilised on an equitable basis for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the two countries.

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(B) The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh expressed his gratitude to the Prime Minister of India for the economic assistance extended so far and for assurances of future assistance according to the requirement of Bangla Desh. The two Prime Ministers reviewed the progress of deliveries of supplies of foodgrain and other commodities under the Economic Assistance Programme and recognised the need to accelerate deliveries under this programme in view of the urgent economic need of the Rehabilitation Programme in Bangla Desh.

(C) Both the Prime Ministers approved the principles of the revival of transit trade and the agreement on border trade.

They directed that these agreements as well as the general trade and payments agreements should be signed by the end of March, 1972.

Keeping in view the important role that science and technology play in accelerating economic and social development, the two Prime Ministers direct that experts and officials of the Governments of Bangla Desh and India shall have consultations and exchange information on:

(i) Peaceful uses of nuclear energy,
(ii) Technological and scientific research for industrial development, and
(iii) Utilisation of future space research for communication purposes.

Conscious of the close historical and cultural affinities between the peoples of India and Bangla Desh, the two Prime Ministers decide that concrete steps should be taken by the appropriate agencies of the two governments to strengthen cultural relations between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers direct that the concerned authorities of the two Governments should undertake immediate discussions for the signing of a bilateral agreement on cultural, scientific and technological co-operation.

The two Prime Ministers are fully satisfied at the progress made and the concrete results achieved during their talks at Dacca and express the hope that these understandings and agreements would constitute a sound and durable basis for co-operation between India and Bangla Desh for the mutual benefit and prosperity of the peoples of the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India thanks the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh for the hospitality, affection and kindness shown to her and her colleagues by the Prime Minister and Begum Mujibur Rahman, the Government and the people of Bangla Desh during her visit to Dacca. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh expressed satisfaction that the Prime Minister of India found time in spite of her many pre-occupations to visit Bangla Desh.

The two Prime Ministers express the conviction that the bonds of fraternity and friendship forged during the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh and cemented by the sacrifices made by the peoples of both the countries, shall continue to grow and become a vital factor in strengthening the forces of peace and progress in Asia and the world.

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND PEACE BETWEEN INDIA AND BANGLA DESH
March 19, 1979

Following is the text of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bangla Desh signed in Dacca on March 19, 1972, by the Prime Ministers of India and Bangla Desh:

INSPIRED by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism,

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HAVING STRUGGLED together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the trumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangla Desh,

DETERMINED to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship,

ADHERING firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual co-operation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

DETERMINED to safeguard peace, stability and security and to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual co-operation,

DETERMINED further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them,

CONVINCED that the further development of friendship and co-operation meets the national interests of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

RESOLVED to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism,

CONVINCED that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through co-operation and not through conflict or confrontation,

RE-AFFIRMING their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, on the other, have decided to conclude the present Treaty.

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective peoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples, each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The High Contracting Parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and all-round co-operation existing between them, on the basis of the above mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 2

Being guided by their devotion to the principles of equality of all peoples and States, irrespective of race or creed, the High Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The High Contracting Parties shall co-operate with other States in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

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Article 4

The High Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

Article 5

The High Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round co-operation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual co-operation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most-favoured nation principle.

Article 6

The High Contracting Parties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

Article 7

The High Contracting Parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports and health.

Article 8

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries, each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other High Contracting Party.

Article 9

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries.

Article 10

Each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment, secret or open, toward one or more States which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

Article 11

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty-five years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the High Contracting Parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

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Article 12

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may arise between the High Contracting Parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

Done in Dacca on the nineteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and seventy-two.

INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister
for the Republic of India.

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN,
Prime Minister
for the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT ON TREATY WITH BANGLA DESH AND JOINT DECLARATION

March 20, 1972

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Parliament on March 20, 1972:

I have the honour to lay on the Table of the House texts of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace and of the Joint Declaration which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and I signed at Dacca on March 19, 1972.

I should like to emphasise that the Treaty embodies the Will of the two Governments to pursue common policies in matters of interest to both countries and solemnises the close ties of friendship between our two countries and peoples cemented through blood and sacrifice. The Treaty and the Declaration will guide us on our journey into the future in quest of peace, good neighbourliness and the well-being of our two peoples.

The Joint Declaration emphasises the importance of close co-ordination and co-operation between the two countries in trade and payments, economic development and transit. I should like to invite the attention of Honourable Members to that portion of the Declaration which deals with the exciting prospect of harnessing the waters of Brahmaputra, Meghna and Ganga to the benefit of the two peoples.

It is our earnest hope that the Treaty which affirms our common goals and ideals and reiterates our firm adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, will lead to lasting peace and co-operation not only between India and Bangla Desh but in the sub-continent and the region as a whole.

TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND BANGLA DESH

March 28, 1972

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND
THE GOVERNMENT OF BANGLA DESH,

CONSCIOUS of the urge of their two peoples to enlarge areas of mutual co-operation;

DESIROUS of strengthening economic relations between the two countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

RECOGNISING that the common people of both countries should be the beneficiaries of close co-operation between the two Governments in the fields of trade and development;

AWARE that this objective can best be secured by organising trade between the two countries on a State-to-State basis as far as possible;

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HAVE AGREED as follows :—

Article 1

The two Governments recognising the need and requirements of each other in the context of their developing economies undertake to explore all possibilities for expansion and promotion of trade between the two countries on the basis of mutual advantage.

Article 2

The two Governments agree to an *interim* trade arrangement as set out in Schedule 'A' attached to this Agreement.

Article 3

Imports and exports of commodities and goods produced or manufactured in India or Bangla Desh as the case may be which are not included in Schedule 'A' and, in the case of commodities and goods included in that schedule, imports and exports in excess of the values specified therein shall be permitted in accordance with the import, export and foreign exchange laws, regulations and procedures in force in either country from time to time.

Article 4

In order to meet the day to day requirements of the people living within a sixteen kilometre belt of the border between West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram on the one hand and Bangla Desh on the other, and with a view to providing facilities to these people to dispose of their goods, border trade shall be allowed in specified commodities in accordance with Schedule 'B' attached to this Agreement.

Article 5

The two Governments agree to make mutually beneficial arrangements for the use of their waterways, railways and roadways for commerce between the two countries and for passage of goods between two places in one country through the territory of the other.

Article 6

Each Government shall accord to the commerce of the country of the other Government treatment no less favourable than that accorded to the commerce of any third country.

Article 7

The provisions of Article 6 shall not prevent the grant or continuance of :

(*a*) privileges which are, or may be, granted by either of the two Governments in order to facilitate frontier trade.

(*b*) advantages and privileges which are, or may be, granted by either of the two Governments to any of their respective neighbouring countries.

(*c*) advantages resulting from a customs union, a free-trade area or similar arrangements which either of the two Governments has concluded or may conclude in the future.

(*d*) advantages or preferences accorded under any scheme for expansion of trade and economic co-operation among developing countries, which is open for participation by all developing countries and to which either of the two Governments is or may become a party.

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Article 8

The two Governments agree to co-operate effectively with each other to prevent infringement and circumvention of the laws, rules and regulations of either country in regard to matters relating to foreign exchange and foreign trade.

Article 9

The two Governments agree to accord, subject to their respective laws and regulations, reasonable facilities for the holding of trade fairs and exhibitions and visits of business and trade delegations sponsored by the Government concerned.

Article 10

In order to facilitate the implementation of this Agreement, the two Governments shall consult each other as and when necessary and shall review the working of the Agreement at the end of six months from the date of signature.

Article 11

This Agreement shall come into force from 28th March, 1972, and shall remain in force, in the first instance, for a period of one year.

L. N. MISHRA,
Minister of Foreign Trade,
Government of India.

M. R. SIDDIQUI,
Minister of Trade and Commerce,
Government of Bangla Desh.

SCHEDULE 'A'

1. The two Governments agree that licences shall, where necessary, be granted in accordance with the laws, regulations and procedures in force in either country from time to time to permit the import or export of the commodities and goods in Lists I and II below, up to the value mentioned against each with a view to balanced trade in commodities of special interest.

List I—Exports to Bangla Desh

Commodities/Goods	*Value (Rupees in lakhs)*
1 Cement	450
2 Asphalt	100
3 Coal	400
4 Cotton textile	25
5 Cotton yarn	150
6 Tobacco (unmanufactured)	1,000
7 Stone boulders, Hard wood (including Sal and Teak), Soft wood, Barytes (white), Lime and limestone, Dolomite, Gypsum, Unslaked lime ...	100
8 Books and Periodicals, Gramophone records ...	20
9 Movies ...	15
10 Ayurvedic and Unani medicines (medicinal herbs and crude drugs) ...	25
11 Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals'	25

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List I—Exports to Bangla Desh—*Cont*

Commodities/Goods		*Value (Rupees in lakhs)*
12	Spices	15
13	Infant milk food	25
14	Machinery and spare parts	50
15	Miscellaneous (items to be mutually agreed upon) ...	100
		2,500

List II—Exports to India

1	Fresh fish	900
2	Semi-tanned cowhides including wet and blue ...	100
3	Furnace oil, jute, batching oil and naptha ...	150
4	Newsprint and low grammage writing paper ...	300
5	Raw jute	750
6	Molasses	25
7	Ayurvedic and Unani medicines	25
8	Books, Periodicals and Gramophone records ...	20
9	Movies	15
10	Pharmaceuticals	10
11	Spices	5
12	Simul cotton (Kapok), Hard board. hand-loom products ...	100
13	Miscellaneous (items to be mutually agreed upon) ...	100
		2,500

2. For the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of paragraph I, the Local Head Office of the State Bank of India at Calcutta and the bank designated by the Bank of Bangla Desh, Dacca, shall open special accounts with each other, to be utilised solely for the purpose of making payments to exporters in either country by the bank incorporated and resident in that country on behalf of its correspondent in the other country. Subject to the laws and regulations as in force in the two countries from time to time, overdraft facilities shall be given by either bank to its correspondent in the other country. In the event of the overdraft in either account being in excess of the limit stipulated by the relevant law or regulation as applicable to or in relation to that account, the Government of the country in which the account is maintained will grant a special loan to the bank concerned provided that the total amount of such loan or loans together shall not be in excess of five crores of Indian rupees or five crores of Bangla Desh takas. The said loan shall be granted free of interest by the two Governments. In exceptional circumstances the two Governments will agree to increase the limit of the loan in order to facilitate the continuance of trade. Such excess over rupees five crores will carry a rate of interest of six per cent. The amount outstanding on the expiry of the agreement shall be settled in Pounds Sterling or in any other manner mutually agreed upon. The local Head Office of the State Bank of India at Calcutta will, in consultation with the bank designated by the Bank of Bangla Desh, Dacca, finalise the details of the banking arrangements in pursuance of the provisions of this article which would *inter alia* provide for adjustments of the overdrafts periodically.

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3. In the event of a change in the parity rate of either the Indian rupee or the Bangla Desh taka, while these arrangements are in force, the two Governments will consult each other with a view to reaching an agreed solution to the problem of adjustments.

4. Imports and exports of the commodities and goods in lists I and II above which are in excess of the values shown against them and of commodities and goods which are not included in those lists shall, subject to import, export and foreign exchange laws, regulations and procedures in force in either country from time to time, be financed through authorised dealers in foreign exchange in either country acting through their correspondents in the other country. Subject to the provisions of the exchange regulations in force in the two countries, an authorised dealer may grant to the correspondent in the other country an overdraft to such extent and on such terms and conditions as may be permitted by the Reserve Bank of India or the Bangla Desh Bank as the case may be. The settlement of amounts due to or from an authorised dealer from or to the correspondent in accordance with these arrangements will be in Pounds Sterling. The Reserve Bank of India and the Bangla Desh Bank will in consultation with each other endeavour to provide the maximum facilities possible for facilitating the flow of trade in accordance with the provisions of Article 3.

5. Subject to such exceptions as may be made by mutual agreement between the two Governments, commodities and goods imported into one country from the other shall not be re-exported to a third country.

SCHEDULE 'B'

Provisions relating to border trade referred to in Article 4 of the Agreement

1. These facilities shall apply to the trade across the land customs frontiers between West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram on the one hand and Bangla Desh on the other.

2. These facilities shall be available only to persons living in areas, other than municipal areas, within sixteen kilometres of the land customs frontiers and holding special permits issued by their respective competent authority.

3. Every person holding such a special permit may carry across the border in each sector only such goods and commodities and in such quantities as are specified, in the annexure to this schedule, and for this purpose may cross the border only once a day in each direction on any two specified days of a week and only through such routes as may be authorised in this behalf. If market conditions in a locality justify relaxation of the number of days in a week on which persons holding special permits may cross the border in that locality, the additional days shall be mutually agreed between the concerned competent authorities in the two countries.

4. The carriage of such goods shall be free from import, export and exchange control restrictions as well as customs duty and customs formalities.

5. Each person may carry in cash a sum not exceeding rupees one hundred in Bangla Desh or Indian currency when crossing the border from either country into the other.

6. Either Government may maintain such checks and take such preventive measures including the right to search as are considered necessary to ensure that these concessions are not exceeded or abused.

7. These arrangements shall be subject to review after a period of six months to consider whether they should be extended or amended in any way. If even

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before the expiry of this period of six months either country feels the need to withdraw or modify the facilities under this Agreement, it would enter into immediate consultations with the other country taking such measures as it may consider necessary.

ANNEXURE TO SCHEDULE 'B'

I. Mizoram-Chittagong Hill Tracts Sector

Mizoram to Chittagong.

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Til seeds ...	Head-load.
2 Raw cotton ...	Do.
3 Chillies ...	Do.
4 Forest produce (including timber, unclassed agarwood, cane, thatching grass, firewood and bamboos)	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
5 Fresh fruits ...	Head-load.
6 Milk and Milk products ...	Do.

Chittagong to Mizoram.

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Gur ...	Head-load.
2 Onion and Garlic	Do.
3 Fish (fresh and dried)	Do.
4 Poultry and eggs	Do.
5 Vegetables (including potatoes) ...	Do.
6 Fresh fruits ...	Do.
7 Chhana and Sweetmeats ...	1 kilogram.
8 Betel nuts ...	½ kilogram.
9 Betel leaves ...	Head-load.
10 Spices ...	2 kilograms.
11 Earthen-ware ...	Head-load.
12 Tea ...	½ kilogram.

II. Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills—Sylhet and Mymensingh Sector.

For export from Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills to Sylhet and Mymensingh.

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Fresh fruits ...	Head-load.
2 Vegetables (including potatoes.) ...	Do.

For export from Sylhet and Mymensingh to Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills.

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Fish (fresh and dried)	Head-load.
2 Poultry and eggs ...	Do.

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II. Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills—Sylhet and Mymensingh Sector—*contd.*

For export from Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills to Sylhet and Mymensingh.

	Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
3	Forest produce (including timber unclassed agarwood, cane, thatching grass, firewood and bamboos)	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
4	Ginger, Turmeric, Chillies and Tejpatta	Head-load.
5	Onions ...	Do.
6	Tapioca ...	Do.
7	Milk and Milk products. ...	Do.
8	Lime and lime stone.	Do.
9	Shingles and Boulders	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
10	Sand ...	Do.
11	Betel leaves ...	Head-load.
12	Mustard oil ...	1 kilogram.
13	Mustard seed ...	Head-load.

For export from Sylhet and Mymensingh to Khasi, Jaintia and Garo Hills.

	Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
3	Vegetables ...	Head-load.
4	Betel nuts ...	1 kilogram.
5	Betel leaves ...	Head-load.
6	Spices ...	2 kilograms.
7	Chhana and Sweetmeats	1 kilogram.
8	Fresh fruits ...	Head-load.

III. Cachar–Sylhet Sector.

For export from Cachar to Sylhet.

	Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1	Forest produce (including timber, unclassed agarwood, cane, thatching grass, firewood and bamboos)	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
2	Kerosene oil ...	1 bottle.
3	Vegetables (including potatoes) ...	Head-load.
4	Milk and Milk products	Do.
5	Soap (washing) ...	½ kilogram.

For export from Sylhet to Cachar.

	Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1	Fish (fresh and dried)	Head load.
2	Poultry and eggs ...	Do.
3	Soap (washing) ...	½ kilogram.
4	Spices including ginger	2 kilograms
5	Onion and Garlic ...	Head-load.
6	Fresh fruits ...	Do.
7	Vegetables ...	Do.
8	Chhana and Sweetmeats	1 kilogram.

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IV. Tripura–Bangla Desh Sector.

For export from Tripura to Bangla Desh.

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Vegetables (including potatoes) ...	Head-load.
2 Milk and Milk products ...	Do.
3 Forest produce (including timber, unclassed agarwood, cane, thatching grass, firewood and bamboos)	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
4 Til seeds ...	Head-load.
5 Fresh fruits ...	Do.
6 Gram and pulses ...	Do.
7 Kerosene ...	1 bottle.

For export from Bangla Desh to Tripura.

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Poultry and eggs ...	Head-load.
2 Chhana and Sweetmeats	1 kilogram.
3 Fish (fresh and dried)	Head-load.
4 Vegetables ...	Do.
5 Onion and Garlic ...	Do.
6 Coconut (dry and green) ...	Do.
7 Fresh fruits ...	Do.
8 Gram and pulses ...	Do.
9 Betel leaves ...	Do.
10 Spices ...	2 kilograms.

V. Rangpur (Bangla Desh)—Assam (bordering district), Cooch Behar/Jalpaiguri (West Bengal) Sector.

Export from Assam (bordering district to Rangpur), Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri (West Bengal) to Rangpur (Bangla Desh).

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Fresh fruits ...	Head-load.
2 Vegetables (including potatoes) ...	Do.
3 Spices ...	2 kilograms.
4 Firewood ...	Head-load.
5 Milk and Milk products ...	Do.
6 Tobacco	1 kilogram.
7 Washing soap ...	½ kilogram.
8 Bamboo	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
9 Mustard oil ...	1 kilogram.
10 Mustard seed/rape seed	Head-load.
11 Coconut oil ...	1 kilogram.

Export from Rangpur (Bangla Desh) to Assam (bordering district to Rangpur), Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri (West Bengal).

Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1 Fish	Head-load.
2 Poultry and eggs...	Do.
3 Tobacco ...	1 kilogram.
4 Coconuts ...	Head-load.
5 Betel leaves ...	Do.
6 Spices	2 kilograms.
7 Salt	1 kilogram.
8 Fodder for cattle...	Head-load.
9 Bamboo ...	Head-load, raft or cart-load.
10 Thatching grass ...	Do.
11 Hogla leaves ...	Head-load.
12 Firewood ...	Do.
13 Gur	Do.
14 Chhana and Sweetmeats	Do.

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VI. Rest of Bangla Desh—Rest of West Bengal.

Export from West Bengal to Bangla Desh.

	Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1	Fresh fruits ...	Head-load.
2	Vegetables ...	Do.
3	Spices	2 kilograms.
4	Milk and Milk products. ...	Head-load.
5	Gram and pulses ...	Do.
6	Gur	Do.
7	Firewood ...	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
8	Bamboo	Do.
9	Thatching grass ...	Do.
10	Simul Cotton ...	Head-load.
11	Mustard oil ...	1 kilogram.
12	Mustard seed/rape seed. ...	Head-load.
13	Coconut oil ...	1 kilogram.

Export from Bangla Desh to West Bengal.

	Name of commodities.	*Quantities allowed to be carried.*
1	Fish	Head-load.
2	Poultry and eggs...	Do.
3	Coconuts ...	Do.
4	Spices ...	2 kilograms.
5	Betel leaves ...	Head-load.
6	Fodder/cattle ...	Do.
7	Golpatta ...	Do.
8	Chhana and Sweet-meats. ...	Do.
9	Fresh fruits ...	Do.
10	Vegetables ...	Do.
11	Hogla leaves ...	Do.
12	Firewood ...	Do.
13	Broomsticks ...	Do.
14	Simul Cotton ...	Do.
15	Gur	Do.
16	Bamboo ...	Boat-load, raft or cart-load.
17	Thatching grass ...	Do.

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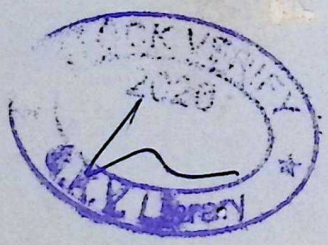

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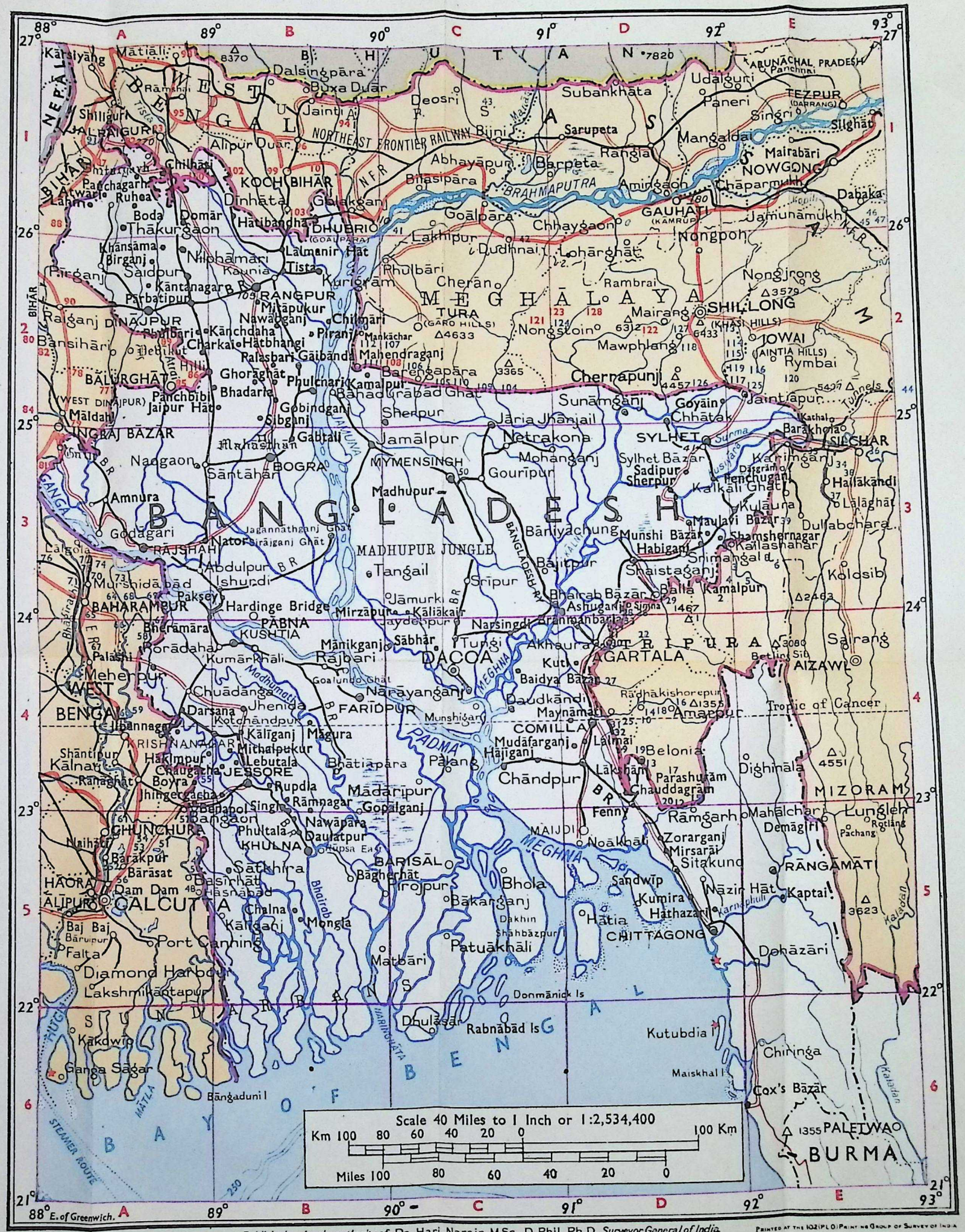
BĀNGLĀDESH AND SURROUNDING INDIAN STATES


BĀNGLĀDESH
WEST BENGAL
MEGHĀLAYA
TRIPURA
MIZORAM
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
BHUTAN
NEPAL
BIHAR
BURMA
BAY OF BENGAL
SUNDARBANS
NORTHEAST FRONTIER RAILWAY
BRAHMAPUTRA
GANGA
JAMUNA
MEGHNA
PADMA
Tropic of Cancer
Scale 40 Miles to 1 Inch or 1:2,534,400
Km 100 80 60 40 20 0 100 Km
Miles 100 80 60 40 20 0
88° E. of Greenwich
Dacca
Calcutta
Aizawl
Agartala
Shillong
Sylhet
Chittagong
Rajshahi
Bogra
Rangpur
Dinajpur
Jessore
Khulna
Barisal
Comilla
Mymensingh
Tezpur
Gauhati
Siliguri
Jalpaiguri
Cooch Bihar
Kurigram
Jamalpur
Netrakona
Madhupur
Tangail
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Kushtia
Faridpur
Madaripur
Bhola
Patuakhali
Cox's Bazar
Kutubdia I
Rabnabad Is
Dhulasar
Matbari
Bakarganj
Barisal
Chandpur
Noakhali
Feni
Rangamati
Kaptai
Dohazari
Chittagong
Sandwip
Hatia
Maishkhal I
Chiringa
Paletwa
Lunglei
Aizawl
Silchar
Karimganj
Haflong
Jowai
Nongpoh
Mawphlang
Cherrapunji
Sunamganj
Habiganj
Sylhet Bazar
Kamalpur
Ashuganj
Brahmanbaria
Narsingdi
Tungi
Akhaura
Kuti
Baidya Bazar
Daudkandi
Maynamati
Amarpur
Belonia
Laksham
Chauddagram
Parshuram
Ramgarh
Mahalchari
Demagiri
Zorarganj
Mirsarai
Sitakund
Nazir Hat
Kaptai
Dighinala
Mudafarganj
Hajiganj
Lalmai
Mirzapur
Kaliakair
Gopalganj
Madaripur
Bhatiapara
Palang
Munshiganj
Rajbari
Goalundo Ghat
Narayanganj
Kumarkhali
Chuadanga
Jhenida
Darsana
Kotchandpur
Kaliganj
Magura
Mithapukur
Lebutala
Rupdia
Ramnagar
Nawapara
Daulatpur
Satkhira
Bagherhat
Khulna
Jessore
Bhairab Bazar
Bajitpur
Sripur
Gouripur
Netrakona
Jaria Jhanjail
Mohanganj
Madhupur Jungle
Jamurki
Jaydebpur
Sabhar
Manikganj
Dhaka
Tangail
Sirajganj Ghat
Jagannathganj Ghat
Abdulpur
Ishurdi
Pakse
Hardinge Bridge
Rajshahi
Godagari
Natore
Bogra
Santahar
Naogaon
Amnura
Gaibandha
Gobindganj
Sibganj
Jaipur Hat
Bhadarla
Panchbibi
Phulchari
Kamalpur
Bahadurabad Ghat
Mahasthan
Ghoraghat
Bhaikari
Ralasbari
Mahendraganj
Bareengapara
Chilmari
Nawabganj
Piranganj
Kanchdaha
Hatibandha
Dinhata
Gitalkuchi
Lalmanir Hat
Tista
Kurigram
Rhulbari
Cherran
Rambrai
Lohargha
Dudhnai
Goalpara
Chhaygaon
Lakhipur
Bilasipara
Abhayapur
Barpeta
Rangia
Amingaon
Chaparmukh
Jamunamukh
Dabaka
Mangaldai
Mairabari
Singri
Slighat
Udalguri
Paneri
Subankhata
Sarupeta
Bijni
Deosri R.
Jaintia
Buxa Duar
Dalsingpara
Matiali
Alipur Duar
Chilhati
Kochbihar
Dhubri
Domar
Thakurgaon
Nilphamari
Khansama
Birganj
Saidpur
Kantanagar
Parbatipur
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Barasat
Barakpur
Dum Dum
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Howrah
Alipur
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Falta
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Lakshmikantapur
Kakdwip
Ganga Sagar
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Port Canning
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Bhairab
Mymensingh
Jamalpur
Tangail
Gopalganj
Madaripur
Barisal
Patuakhali
Bhola
Noakhali
Comilla
Chandpur
Feni
Chittagong
Cox's Bazar
Paletwa
Lunglei
Aizawl
Silchar
Karimganj
Haflong
Jowai
Nongpoh
Shillong
Mawphlang
Cherrapunji
Sylhet
Sunamganj
Habiganj

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LIST OF REFUGEE CAMPS

(ESTABLISHED DURING THE PERIOD FROM APRIL TO NOVEMBER 1971)

Sq. No.	District	Name of camps	Ref. No.
		TRIPURA	
D 4	North District	Ambāsa	1
D 3		Kamalpur	2
E 3		Kumārghāt	3
D 3		Miles	4
D 3		85 Miles	5
E 3		Padmabīl	6
E 3		Shrīnāthpur	7
E 3		Uptakhāli	8
D 4	South District	Bagāfa	9
D 4		Chandrapur	10
D 4		Dhajanagar	11
D 4		Harina	12
D 4		Rishyamukh	13
D 4		Kakraban	14
D 4		Kalāchara	15
D 4		Kāwāmāra	16
D 4		Maichera	17
D 4		Phulkumāri	18
D 4		Rājnagar	19
D 4		Shrīnagar	20
D 4	West District	Āmtali	21
D 4		Barjāla	22
D 4		Brajapur	23
D 4		Chechuria	24
D 4		Dhanpur	25
D 3		Gāndhigrām	26
D 4		Hapānia	27
D 3		Ishānpur	28
D 3		Khowai	29
D 4		Madhupur	30
D 4		Mātīnagar	31
D 4		Melāgarh	32
D 4		Mohanpur	33
D 3		Simna	—
D 4		Teliāmura	33

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No.
		ASSAM	
E 3	Cāchār	Cnandranāthpur	34
E 3		Chargola	35
E 3		Dāsgrām	—
E 3		Harincherra	36
E 3		Kathal	—
E 3		Lakshminagar	37
E 3		Silkuri	38
E 3		Sonākhira	39
B 2	Goālpāra	Borkona	40
C 1		Fakirgrām	41
B 2		Mankāchar	—
C 2		Nidanpur	42
C 1		Sarfanguri	43
E 5	Mizo	Demāgiri	—
E 5		Pachang	—
E 5		Rotlāng	—
E 2	North Cāchār Hills	Hāflong	44
E 1	Nowgong	Hojai	45
E 1		Nilbāgān	46
E 1		Sidabāri	47

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No
		WEST BENGAL	
A 5	24 Parganas	Hāsnābād	—
A 5		Tākl (2 Camps)	48
A 5		Basirhāt (5 Camps)	—
A 5		Swarupnagar (7 Camps)	49
A 5		Bāduria (5 Camps)	50
A 5		Gobardānga	51
A 5		Maslandapur	51
A 5		Kālupur (4 Camps)	51
A 5		Media	51
A 5		Ichāpur	51
A 5		Suntia	51
A 5		Bānipur	51
A 5		Pāirāgāchi	51
A 5		Lakshmipur	51
A 5		Sādhanpur	52
A 5		Sāhāra	52
A 5		Bārākpur	—
A 5		Digberia	53
A 5		Dattapukur	53
A 5		Kānāpukur	53
A 5		Bārāsat (3 Camps)	—
A 5		Māmābhāgina (2 Camps)	54
A 5		Mārighāta	54
A 4		Bāgdaha	55
A 4		Helencha	55
A 4		Ganrāpota	55
A 5		Salt Lake	56
A 5		Nilganj	56
A 5		New Bārākpur	56
A 5		Dogāchia	57
A 4	Nadia	Karimpur	58
A 4		Palāshipāra	58
A 4		Betai	58
A 4		Nāzirpur	58
A 4		Bānpur	59
A 4		Chāpra	59
A 4		Dompukuria	59
A 4		Purnaganj	59
A 4		Jāva	60
A 4		Bhāluka	60
A 4		Bhādurpur	60
A 4		Murāgāchha	60
A 4		Dakshinpāra	60

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Sq. No.	District	Name of camps	Ref. No.
A 5	Nadia	Kalyani (7 camps)	61
A 4		Shikārpur	62
A 4		Mājdia	63
A 4		Bhajan Ghāt	63
A 4		Āsānnagar	63
A 4		Bādkulla	63
A 4		Ulāshi	63
A 4		Rānāghāt (2 camps)	—
A 4		Shāntipur	—
A 3	Murshidābād	Daulatābād	64
A 3		Kalādānga	64
A 3		Bāruipāra	65
A 3		Choa	65
A 3		Hariharpāra	65
A 3		Kāsimnagar	65
A 3		Nischintapur	65
A 3		Rukunpur	65
A 3		Sāhājādpur	65
A 4		Āmtala	66
A 4		Jhowbona	66
A 4		Madhupur	66
A 4		Nowda	66
A 4		Patikabāri	66
A 4		Maganpāra	67
A 3		Bhagirathpur	68
A 3		Bhatsāla	68
A 3		Domkal	68
A 3		Katakobra	68
A 3		Sadikhandiar	68
A 3		Sāhebrāmpur	68
A 3		Choāpāra	69
A 3		Hukāhara	69
A 3		Jalangi	69
A 3		Kāzipāra	69
A 3		Natiāl	69
A 3		Sāgarpāra	69
A 3		Sāhebnagar	69
A 3		Ashoke Kunja, Lālbag	70
A 3		College Commerce Hostel, Jiāganj	70
A 3		Darapnagar Primary School	70
A 3		Nawāb Bāhādur Institution's	79
A 3		Lāl Boarding, Lālbag	70
A 3		Muslim Hostel, Lālbag	70
		Mission Hospital, Jiāganj	70

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Sq. No.	District	Name of camps	Ref. No.
A 3	Murshidābād	College Commerce Hostel, Jiāganj	70
A 3		Govt. Sponsored Free Primary School No. I, Jiāganj	70
A 3		Do No. 2, Jiāganj	70
A 3		Mahārāj Bāhādur Hall, Jāiganj	70
A 3		Darapnagar Primary School	70
A 3		Dilfarbād Ganja Farm	70
A 3		Nashipur Rājbāti	70
A 3		Nishadbag Pry. School, Lālbag	70
A 3		Mukundabag Jr. Basic School, Lālbag	70
A 3		Shripat Kumārpāra, Jiāganj	70
A 3		Mahanta Rāmdās Aulia Primary School, Jiāganj	70
A 3		Kurmitala Camp	70
A 3		Ashoke Kunja, Lālbag	70
A 3		Mackenji Hall, Azimganj	71
A 3		Purātan Dharmasāla, Azimganj	71
A 3		Nutan Dharmasāla, Azimganj	71
A 3		Nowlakshya Garden, Azimganj	71
A 3		Don Bosco Institute, Azimganj	71
A 3		M. Strimal's Godown, Jiāganj	71
A 3		Rāja Bijoy Singh Stable, Azimganj	71
A 3		Debipur G.S.F.P. School	71
A 3		Rāja Bijoy Singh Bidyamandir Hostel, Azimganj	71
A 3		M. N. Academy, Lālgola	72
A 3		Lahore Shed, Lālgola	72
A 3		School Boarding, Lālgola	72
A 3		Guest House, Lālgola	72
A 3		Basic School, Lālgola	72
A 3		Mādrāsa, Lālgola	72
A 3		Girls' School, Lālgola	72
A 3		Manick Chak	72
A 3		Youth Reception Centre, Lālgola	72
A 3		Rānīnagar, Goas	73
A 3		Rānīnagar	73
A 3		Nabipur	73
A 3		Kātlāmāri	73
A 3		Rākhāldāspur	73
A 3		Sheikhpāra	73
A 3		Rāmbag	74
A 3		Habaspur Primary School	74
A 3		Bāgdānga Primary School	74
A 3		Pātāmāri Hanumāntanagar	74
A 3		Ākheriganj	74

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No
A 3	Murshidābād	Kharibona	74
A 3		Nashipur.	74
A 3		Bhagwāngola High School	75
A 3		Kālukhāli Mādrāsa & Primary School	75
A 3		Bhagwāngola Primary School	75
A 3		Āsānpur Primary School	75
A 3		Darar Kāndi Primary School	75
A 3		Rām Chandramati Pry. School	75
A 3		Bhagwāngola	75
A 3		Bhurkunda	76
A 3		Sāhāpur	76
A 3		Manigrām	76
A 2	Māldah	Bāmangola	77
A 2		Pākuahāt	77
A 2		Maheshpur	77
A 2		Gouljoi	77
A 2		Paul Transit	77
A 2		Pākshāghāt Open Air	77
A 2		Gājol	78
A 2		Dohil	78
A 2		Hātimāri	78
A 2		Kutubsahar & Adina	78
A 2		Kanchuādānga	78
A 2		Eklakshi	78
A 2		Rāhutāra Mission	79
A 2		Kendpukhur	79
A 2		Bulbulchandi (2 Camps)	79
A 2		Rishipur	79
A 2		Singabād (2 Camps)	79
A 2		Āiho	79
A 2		Bahutera Mission	79
A 2		Harishchandrapur	80
A 2		Bishapur	80
A 2		Kushidah	80
A 2		Tulshihātta	80
A 2		Masaldaha	80
A 2		Bringol	80
A 2		Borai	80
A 2		Konua	80
A 2		Chandipur	80
A 3		Golāpganj	81
A 3		Kāliachak	81

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No.
A 3	Māldah	Mothābāri	81
A 3		Baisnabnagar	81
A 3		Pāgla Bridge	81
A 3		Bangatola	81
A 3		Gayeshbāri	81
A 3		Sujāpur	81
A 2		Gobindapāra	82
A 2		Mālatipur	82
A 2		Kharba	82
A 2		Kāligrām	82
A 2		Āshāpur	82
A 2		Pāhārpur	82
A 2		Nalāhar Chotremohani	82
A 3		D.E.B. Dāk Bungalow	83
A 3		Mahādipur	83
A 3		Nagharia	83
A 3		Rāigrām	83
A 3		Milki	83
A 2		Kālindri	84
A 2		Mathurāpur	84
A 2		Nazirpur	84
A 2		Bechutala or Manikchak Diāra	84
A 2		Ārāidānga	84
A 2		Ekborna	84
A 2		Haripur	84
A 2		Parānpur	84
A 2		Ratua School	84
A 2		Debipur	84
A 2		Samshi	84
A 2		Baharāl	84
A 2		Bhāluka	84
A 2		Bāhādo	84
A 2		Bhagabānpur	84
A 2		Khāpur	84
A 2	West Dinājpur	Kāldighi Godown	85
A 2		Gangārāmpur High School	85
A 2		Naya Bāzār High School	85
A 2		Shibbāti Station Junior High School	85
A 2		Chāloon High School	85
A 2		Sarbamangla	85
A 2		Sukdebpur High School	85
A 2		Thengāpāra High School	85

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No.
A 2	West Dinājpur	Nehamba Jr. High School	85
A 2		Bulbāri Centre	85
A 2		Jāhāngirpur Jr. High School	85
A 2		Ratanpur Free Primary School	85
A 2		Tapan High School	85
A 2		Daralhāt High School	85
A 2		Rāmpur Hign School	85
A 2		Chakbāligrām Basic School	85
A 2		Kardaha High School	85
A 2		Vior Jālālia High School	85
A 2		Tilom Jr. High School	85
A 2		Laskarhāt Panchāyat Office	85
A 2		Patirām High School	85
A 2		Nazirpur Anchal Office at Jhorna	85
A 2		Barkāli Jr. High School	85
A 2		Amritakhanda Anchal Office at Kāmārpāra	85
A 2		Mālancha High School	85
A 2		J. L. P, Bidyāchakra	85
A 2		Khādimpur Girls' High School	85
A 2		Chakkashi High School	85
A 2		Bāul Parameswār High School	85
A 2		Nadipār N. C, High School	85
A 2		Chingishpur High School	85
A 2		Beltala Park High School	85
A 2		Khāshpur High School	85
A 2		Hilli High School	86
A 2		Trimohini Rural Library	86
A 2		Teor Bhārat Sebāsram Sangha	86
A 2		Muralipur Jr. Basic School	86
A 2		Pānjul Anchal Panchāyat Office at Rāmkrishnapur	86
A 2		Dhalpāra Free Primary School	86
A 2		Muralipur Free Primary School	86
A 1		Dāspāra	87
A 1		Lakhimpur	87
A 1		Chopra	87
A 1		Patāgora	87
A 1		Matikunda	87
A 1		Thākurbāri	87
A 1		Rāmganj	88
A 1		Goālpokhar	88
A 1		Darivir	88
A 1		Rashakhowa	88

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No.
A 1	West Dinājpur	Ātākhori	88
A 1		Sujāli	83
A 2		Fakirganj Reception camp	89
A 2		Jaidevpur Mādrāsa Reception camp	89
A 2		Sālānagar Reception camp	89
A 2		Kumārganj Reception Camp	89
A 2		Gopālganj Reception camp	89
A 2		Rādhānagar Reception camp	89
A 2		Botun Reception Camp	89
A 2		Dharmapur Reception Camp	89
A 2		Mālone	90
A 2		Nāoda	90
A 2		Dālimgaon	90
A 2		Mahārājāhāt	90
A 2		Rāmpura	90
A 2		Banshihari	90
A 1	Darjiling	Kāntivila	91
A 1	Jalpaiguri	Sannyashikata	92
A 1		Amāidighi	92
A 1		Jatlākāli	92
A 1		Manuagach	92
A 1		Sakati (2 Camps)	92
A 1		Berubāri (2 Camps)	92
A 1		Pātkāta	92
A 1		Drāngi	92
A 1		Pānijehāti	93
A 1		Rangdhamali	93
A 1		Gumirāpāra	93
A 1		Mānikganj	93
A 1		Sarāulla camp	93
A 1		Polytechnic	93
A 1		Balarāmhāt	93
A 1		Pānbāri	93
A 1		Bandhunagar	93
A 1		Jalpesh (2 Camps)	93
A 1		Mauagach	63
A 1		Dabgrām	93
A 1		Dankimāri (2 Camps)	93
B 1		Haldibāri	94
B 1		Dewānganj	94
A 1		Duars Co-operative Rice mill camp	95
A 1		Bashilārganga Bāgjān	95
A 1		Dāngi	96
B 1		Lakshmikānta	97

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No.
B 1	Jalpaiguri	Rangati	97
B 1		Āgrābhāsa	97
A 1		Mātiāli	98
A 1		Barodighi	98
B 1	Koch Bihār	Dewānhāt Railway Station (2 Camps)	99
B 1		Makkati Pushnadānga	99
B 1		Dhunpur	99
B 1		Natuārpār	99
B 1		Rājārhāt	99
B 1		Madhupur	99
B 1		Pundibāri Girls' School (6 Camps)	99
B 1		Patlākhawa Complete Basic School	99
B 1		Karālirdānga Camp Nos. 1 & 2	99
B 1		Dineswāri Jr. High School	99
B 1		Kharijākākribāri	99
A 1		Dewānganj Transit Camp (Girimath)	100
A 1		Sweedish Mission Camp	100
A 1		Huarerdānga Camp	100
A 1		Haldibāri Jute Godown (2 Camps)	100
A 1		Changrābāndha High School (5 Camps)	100
A 1		Jāmāldah Somi Permanent (3 Camps)	100
A 1		Rānirhāt School	100
A 1		Dhaprāhāt School	100
A 1		Dāngerhāt School	100
B 1		Jaldhowa	101
B 1		Jorāi	101
B 1		Buxirhāt	101
B 1		Deocharai	101
B 1		Balarāmpur	101
B 1		Balabhut	101
B 1		Jhowkuthi	101
B 1		Pāglārhāt	102
B 1		Ratherdānga (2 Camps)	102
B 1		Nagarlālbāzār (2 Camps)	102
B 1		Baramaricha (2 Camps)	102
B 1		Gosairhāt	102
B 1		Dakālirhāt	102
B 1		Dakghara	102
B 1		Khalisāmāri	102
B 1		Chhotosālbāri	102
B 1		Baraunidānga	102
B 1		Karjirdighi	102
B 1		Ranirdighi	102
B 1		Ghogrārdānga	102

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Sq. No.	District	Name of Camps	Ref. No
B 1	Koch Bihār	Krishnana Colony	102
B 1		Basantabābāburdānga	102
B 1		Snānghāt	102
B 1		Chānghāt	102
B 1		Nakati	102
B 1		Kāliganjerdānga	102
B 1		Bāghmārārdighi	102
B 1		Bāmandānga	102
B 1		Golenwhati (3 Camps)	102
B 1		Nagārlālbāzār Sukandighi	102
B 1		Dewāntskot Joyduar (2 camps)	102
B 1		Jatāmāri	102
B 1		Chhatlālbāzār	102
B 1		Baramashia	102
B 1		Bhogrāmguri	102
B 1		Ashokebāri	102
B 1		Angarkata Parodubi	102
B 1		Patakāmāri	102
B 1		Ghoksārdānga	102
B 1		Burihāt (2 Camps)	103
B 1		Khalisagosānimāri	103
B 1		Kāliganj	103
B 1		Bāsantirhāt (2 Camps)	103
B 1		Bnetāguri	103
B 1		Kisāmātda Savam (3 Camps)	103
B 1		Boradānga	103
B 1		Nigamnagar (3 Camps)	103
B 1		Kharkharia	103
B 1		Bālika	103
B 1		Putimāri	103
B 1		Cnrabāri	103
B 1		Petla	103
B 1		Rāshbārir Math 'A'	103
B 1		Baranachina	103
B 1		Chhotofālimāri	103
B 1		Jamādārerbosh (5 Camps)	103
B 1		Sitāi School (2 Camps)	103
B 1		Kayterbāri	103
B 1		Chāmla	103
B 1		Adābāri	103
B 1		Balapukuri	103
B 1		Brahmatarchhatra	103
B 1		Bijalichhatka	103

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Sq. No.	District	Name of camps	Ref. No.
		MEGHĀLAYA	
C 2	Gāro Hills	Bāghmāra	104
C 2		Dālu	105
C 2		Chāndābhui	106
C 2		Chichengpāra Hāt	106
C 2		Hāljāti Hāt	107
C 2		Machangpāni	108
C 2		Āmpati	108
C 2		Chebenang	108
C 2		Myneng	108
C 2		Sibbāri	109
C 2		Bilkona	110
B 2		Porakāsua Hāt	111
B 2		Kalaipāra	112
B 2		Domāpāra	112
E 2	Khāsi & Jaintia Hills	Pongtung	113
E 2		Madan Lyneid	114
E 2		Madan Baitah	115
E 2		Sowlong	116
E 2		Amtrong	117
D 2		Diengrai	118
E 2		Amlārem	119
E 2		Amsohmaleng	120
C 2		Balot	121
C 2		Lālpāni	121
D 2		Mowāsora	122
D 2		Pancharing	123
D 2		Munai	124
E 2		Syndai	125
D 2		Shella	126
D 2		Ishāmati	126
D 2		Mylliem	127
D 2		Wāhrengka	128

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